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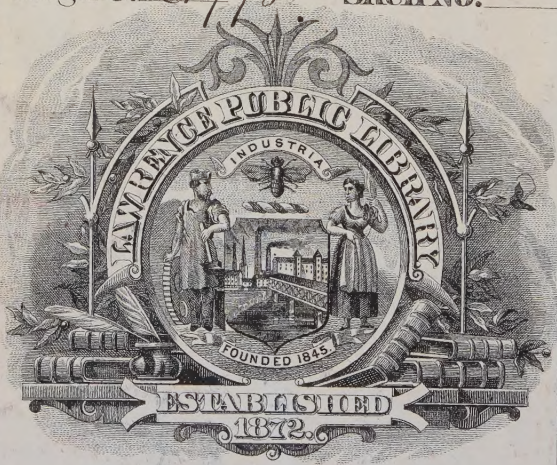

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MAGAZINE

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY

WITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

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John A. Logan

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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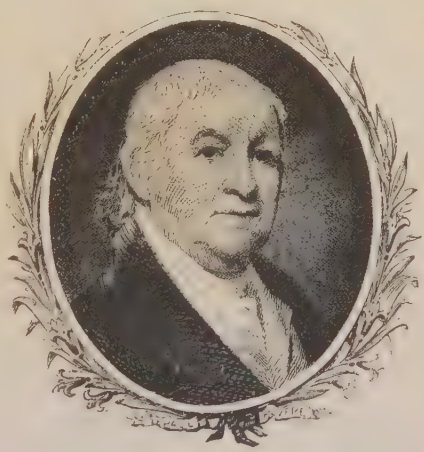
PAUL REVERE

1735–1818

[PROMINENT MEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD]

Paul Revere was born in North Square, Boston, January 1, 1735. His homestead, with its antique, projecting upper story, is still standing, and in habitable condition; the lower story is now occupied as a candy-shop. Here he was living during the Revolution, for the Massachusetts *Spy* of March 7, 1771, in describing the anniversary of the Boston massacre exercises, said: "At dark was exhibited in the chamber windows of Mr. Revere, in the Old North Square, a set of transparent paintings, representing, in the south window a monumental obelisk bearing in front, the bust of young Snider; and on the front of the pedestal, the names of the five persons murdered by the soldiery on the fifth of March, and all interred in the same grave with him." The Boston *Gazette* said: "The spectators were struck with solemn silence, and their countenances covered with a melancholy gloom." About the time the Revolutionary war closed, Revere bought a large and handsome mansion in Charter Street, near Hanover, where Revere Place now is, and in this he resided during the remainder of his life.



His ancestors were French Huguenots, and wrote the name Rivoire. His grandfather emigrated from St. Foy, in France, to the island of Guernsey, in 1685, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., from whence his father, Apollos, afterward called Paul, came to Boston at the age of thirteen, and learned the trade of a goldsmith; his eldest son, Paul, received his education at the famous Master Tileston's

school. He had a natural taste for drawing, and it was his peculiar business, after learning the same trade as his father, to design and execute all the engravings on the various kinds of silver-plate then manufactured. He made a thorough study of mechanics, the best interests of which, and the improvement of all industrial arts, ever received his most earnest attention. Self-taught, he became a skillful engraver on copper-plate, and many of his engravings are still in existence. One of his earliest productions was the portrait of his preacher friend, Rev. Dr. Mayhew; and among his well-known works in this line is a caricature entitled the "Seventeen Rescinders," and the "Repeal of the Stamp Act." Among his Boston views are the "North Battery," and the "Sconce and Fort Hill," "Boston in 1768, with the landing of the British Troops," and the "Massacre on the Fifth of March, 1770," * with portraits of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and others; and among the least known of his pictures are the "Allegory of the Year, 1765," and "Spanish Treatment at Carthagena." The former was imprinted, "Engraved, printed and sold by Paul Revere, Boston." The Spanish Treatment was engraved for a Magazine and did not have that imprint. In 1775, he engraved the plates, made the press, and printed the paper-money ordered by the Provincial Congress, then in session at Watertown. At the time he was one of the four engravers then in America. He was early enrolled among the famous "Sons of Liberty," was one of the foremost in their councils, and was of the large number who dined at the "Liberty Tree," Dorchester, August 14, 1769, an anniversary of the enforced resignation of the stamp distributor. At the age of twenty-one his military life began; he joined the expedition under command of General Winslow, against the French at Crown Point, holding the position of Second-Lieutenant of Artillery, and was stationed at Fort William Henry, on Lake George.

It was just prior to the breaking out of the Revolutionary war that he rendered such peculiar service as a messenger, traveling thousands of miles on his faithful horse, in those troublous times, when railroads and steamboats were unknown. His first important ride in this capacity was in connection with the destruction of the three hundred and forty-two chests of tea in Boston Harbor, December 16, 1773. He was in the councils of those who planned its destruction, and one of the party who boarded and threw the tea into the water. He was also one of the twenty-five who

* Judge Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian of the Boston Public Library, has in his possession Revere's plan of the scene of the massacre, used in the trial of the British soldiers. It shows the exact position of the troops when they fired, of the citizens who fell, the topography of the streets, and the locality of the buildings around the old State House in a most admirable manner.

nightly guarded the tea after the arrival of the first cargo, November 28. The account of this transaction, drawn up by the Committee of Correspondence, was sent on the 17th to New York and Philadelphia, by Paul Revere. Thomas Newell records in his diary that Revere returned from this mission December 27, bringing word that Governor Tryon had engaged to send the New York tea ship back, and that all the Boston bells were rung the next morning.

PAUL REVERE'S BIRTHPLACE, NORTH SQUARE, BOSTON.

[*Engraved from a painting by H. G. Laskey.*]

His next journey was in connection with the "Boston Port Bill," which received the royal signature on the 31st of March, 1774, and was printed in the Boston journals on the 10th of May following. "It provided for a discontinuance of the landing and shipping of all merchandise at Boston, or within its harbor." The Committee of Correspondence immediately directed Warren to call a meeting at Faneuil Hall, of representatives from the eight neighboring towns, for the 12th of May; and at a Town-meeting held the next day, it was voted to recommend to the other colonies to unite in a joint resolution to stop all trade, importation and exportation,

with Great Britain and the West Indies, until the "Port Act" should be repealed; and Paul Revere, "the steady, vigorous, sensible and persevering," was chosen as bearer of this union message to the other colonies. He brought back the responses of the different colonies, and it was said, "Nothing can exceed the indignation with which our brethren in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Philadelphia have received this proof of ministerial madness." The effect of this Port Bill was undoubtedly to more closely unite the colonies. "The Port Act," says Bancroft, "had been received on the 10th of May; and, in three weeks, the continent, as one great commonwealth, made the cause of Boston its own."

The English Parliament passed two additional penal acts in May, 1774, "designed to carry into effect the principle that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever." This action caused the passage of the famous "Suffolk Resolves," September 9, 1774, drawn by Warren. They were taken by Revere to the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress, together with a letter from Warren. Congress immediately passed a resolve denouncing England's act and indorsing the "Suffolk Resolves;" and this important news, impatiently waited for by the Boston patriots, was brought by Revere, together with personal letters to Warren, and was printed in the newspapers of the 26th. Writing, September 4, to John Lamb, one of the most active of the "Sons of Liberty" in New York, Revere said: "We are in spirits, though in a garrison; the spirit of liberty was never higher than at present; our new-fangled counsellors are resigning their places every day; our justices of the courts, who now hold their commission during the pleasure of His Majesty or the governor, cannot get a jury that will act with them. In short, the Tories are giving way everywhere in our province." He was again employed in October, while the Provincial Congress, of which John Hancock was President, was in session and anxious to hear from the Continental Congress. "Ten days later nothing had transpired from this body; but it was reported that Paul Revere, who went as an 'express from Boston to the delegates,' was waiting in Philadelphia for the result of the determinations of Congress;" also in November he acted in the same capacity.

In December following, and nearly four months before "Warren's message of warning," when

"The fate of a nation was riding that night,"

Revere took another ride of a very important character. As the messenger of the Boston "Committee of Safety" to the Portsmouth "Committee of Safety," on the 13th of December, 1774, he carried the news that England

had prohibited further importation of gunpowder and military stores, and that a large garrison for Fort William and Mary was on its way thither. The result was that the "Sons of Liberty" secreted one hundred barrels of powder under the Durham meeting-house, a few miles distant. That gunpowder was destined to play an important part in our history; for it was taken from its hiding-place, carted to Charlestown in ox-carts, where it arrived just in season to be used at the battle of Bunker Hill. Thus did Paul Revere rouse the New Hampshire patriots to action, as he did, a few months later, those of Massachusetts.

In his letter to Dr. Belknap, dated Boston, January 1, 1798, Revere says: "In the year 1773, I was employed by the Selectmen of the town of Boston to carry the account of the Destruction of the Tea to New York; and afterwards, 1774, to carry their despatches to New York and Philadelphia for calling a Congress; and afterwards to Congress several times. In the fall of 1774, and winter of 1775, I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers, and gaining intelligence of the movements of the Tories. We held our meetings at the Green Dragon tavern. We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met each one swore upon the Bible that they would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Doctors Warren and Church, and one or two more." And of the after-events, he says: "On Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching towards the bottom of the Common. About 10 o'clock, Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me, and begged that I would immediately set off for

OLD NORTH CHURCH, BOSTON.
[*Where the lantern was displayed.*]

Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock and Adams were, and acquaint them of the movement, and that it was thought they were the objects. When I got to Dr. Warren's house, I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington—a Mr. William Dawes. The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's. I returned at night through Charlestown; there I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen, that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanthorns in the North Church steeple; and if by land one, as a signal." *

After leaving Dr. Warren he made all necessary arrangements for his eventful ride—"that memorable ride, not only the most brilliant but the most important single exploit in our nation's annals"—with his "cry of alarm" which went "to every Middlesex village and farm." He called upon his friend, Robert Newman, the sexton, and desired him to make the signals. Then to his home in North Square, took his boots and surtout, went to one of the wharves at the North End, where he kept his boat,† and was rowed across Charles River by two friends, one of whom was Joshua Bentley, "a little to the eastward, where the *Somerset* man-of-war lay. It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown side."

Of the ride itself, he says: "In Medford I awaked the Captain of the

* "If the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light,—
One, if by land, and two, if by sea."
—LONGFELLOW'S "Paul Revere's Ride."

† One of Paul Revere's daughters married Jedediah Lincoln, and her grandson, William O. Lincoln, now living in Hingham, tells me that he has often heard his grandmother relate this incident in the life of her father: "When he had arrived at his boat he found that he had forgotten his spurs; writing a note to that effect he tied it around the neck of his dog and told him to go back to his home; he went, and soon came bringing the spurs." And there are still other traditions in the Lincoln family. One, that just before the destruction of the tea, Paul Revere's wife said, "Children, this is the last cup of tea you will get for a long while." Another, that during the siege of Boston, the family, wishing to leave the city, bought a pass of a chimney-sweep, and, putting the children, together with the grandmother, into a cart, passed safely out.

Samuel Adams Drake, in his *History of Middlesex County*, Vol. I., p. 117, gives this curious tradition as existing in the Revere family: While Paul and his two comrades were on their way to the boat it was suddenly remembered that they had nothing with which to muffle the sound of their oars. One of the two stopped before a certain house at the north end of the town, and made a peculiar signal. An upper window was softly raised, and a hurried colloquy took place in whispers, at the end of which something fell noiselessly to the ground. It proved to be a woolen under-garment, still warm from contact with the person of the little rebel.

minute-men, and after that I alarmed almost every house till I got to Lexington." *

He arrived at Rev. Mr. Clark's at about midnight. The guard, under Sergeant Munroe, placed around the house, would not admit him, and cautioned him not to make a noise.

"Noise," said Revere; "you'll have noise enough before long. The regulars are coming out."

He was then allowed to knock at the door. Mr. Clark appeared at a window, when Revere said:

"I wish to see Mr. Hancock."

"I do not like to admit strangers into my house so late at night," answered Mr. Clark.

Hancock, hearing these remarks, called out: "Come in, Revere! We're not afraid of *you*;" and he went in.

In the course of half an hour Dawes arrived and met Revere at the green. After a short time Revere, Dawes, and a Dr. Prescott, "a high Son of Liberty," started for Concord, and soon after Revere and Dawes were taken prisoners by a party of British

1. ROBERT NEWMAN HANGING THE LANTERN IN THE TOWER.
2. EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF REVERE, BY CYRUS E. DALLIN.
3. REVERE CROSSING THE RIVER CHARLES.

* Boston is soon to honor herself by placing an equestrian statue of Paul Revere in one of her principal squares. The model, by Dallin, has been accepted. It represents him on his fiery steed, just as he is reining in before one of the houses at which he stopped to give the alarm.

"A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet."

soldiers. Prescott jumped his horse over a stone wall, and continued on to Concord, which he reached at about two o'clock, giving the alarm on the way. The officer in charge of Revere asked him several questions, and then all started for Lexington, just before reaching which "the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them very much." The frightened officers left their prisoners and fled toward Boston. Returning to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, Revere advised Hancock and Adams to leave their hiding-place, which they did, going

SPECIMEN OF THE WORK OF PAUL REVERE. [SEE PAGE 2.]

to a Widow Jones' house in Woburn. The narrative of Mrs. Hannah Winthrop, of Cambridge, gives a vivid description of what she calls "the horrors of that midnight cry." The women of Cambridge were roused by the beat of drums and ringing of bells; they hastily gathered their children together and fled to the outlying farm-houses; seventy or eighty of them were at Fresh Pond, in hearing of the guns at Menotomy, now Arlington; the next day their husbands bade them flee to Andover, whither the college property had been sent, and thither they went, alternately walking and riding over fields where the bodies of the slain lay unburied.

Revere continued to serve as messenger on other occasions after this,

THE "BOSTON MASSACRE," MARCH 5, 1770. [SEE PAGE 2.]

according to his own account. He says: "The same day [the day after the battle of Lexington] I met Dr. Warren. He was President of the Committee of Safety. He engaged me as a messenger to do the out-of-doors business for that committee, which gave me an opportunity of being frequently with them."

The account of the message sent by Warren to Hancock and Adams at Lexington, Sunday, April 16, is told by Revere in a very few words. William W. Wheildon has recently given a new and interesting chapter in the history of the "Concord Fight," wherein he emphasizes the importance of this ride. He tells the story of the Groton soldier, Nathan Corey, and gives the votes passed by the Provincial Congress at Concord on the 17th, deducing therefrom certain conclusions; and when we realize that cannon were taken from Concord to Groton on the 18th, that the minute-men of

Boston June 19. 1792

I Certify that James Pratt, Daniel Warner, Mathew James and Joseph Robbins, were non commission Officers in the Regiment of Artillery commanded by Col Thomas Crafts. and, that they were discharged by me on the 19th March 1779. agreeable to an Order of the Council of this State.

Paul Revere

I suppose Col Crafts can tell by the Regimental Books. whom compy they were, in & what Rank

FAC-SIMILE OF PAUL REVERE'S CERTIFICATE OF DISCHARGE OF OFFICERS. [SEE PAGE 12.]

Groton, Acton, Lincoln, Carlisle, and Bedford, took part in the action at Concord, and that minute-men from over thirty of the surrounding towns, some of them many miles away, were at Lexington and in the pursuit of the British troops,* there seems to be some reason, surely, for thinking that Warren's information to Hancock and Adams, sent by Revere on the 16th, must have been of such a nature as to cause them to disseminate their fears or expectations to those towns earlier than could have been done by the messages of the night of the 18th. Mr. Wheildon says: "One result of this story is particularly worthy of notice, since it shows very clearly what has scarcely ever been considered, or, in fact, alluded to, and that is the importance of the service rendered by Paul Revere in his journey to Lexington, on Sunday prior to the much more celebrated midnight ride which followed it. The story of this ride, quiet and peaceful as it was, has never been immortalized in the lines of the poet; yet it shows very clearly that the preservation of the cannon—nearly all that the colony possessed at that time—and probably the largest portion of the ammunition and stores at Concord, were saved, as we have seen, by the cautionary measures of Dr. Warren, and the essential service of Paul Revere, on the Sunday previous to the fight at Concord bridge." Truly, if this be so there is still more reason to give honor to the untiring courier and unswerving patriot, who may well be called "The Messenger of the Revolution."

Christ Church, more recently known as the "Old North Church," is the oldest public building in Boston, now standing on its original ground, where it was erected in 1723. Within sight of it Paul Revere was born, and almost under its shadow he lived and died. In its graceful steeple, long a landmark for vessels entering Boston Harbor, hangs the first and oldest chime of bells in America; and from

"The highest window in the wall"

were displayed the lights so signally connected with the memorable 19th of April.

"A glimmer and then a gleam of light."

And now this

"Gray spire, that from the ancient street
The eyes of reverend pilgrims greet,"

has become, in a certain sense, a monument to Revere, for imbedded in the front of the solid masonry of its tower is a large tablet bearing the following inscription:

* As at present divided and incorporated, fifty-eight towns were more or less actively interested in the events of the 19th of April, 1775.

THE SIGNAL LANTERNS OF
PAUL REVERE
DISPLAYED IN THE STEEPLE OF THIS CHURCH
APR. 18, 1775
WARNED THE COUNTRY OF THE MARCH
OF THE BRITISH TROOPS TO
LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

This tablet is a block of granite, ten feet three inches in length, six feet four inches in width, and one foot in thickness. It is forty-two feet above the sidewalk, and was placed in position October 17, 1878. It has been truly said that at nearly every hour of the day some one may be seen "looking up at the lofty spire with an expression of deep satisfaction, as if some long-cherished wish had at last been accomplished."

After these many journeys Revere rendered other military service of importance. He was at first major, and afterward lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of artillery raised for the defense of the State after the British evacuated Boston, and part of the time in command of a post in Boston Harbor. The following order explains itself:

Sir. "Head Q^rs. Boston, 1^st September, 1776.

"You will immediately repair to and take the Command of Castle Island

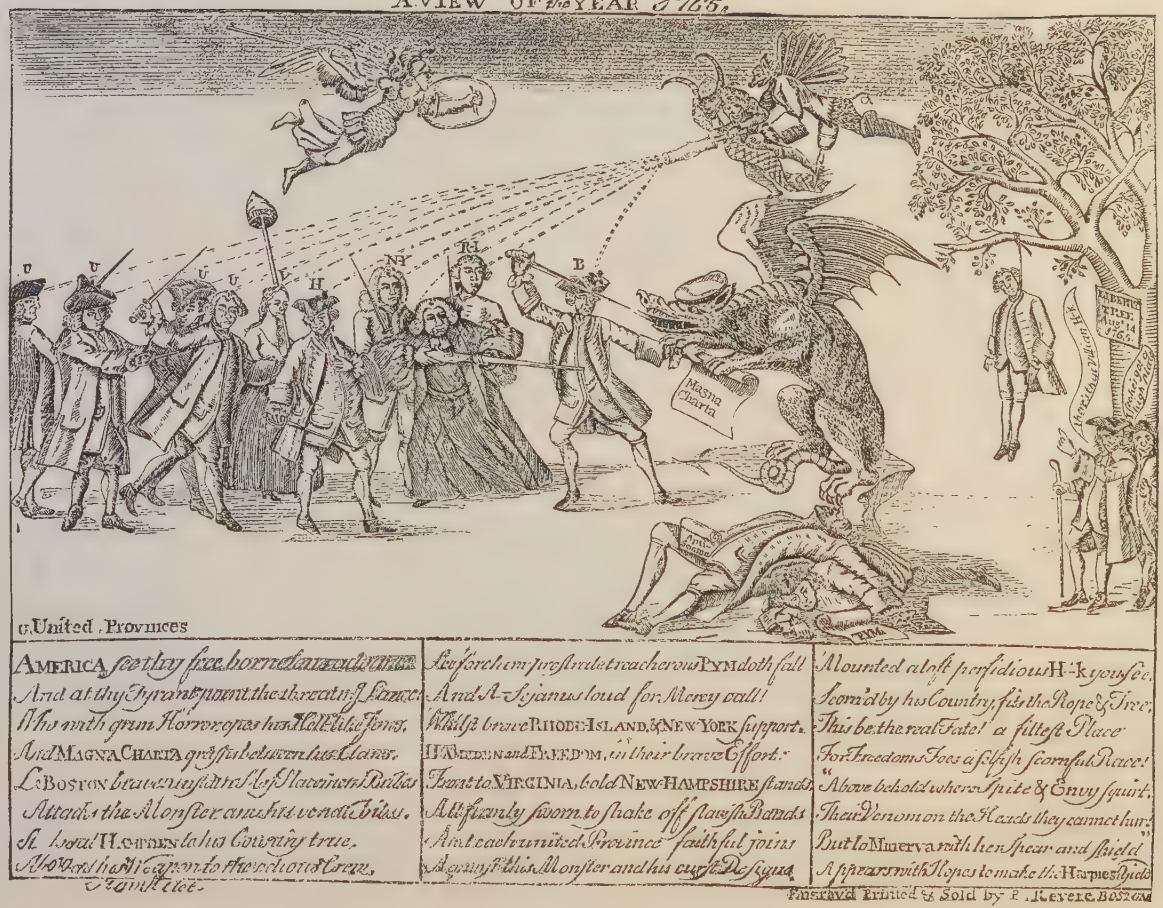
"I am sir, your obed^t serv^t

"L^t Col^l Revere." "W. Heath, M. Gen^l.

The cannon at Castle William, now Fort Independence, were disabled by the English forces, and at General Washington's request Colonel Revere repaired the damage by means of a carriage of his own invention. He was also lieutenant-colonel in command of the artillery in the ill-starred Penobscot expedition of 1779. The accompanying autograph document (page 10) is a certificate of discharge issued by him by virtue of this position.

In the "Records of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety," first printed in the New England *Historical and Genealogical Register*, for July, 1876, occurs the following vote, under date of May 7, 1776: "Voted that Cap^t William Mackey, Cap^t John Pulling, M^r William Powell, Maj^r Paul Revere, M^r Thomas Hitchburne, Caleb Davis, Esq., Cap^t Isaac Phillips be and hereby are appointed a Sub Committee to Collect the Names of all Persons who have in any manner acted against or opposed the Rights and Liberties of this Country or who have signed or voted any Address to General Gage approving his errand to this Colony,

A VIEW OF PART OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND AND BRITTISH SHIPS OF WAR LANDING THEIR TROOPS! 1768
1 Beaver 5 Mermaid 9 Sloop 13 Long Wharf
2 Seargate Romney 6 Rose 10 Hancock's Wharf
3 Active 7 Launce Roman 11 North Battery
4 Glasgow 8 Bonitta
Engraved Printed & Sold by Paul Revere Boston.

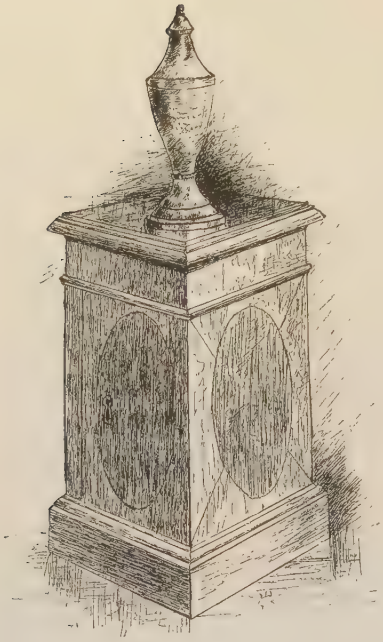

A VIEW OF the YEAR 1765.
Magna Charta
Liberty Tree
Aug. 14 1765
Stamp Act
Repealed
Pitt
Grenville
Bute
Mansfield
Conway
Rockingham
Newcastle
Grafton
Camden
Barre
Dowdeswell
Cavendish
Dunning
Burke
Saville
Dyer
Meredith
Beckford
Sawbridge
Trecothick
Sayre
Glynn
Hayley
Nugent
Huske
Townshend
Dowdeswell
Jenkinson
Rigby
Onslow
Cornwall
Amherst
Keppel
Howard
Lee
Temple
Shelburne
Richmond
Granby
Monckton
Conway
Lenox
Albemarle
Ashburton
Northington
Camden
Mansfield
Bute
Grenville
Pitt
Rockingham
Newcastle
Grafton
Conway
Shelburne
Richmond
Granby
Monckton

or his Administration since the dissolution of the General Court at Salem in 1774.——or to Governor Hutchinson after the arrival of General Gage or to General Howe, or who have signed or promoted any Association for Joining or assisting the Enemies of this Continent; and of such as have fled from this Colony to or with the British Army, Fleet or elsewhere together with their respective Crimes and Evidences or Depositions, which may be procured to prove the same agreable to a Resolve of the General Court of this Colony bearing date April 19, 1776."

In 1775, after one of his visits to Philadelphia, to which city he had been sent, and where he had been allowed only to go through a powder-mill, but not to examine critically, he established a mill and successfully manufactured that very important article, gunpowder, so much needed by the patriot army.

After the close of the war, in 1783, he opened a foundry at the north end of Boston, on Foster Street, where he cast church bells, brass cannon, and iron ware, which he continued until 1801, when he and his son—Joseph Warren Revere—established the extensive works on the east branch of the Neponset River, at Canton, where they began the very large industry of rolling copper plates, and making of copper bolts and spikes, as well as continuing for several years the casting of bells and cannon. The bells and spikes, drawn from malleable copper by a process then new, was furnished by them for the *Constitution*—"Old Ironsides"—built at Boston, 1794–7. They continued this business until the death of Paul, in 1818, when the son founded the Revere Copper Company, which he successfully managed until he died, October 11, 1868, aged ninety-two years. These works are still in active operation, under the presidency of a grandson of Paul, John Revere, Esq.

When the Massachusetts Constitution was adopted in 1788, Samuel Adams was at first opposed to it; but his adhesion was finally won, and Daniel Webster, in one of his specches in 1833, thus graphically sketches the incident: "He received the resolution [in favor of the Constitution passed by the leading mechanics at a meeting held in the Green Dragon Inn, which Webster once alluded to as the 'headquarters of the Revolution'] from the hands of Paul Revere, a brass-founder by occupation, a man of sense and character, and of high public spirit, whom the mechanics of Boston ought never to forget. 'How many mechanies,' said Mr. Adams, 'were at the Green Dragon when these resolutions were passed?' 'More, Sir,' was the reply, 'than the Green Dragon could hold.' 'And where were the rest, Mr. Revere?' 'In the streets, Sir.' 'And how many were in the streets?' 'More, Sir, than there are stars in the sky.'"



THE GOLDEN URN.

The Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association was founded in 1795, and Paul Revere was its first president, holding that office until 1799.

In 1798, Revere was the first name signed to a charter, granted by the General Court, for the Massachusetts Mutual Company for protection against loss by fire. He was a prominent and active member of the Masonic fraternity, and for a number of years Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts; and as such laid the corner-stone of the Boston State-house, July 4, 1795, in the presence of Governor Samuel Adams. This stone was drawn up the hill by fifteen "milk-white" horses, which represented the number of States then in the Union. January 11, 1800, Revere, John Warren, and Josiah Bartlett, as Past Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge, made a request of Mrs. Washington for "a lock of hair, an *invaluable relique* of the Hero and the Patriot, whom their wishes would immortalize," to be preserved in a "Golden Urn." This request was complied with. This urn is three and seven-eighths inches high, and was made by Paul Revere, as was probably the wooden pedestal on which it stands, which has a door with lock and key, and into which the urn is placed when unscrewed from its resting-place. The top unfastens, and the lock of hair is coiled upon the top under glass. This precious relic is jealously and sacredly guarded, being handed down from one Grand Master

SILVER-WARE MADE BY PAUL REVERE.*

[*From drawing by H. G. Laskey.*]

* The tankard weighs 29½ ounces, and belongs to Mrs. William H. Emery, of Newton, Massachusetts. The cup and spoon belong to Henry H. Edes, Esq., of Charlestown, a descendant of Revere. Mr. Edes also has several other articles of silverware made by him.

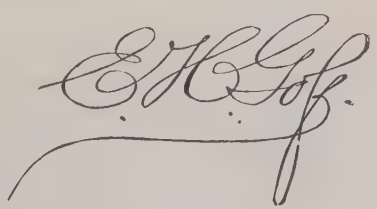
to another. A companion urn has recently been obtained, which contains a lock of hair belonging to James Abram Garfield.

Of the portraits of Revere, Mr. D. T. V. Huntoon, in an address at Canton, in 1875, says: "Two pictures have been preserved of him; one, taken in the full prime of manhood, by Copley, which, after having lain neglected for many years in an attic in this town, has been finally restored. The other, by Stuart, brings up a venerable face." The earlier painting shows him at a bench, in shirt-sleeves, holding a silver cup in one hand, with engravers' tools at hand. They are both owned by John Revere, and are in his parlors on Commonwealth Avenue. There is still another original portrait of our subject, now in possession of his lineal descendants —the Lincolns of Hingham, Massachusetts. It is a life-size profile, drawn by a French officer, whose name has been lost.

Paul Revere died at Boston, May 10, 1818, aged eighty-four years, and was buried in the Granary Burying Ground. He lived, as we have seen, a long and useful life. At the time of his death he was connected with many philanthropic associations, in all of which he performed honorable service. By industry and economy he acquired property, and was able to educate a large family of children. Yet Paul Revere has no biographer. An allusion to this or that deed, a short sketch here and there, is all, while his eventful career is worthy of a volume. If asked who he was, and what he did, nine persons out of ten would recall only the words of Longfellow:

> "Listen, my children, and you shall hear,
> Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere."

On the 24th of March, 1871, the General Court incorporated what was known as North Chelsea, as the town of Revere; and thus has Massachusetts perpetuated the name of Paul Revere.



THOMAS A. HENDRICKS

"I am free at last!" were the last words of Thomas A. Hendricks, Vice-President of the United States, as, on the 25th of November last, he submitted to the universal doom.

Free!—from Ambition's goad, from Envy's sting—free from Life's turmoil, and from human strife.

Peace rests upon that sturdy frame, that massive brow, that strong individual life—once foremost in the forensic arena—wise in council and potent in debate.

The Angel of Death now folds in her resistless arms him whose vigor and strength had outstripped many in Life's journey, who had climbed to

> "The slippery tops of human state,
> The gilded pinnacles of Fate,"

and there achieved, not only fame and honor, but the regard and love of his fellow-men.

In a city draped in grief, came to the dead his country's Judges, Senators, Generals, and Governors—Federal and State officials of every grade, and a great multitude of simpler humanity, gathered to signify a regret that was heartfelt over one whose life, rough-hewn from the wilderness, with all its strength and power was simple and open—free from dissimulation, from pride, from fear. They gathered to signify a lasting respect for him who had faithfully fulfilled his duties, as servant of the State; and who, in laudably seeking for power and for place, never lost his manhood or his truth. More sensible of public duty than eager in his private aims, he ever had courage to express and consistently to maintain his principles; and sought no eminence, except what might be reached with honor and retained with self-respect.

No man has ever charged him with misfeasance—no stain appears on his record. Exemplary in youth, his life followed the beginning with self-reliance and consistency; and his mature years developed and displayed a character almost *Roman* in its attributes, and yet softened and illumined by gentleness, by courtesy, by sympathy.

Although fighting fiercely and indomitably in the battle of life, he experienced in his daily course, as was beautifully said at his grave, "the joy of faith, the patience of hope, and the comfort of love."

Passed from the nation's eye, but not its memory, another of the great representatives of American thought and life has left the political arena—whose exemplar as a leader should incline statesmen to lofty, to pure, and

T. A. Hendricks

to instructive thought; and whose record is a fitting guide to the youth of his native land.

"Statesman, yet friend to truth—in soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honor clear.
Honor unchanged—a principle professed,
Fixed to one side—but mod'rate to the rest."

Death came not unexpected, but he came unattended by either fear or remorse.

A clear conscience, a manly courage, a mind at peace, disarmed the sting, and spread calm over the tragic scene.

Loving tears around gave evidence of a lasting sorrow, while

"Past hope of safety, 'twas his latest care,
Like falling Cæsar, decently to die."

James A. Garfield

". . . There were evidently from 2,000 to 3,000 men there . . . I think two iron-clad gunboats would make short work of Fort Henry."—*Brigadier-General C. F. Smith's report to Grant of a reconnoissance of Fort Henry, made without orders January* 22, 1862. "Commanding-General Grant and myself are of opinion that Fort Henry on the Tennessee River can be carried with four iron-clad gunboats and troops to permanently occupy. Have we your authority to move for that purpose when ready?"—*Flag-officer Foote to Major-General Halleck, January* 28, 1862. "With permission I will take Fort Henry on the Tennessee and establish and hold a large camp there."—*Grant to Halleck, January* 28, 1862. "Make your preparations to take and hold Fort Henry. I will send you written instructions by mail."—*Halleck to Grant, January* 30, 1862.

The above extracts show that the reconnoissance made by Brigadier-General C. F. Smith on the 22d of January, 1862, when he had a few hours of leisure, precipitated the campaign against the Confederate front, which extended from Columbus to Bowling Green, and in a little over two weeks gave to the Union arms Forts Henry and Donelson with a large number of prisoners of war. To give an idea of the value of the report it is only necessary to state that Brigadier-General Charles F. Smith was an officer of thirty-seven years' continuous service in the army, was especially skilled in the service of artillery, distinguished in time of peace, and always brilliant in time of war. His reputation was well known in the navy, and in the estimation of the majority of West Point graduates, contemporaries of Grant, he was held to be the first soldier in the army. Of him Sherman says that at that time, March, 1862, "his reputation as a soldier was simply perfect." * A report from such an officer must therefore have great weight. Owing to the movement thus begun, Fort Henry surrendered to the navy on the 6th of February, after a bombardment of one hour and fifteen minutes, the infantry brigade escaping from the fort before the surrender, and marching to Fort Donelson, where after a few days they were pursued and captured by the force under General Grant. The following recital of operations from the fall of Fort Henry to the capture of Fort Donelson, embracing a period of ten days, is drawn almost entirely from the official record of the *War of the Rebellion*—from the report of General C. F. Smith (unpublished), from his diary, and the statements of General Smith's adjutant-general, who speaks of what he saw and heard.

On the 6th of February, General Grant, in reporting the fall of Fort

* Private letter from General W. T. Sherman, dated April 27, 1885.

GENERAL C. F. SMITH.

[*From a photograph by Brady, in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Marshall Oliver.*]

Henry, says: "I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the 8th and return to Fort Henry with the forces employed, unless it looks feasible to occupy that place with a small force that could retreat easily to the main body. I shall regard it more in the light of an advance guard than as a permanent post. . . . Owing to the intolerable state of the roads no transportation will be taken to Fort Donelson and but little artillery, and that with double teams." At that time (February 8) General Albert Sidney Johnston reports the garrison at Fort Donelson at "about 7,000 men, not well armed or drilled, except Heiman's regiment and the regiments of Floyd's command." The same day (February 8) Grant reports to Cullum, Halleck's chief of staff, at Cairo: "*At present we are perfectly locked in by high water and bad roads, and prevented from acting offensively as I should like to do. . . . I contemplated taking Fort Donelson to-day with infantry and cavalry alone, but all my troops may be kept busily engaged in saving what we now have from the rapidly rising waters.* . . . The railroad bridge is disabled." The bridge across the Tennessee was meant. Grant to Foote, Fort Henry, February 10, 1862: "*I have been waiting very patiently for the return of the gunboats under Commander Phelps, to go around on the Cumberland, whilst I marched my land forces across to make a simultaneous attack upon Fort Donelson. I feel that there should be no delay in this matter, and yet I do not feel justified in going without some of your gunboats to co-operate.* Can you not send two boats from Cairo immediately up the Cumberland? . . . Please let me know your determination in this matter and start as soon as you like. I will be ready to co-operate at any moment."

Extract from General Field Orders, No. 7, issued by General Grant on same day as above letter to Foote:

"The troops from Forts Henry and Heiman will hold themselves in readiness to move on Wednesday, the 12th inst., at as early an hour as practicable. Neither tents nor baggage will be taken except such as the troops can carry. Brigade and regimental commanders will see that all their men are supplied with *forty rounds* of ammunition in their cartridge-boxes and *two days' rations* in their haversacks. Three days' additional rations may be put in wagons to follow the expedition, but will not impede the progress of the main column. . . ."

General Order, No. 8, same date, brigades seven regiments, a battalion of sharp-shooters and one of cavalry, which must have been reinforcements received after the fall of Fort Henry. On the 9th of February, Cullum telegraphs the sending from Cairo of two additional regiments. As Grant arrived at Fort Henry with 15,000 men, his force at this time was probably about 23,000 men.

Cullum to Halleck, Cairo, February 11: "One armored gunboat gone from Tennessee to Cumberland and three unarmored to follow. Three armored leave here to-night" (Tuesday) "instead of Thursday" (13th) "for same destination. . . ."

General Field Orders, No. 11, dated Fort Henry, February 11: "The troops designated in General Field Orders, No. 7, will move to-morrow as rapidly as possible in the following order:

"One brigade of the first division" (McClernand's) "will move by the telegraph road directly upon Fort Donelson, halting for further orders at a distance of two miles from the fort. The other brigades of the first division will move by the Dover or Ridge road and halt at the same distance from the fort, and throw out troops so as to form a continuous line between the two wings. The two brigades of the second division" (C. F. Smith's) "now at Fort Henry will follow as rapidly as practicable by the

ROAD, AND RELATIVE POSITIONS OF FORT HENRY AND FORT DONELSON.

Dover road, and will be followed by the troops from Fort Heiman as fast as they can be ferried across the river. One brigade of the second division should be thrown into Dover to cut off all retreat by the river if found practicable to do so. The force of the enemy being so variously reported, it is impossible to give exact details of attack, but the necessary orders will be given on the field."

Another reason for not giving more detailed orders was perhaps that no reconnoissance had been made to within sight of the intrenchments at Fort Donelson, and nothing was known of the strength or position of the works.

The order of march as given above would have placed C. F. Smith, commanding the second division, on the right, and McClernand on the left. The force moved out on the 12th, and arrived with General C. F. Smith on the left in front of Fort Donelson, while McClernand advanced, covering as much ground as possible to the right, yet not sufficient to invest the place by over a mile.* General C. F. Smith, in his report, says:

* McClernand's right rested at about the point P on the map.

"Arriving on the evening of February 12th at (a) short distance from the outworks of the enemy on his right, the investment of the place was partially commenced by throwing the Fourth Brigade on the left and the Third Brigade on its right, joining the first division on the right, with the First (McArthur's) Brigade in reserve, with a battery in advance on the road leading to Dover and Fort Donelson." In McClernand's report to General Grant he gives in detail the march of this division to within two miles of the outer intrenchment, and after speaking of a skirmish with the enemy's cavalry, he says: "Coming up shortly after (about two o'clock P.M.), you" (General Grant) "advised me of the approach of the second division under command of General C. F. Smith, which you had directed to be disposed on my left, in front of the right of the enemy's works, directing me to continue my advance so as to cover the left of the enemy's works in the direction of the town of Dover." McClernand's three brigades were posted on the right of the second division in the order of their numbers, the first under Colonel Oglesby, on the extreme right and covering the road from Dover to Paris. Colonel Oglesby says: "And at sunset by a flank movement moved the rest of the brigade over the ridge to the Paris road, thus occupying the last main outlet from it and the town of Dover by nightfall."

In this position the army bivouacked. C. F. Smith says: "Early on the morning of the 13th the regiments were posted in order of investment within easy cannon range of the enemy's line of defense. . . . The ground covered by the division was thickly wooded and exceedingly hilly and broken; the enemy's works were on the highest ground in the vicinity; he had an infantry breastwork in front of his main line (vulgarly called rifle-pits), crested with logs from under which they fired; the whole strengthened by a wide abattis from felled timber of large size. Ignorant of the ground, we had to feel our way cautiously. As soon as the regiments were measurably in position, orders were given to brigade-commanders to cover our front of attack with as many skirmishers as possible, well supported by their regiments, keeping a strong reserve—to press forward as steadily and rapidly as the ground would permit, and if the opportunity offered to assault with the bayonet. . . ." During this time three batteries were posted and opened on the enemy with effect, "their long-range guns sending shells into the fort and causing sharp loss and great moral effect." The enemy were not idle with cannon and musket, for General Smith says: "Our casualties were numerous on this day. The report of the different commanders, partially confirmed by my personal observation, satisfied me that an assault on almost any part of the

entire front covered by us was not practicable without an enormous sacrifice of life. At nightfall the skirmishers were recalled and the troops ordered to remain in position. . . ."

General McClernand, on the 13th, extended his line toward the Cumberland above the town of Dover for about a mile, bringing his right

N
FORT DONELSON
DOVER
CUMBERLAND RIVER
Gen'l Smith's Division
Gen'l Wallace's Division
WIN'S FERRY ROAD
Gen'l McClernand's Division
EXPLANATIONS.
A. WATER BATTERIES — LOWER BATTERY, 8 GUNS. UPPER BATTERY, 3 "
B. RIFLE PITS, carried by Gen'l SMITH'S DIVISION.
C. GEN'L GRANTS HEAD QR'S DURING the SIEGE.
P. EXTREME POINT, COVERED BY McCLERNANDS TROOPS on the 12th.
T. " " " " " " " " 13th.
ENEMY'S TENTS. ENEMY'S LOG HUTS
V. POSSIBLE POSITION FOR AN ENFILDING BATTERY
ROYLED LINES, LAND HELD BY ENEMY.
FROM PLAN OF FORT DONELSON AND OUTWORKS, and from BATTLE FIELD OF FT DONELSON, with Official Maps.

within four hundred yards of an impassable creek, and in front of the left center of the left outwork of the enemy which covered the village of Dover. This was done under a sharp fire of artillery and sharp-shooters, the artillery fire being kept up with much spirit on both sides, but the longer ranges of the Union guns seeming to give them the greater advantage. General McClernand had received orders from General Grant to

avoid everything calculated to bring on a general engagement "until otherwise directed." About noon, however, the general's zeal seemed to get the better of his sense of subordination, and he says: "My right being now engaged in threatening demonstrations" (that is, extending itself toward the Cumberland River above Dover), "and within short range of the enemy's outer works, and the enemy's infantry opposite our right having been thrown into confusion as already mentioned, I deemed the opportunity favorable for storming Redan No. 2, which lay in front of the Second Brigade, and in a position to annoy our forces yet advancing, and which afforded a cover from which to dash upon my line at an exposed and comparatively weak point." The enemy having been thrown into confusion on his right, he felt himself justified in disobeying orders by an assault on the outworks in front of his center, which was from its position the strongest point of the whole line. The story of the assault is the sickening one of brave men slaughtered through the inexperience of commanders. The column, stopped from advancing by the abattis, had direct and cross fires poured in on it till the leaders found it necessary to retire to sheltered positions. There is a grim gleam of the comic in the description of the close of this fight, in which General McClernand says: "At this critical moment, if the enemy had been diverted by an attack on the *left*, and also from the river by the gunboats, it is *probable* the redan would have been taken." Colonel Morrison, commanding the assaulting forces, says: "We had advanced to within less than fifty paces of the enemy's works without his offering any opposition, and were making our way slowly but surely when our skimishers commenced drawing the fire of the enemy who was *undoubtedly waiting for us*." The colonel and his command behaved gallantly and the loss was severe. From Grant's report we read: "The following day, the 13th, owing to the non-arrival of the gunboats and reinforcements sent by water, no attack was made, but the investment was extended on the flanks of the enemy and drawn closer to his works with skirmishing all day." The night of the 13th was bitterly cold, with sleet and snow; the men could not light fires, and their sufferings must have been excessively severe.

Early on the morning of the 14th General L. Wallace, from Fort Henry, with an improvised division, came and filled up the dangerously weak place between the first and second divisions caused by undue prolongation of the line to the right. Toward nightfall the extreme right was strengthened by a brigade from the second division, and the *investment* was then nearly complete. Of this advance toward the enemy's left, Lieutenant-Colonel McPherson, chief engineer, says: "After the arrival of General Wallace's

division, General McClernand extended his still further to the right, the object being, if possible, to bring some of our guns to bear upon the river above the town of Dover; but the advance in that direction had to be made with the utmost caution, as the ground was very much broken, without roads, and covered with an almost impenetrable growth of small oak . . . the Confederates were posted on a range of hills varying from fifty to eighty feet in height, with batteries placed on the commanding points . . . in front of their defenses they had chopped down the smaller trees about breast-high and leaving them attached to the stumps, . . . thus making a most difficult obstacle to get over."

Though on the 8th General Grant had contemplated taking Fort Donelson with infantry and cavalry alone, the correspondence and his order given on the 13th "to avoid everything calculated to bring on a general engagement," would go to show that he was waiting for the attack by the gunboats under Foote, from which he expected similar results to that at Fort Henry, and which General Johnston also expected when he wrote to Benjamin, February 8th: "I think the gunboats of the enemy will probably take Fort Donelson without the necessity of employing their land force in co-operation, as seems to have been done at Fort Henry."

On the 14th, at three o'clock P.M., Flag Officer Foote, "with four iron-clad and two wooden gunboats," made an attack on the water batteries at Fort Donelson, and was handsomely repulsed "after a severe fight of an hour and a half," during which all the iron-clad gunboats were disabled. C. F. Smith says of this day: "The same system of annoyance was kept up, but under the order of the commanding general to a more limited extent. During the course of the day I made a personal reconnoissance of the ground on our extreme left and satisfied myself that the only apparent practicable point of assault was in that quarter, the enemy's extreme right being protected by an impassable slough, which fact was communicated to the commanding general." This ended the fighting for the day both on land and water.* The night of the 14th, like the previous night, as C. F. Smith says, was "inclement as before, with the same discomfort." On the 14th, General Grant sends several dispatches, and among them this to Halleck: "Our troops now invest the works at Fort Donelson. The enemy have been driven into their works at every point. A heavy abattis

* It would seem, from the official map of the ground made under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson, of the Engineer Corps, that if General Smith had been taken into consultation before the naval attack was made, he would have found a position for a battery which would have enfiladed the principal water battery and have made it untenable during that attack.

all around prevents my *carrying the works by storm at present.* I feel every confidence of success, and the best feeling prevails among the men." And this to Cullum at Cairo: ". . . Appearances now indicate that we will have a protracted siege here. The ground is very broken, and the fallen timbers extending far out from the breastworks, *I fear the result of an attempt to carry the place by storm with raw troops.* I feel great confidence, however, of ultimately reducing the place. As yet I have had no batteries thrown up, hoping with the aid of the gunboats to obviate the necessity. . . ." In his report Grant says: "After these mishaps" (to the navy) "I concluded to make the investment of Fort Donelson as perfect as possible, and partially fortify and *await repairs to the gunboats.*" Foote, in his report of the affair of the gunboats (dated 15th), says he went into action with six gunboats, four of which were iron-clad, and two wooden ones, and "on consultation with General Grant and my own officers, as my services here, until we can repair damages by bringing up a competent force from Cairo to attack the fort, are much less required than they are at Cairo, I shall proceed to that point with two of the disabled boats, leaving the two others here to protect the transports, and with all dispatch prepare the mortar boats and *Benton* with other boats to make an effectual attack on Fort Donelson. I have sent the *Tyler* to the Tennessee River to render impassable the bridge."

After the repulse of the navy on the 14th, therefore, the army and navy leaders were agreed that there was nothing to do but await new gun and mortar boats and endeavor to keep the enemy from escaping. As for carrying the works by assault, General Grant feared to attempt that, and as for a siege proper, the whole of the east bank of the Cumberland was open to the enemy from which to receive supplies, and Grant's army had no train, no intrenching tools, and his heaviest guns were twenty-four-pounder howitzers and twenty-pounder Parrot rifled pieces. Railroads led to within fifteen miles of the garrison, giving great power of concentration to the rebels. The position, to say the least, was one to bring on serious thought and prompt action, if the strength of the Confederates had not been greatly overestimated. The transformation of the next day was marvelous, even for the uncertainties of war to bring about.

Let us now turn to the Confederate side of the intrenchments to see what was going on there during these three days of investment, including the defeat of the navy under the gallant Foote. On the 9th, three days before Grant moved from Fort Henry, General Pillow assumed command of the Confederate forces in and around Fort Donelson, having under his command Buckner's division, which had but just arrived from Clarksville,

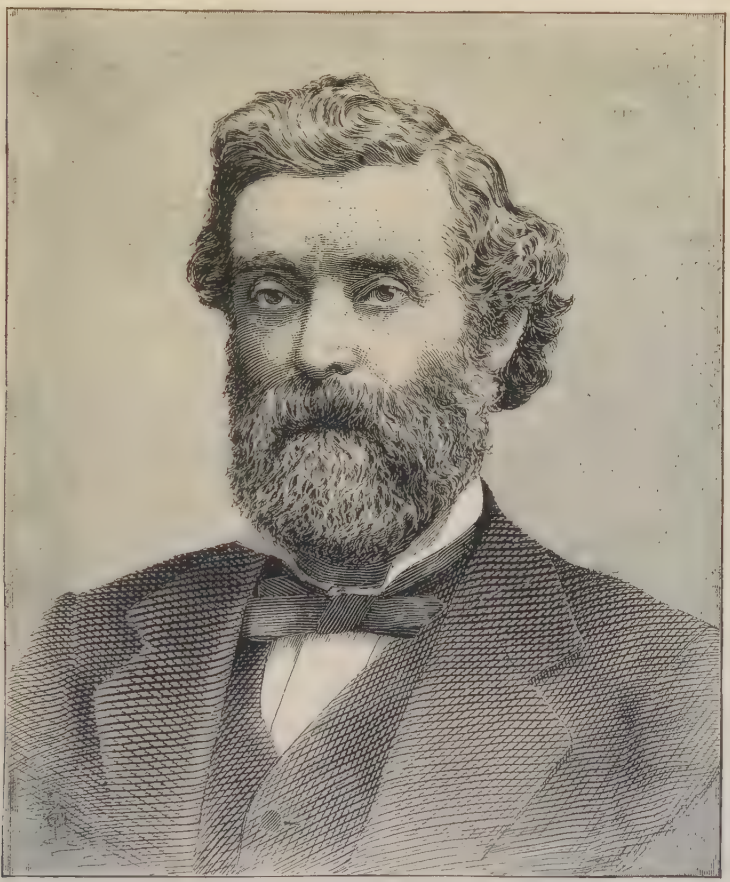
and was reported, February 1st, as 8,100 present for duty, and thirteen additional regiments and two field batteries, forming a second division under General B. R. Johnson, making in all probably a force of about 15,000 men. On the 10th Major Gilmer, Confederate engineer, reports to Colonel Mackall (General A. S. Johnston's adjutant-general): "With the preparations that are now being made here, I feel much confidence that we can make a successful resistance against a land attack. The attack by water will be more difficult to meet, still I hope for success here also. . . . We are making herculean efforts to strengthen our parapets. . . ." On the 10th General Pillow reports to Floyd, commanding at Clarksville (which was on the Cumberland River, about thirty miles above Dover, and also on the railroad running from Bowling Green to Columbus): "I am pushing the work on my river batteries day and night; also on my field works and defensive line in the rear. . . . Upon one thing you may rest assured, viz., that I will never surrender the position, and, with God's help, I mean to maintain it."

On the morning of the 13th, General Floyd arrived at Fort Donelson from Clarksville with the remainder of his division and three field batteries and assumed command of the rebel forces. Major Gilmer, an accomplished officer of engineers, and then in the rebel service, reports the failure of the assault ordered by McClernand on the 13th and the attack made by the navy on the 14th, and says of the latter: "Our batteries were uninjured and not a man in them killed." He further states: "It was evident, however, from the movements of numerous bodies of troops around our lines, that the enemy had resolved to invest us, and when prepared, to attack us in overwhelming numbers, or press us to a capitulation by cutting off supplies and reinforcements. Generals Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner met in council soon after dark (14th); I was present. After an interchange of views, it was decided to attack the enemy on his extreme right and right center at five o'clock in the morning. It was believed that the enemy might be thrown back, and an opportunity secured to withdraw in safety our forces; that possibly greater advantages might be gained by the attack, which, if well followed up on our part, would result in disaster to the invader. This being decided upon, the brigade commanders were at once sent for, and the positions for their respective commands in the order of attack assigned. Brigadier-General Pillow was to direct the movement against the right of the enemy; Brigadier-General Buckner that against the right center, advancing along Wynn's Ferry road." While the preparations were being made for this attack, we can return to the Union army and see what was being done or to be done there.

General McClernand in his report says: "The morning of the 15th dawned clear and *hopeful*, and both officers and men, unshaken by another night of intense suffering, stood to their arms ready for the work of an eventful day. . . . At early dawn this morning he" (the enemy) "was discovered rapidly moving in large masses to my extreme right." . . . "At the moment of my attack (six o'clock A.M.) the forces under my command were formed in line of battle as follows: Colonel McArthur's brigade, consisting of the Forty-first, Twelfth and Ninth" (all Illinois regiments) "in the same order with two ten-pounder Parrot guns, on the extreme right; Colonel Oglesby's brigade, comprising the Eighteenth, Eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first" (Illinois regiments), "next on the left . . . the Eighth and Twenty-ninth" (Illinois regiments) "supporting Schwartz's battery of four guns, posted in their front; Colonel Wallace's brigade, comprising the Eleventh, Twentieth, Forty-eighth, Forty-fifth, Forty-ninth and Seventeenth" (Illinois regiments), "next on the left; McAllister's two twenty-four pounder howitzers and a section of the Missouri battery were posted under cover of the earthworks before referred to, in front of the Forty-fifth and Forty-eighth; Taylor's battery, of four six-pounders and two twelve-pounder howitzers, was posted in front of the Seventeenth; Dresser's battery of three James rifled six-pounders was posted on the extreme left in front of Redan No. 2; Schwartz's battery had three pieces pointing toward Redan No. 3, and *one piece disposed to protect the rear*."

Colonel Oglesby commanding the first brigade of McClernand's division makes a very clear report on the events of the early morning, and says: "Going to the extreme right, where the attack was made by their infantry, I found that Colonel McArthur" (commanding the brigade borrowed from the second division) "had thrown forward the Ninth regiment on my line of battle, which was now hotly engaged." (This was at six o'clock A.M.) "Going out into the open field" (on the extreme right), "I found the Forty-first . . . in line, but *some distance from the right of the Ninth, with two companies of skirmishers* . . . still further to the right and covering the entire ground by which the enemy could escape. *These two companies were also then engaged.*" The description of the position of this right brigade is given to show that the investment was never thoroughly completed, the extreme right not being held by a force sufficient to withstand a serious assault. The engagement quickly spread through the three right regiments of Colonel Oglesby's brigade, and at the expiration of an hour, finding that Colonel McArthur had withdrawn his brigade, Colonel Oglesby made new dispositions of his troops and continued the fight for

three hours longer, when his brigade was withdrawn to the left of the division for a supply of ammunition. Colonel McArthur (extreme right) says, "15th, at daylight were surrounded by the enemy, who opened on us a heavy fire of musketry, at the same time *outflanking us by one regiment* on our right." Moving to the right, he was again outflanked on the right,



COLONEL THOMAS J. NEWSHAM, ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF GENERAL SMITH'S DIVISION.

[*Engraved from a Photograph.*]

and then, partly from want of ammunition, withdrew his brigade, as he says, some three hundred yards to the rear, where he remained until forced again to fall back by the retirement of Oglesby's command. Colonel Cruft, commanding the first brigade of the third division, was sent to reinforce Colonel Oglesby, and was driven back behind the Wynn's Ferry road, where

he was attacked by a portion of Buckner's command and forced again to retire until the enemy, as the colonel says, drew off . . . and commenced retreating *to his* (*the colonel's*) *right and rear*. Colonel W. H. L. Wallace, commanding the brigade on the left of Oglesby, after fighting with varying result, fell back as the enemy gained ground to the left of the line, thus uncovering the Wynn's Ferry road, by which, under the agreement at the rebel council of war held the night before, General Buckner was to march to the attack. Colonel Oglesby alone gives the time which he was engaged, fixing it at four and a half hours, so that at least by eleven o'clock the time had come for Buckner's attack.

The details of the battle as given by the most trustworthy Confederate authorities in the main agree with the reports of the Union officers as to the general result. Pillow led off at five o'clock and became engaged in half an hour with the extreme right—the field was stubbornly contested, but the Union troops were persistently pressed back till a junction was effected between the forces of Pillow and Buckner on the Wynn's Ferry road, when, according to Gilmer, Buckner moved forward with his division to the attack. Gilmer says: "The enemy being now pressed in front of his center by this advance, and on his right flank by the pursuing forces of General Pillow's division, retreated rapidly for some distance toward his left wing; but receiving heavy reinforcements, the pursuit was checked, and finally the retreating foe made a firm stand, opening from a field battery strongly supported by masses of infantry. General Pillow says: "In this order of battle, it was easy to be seen that if my attack was successful and the enemy was routed, his retreat would be along his line of investment toward the Wynn's Ferry encampment. . . . In other words, my success would roll the enemy's forces in retreat over upon General Buckner, when by his attack in flank and rear we could cut the enemy up and put him completely to rout. Having . . . fairly engaged the enemy, we fought for nearly two hours before I made any decided advance upon him." The ammunition then began to fail with the Union troops. "He contested the field most stubbornly." . . . It . . . "consumed the day till twelve o'clock to drive the enemy as far back as the center, where General Buckner's command was to flank him." Not hearing from Buckner, Pillow left the field to ascertain the cause of delay. "I there found the command of General Buckner massed behind the ridge within the work taking shelter from the enemy's artillery on the Wynn's Ferry road." . . . Buckner was directed to move at once to attack the battery by passing to its right. Before the move was executed, Forrest had charged with his cavalry and captured the battery. Buckner then joined

forces, and the fight continued for nearly an hour. Then comes this statement from Pillow: "The position of the enemy being covered by our joint forces, I called off the further pursuit after seven and a half hours of continuous and bloody conflict. After the troops were called off from the pursuit, *orders were immediately given to the different commands to form and retire to their original position in the intrenchments.*" This statement as to this most extraordinary order is corroborated by most of the high officers, and also as to its having been given about one o'clock. The force which Major Gilmer says held so firmly to its ground was Colonel Thayer's brigade of the third division, with two additional regiments in reserve. Gilmer says: "About one o'clock an order was given by General Pillow, recalling our forces to the defensive lines. Our forces having returned, they were ordered to the positions they occupied the day previous." . . . Floyd, who was in command, made a report February 27th, when every detail was fresh in his memory. He says: "During my absence" (to the right) "and from some misapprehension, I presume of the previous order given" (for Buckner to hold the Wynn's Ferry road), "Brigadier-General Pillow ordered Brigadier-General Buckner to leave his position on the Wynn's Ferry road, and to resume his position in the trenches on the right."

General Buckner says that after occupying the road by which the rebel army was to escape, General Pillow sent reiterated orders to return to his position in the intrenchments on the extreme right. General Bushrod R. Johnson, a graduate of West Point, commanded the rebel left wing during the fight on the morning of the 15th. His services were marked with intelligence and coolness, as his report is with clearness.

General B. R. Johnson says: "At about four A.M. all the brigades designated were formed in columns of regiments on the *left of and outside of our trenches.* . . . At early dawn the column moved forward under the orders of General Pillow, who led them, and very soon engaged the enemy with small-arms. Somewhat later Lieutenant Perkins opened fire upon the enemy from his artillery posted in the trenches. Colonel Baldwin's brigade formed the right of the attacking force and was first to open fire. Colonels Wharton's and McCausland's brigades formed a line on the left of Colonel Baldwin. Colonel Simonton's brigade was the next to advance in the following order, from right to left, viz.: Twenty-third Mississippi, Eighth Kentucky, Seventh Texas and First Mississippi. When the head of this brigade had advanced about half-way up the hill occupied by the enemy, the Twenty-third Mississippi was brought forward and put into action. The Eighth Kentucky Regiment was then met by a heavy fire, which caused it

to form in line of battle under cover of a hollow to the right of the Twenty-third Mississippi, from which it moved into action under a heavy fire from the enemy. The Seventh Texas and First Mississippi moved forward together and came into action on the right of the Eighth Kentucky. This brigade being heavily pressed by the enemy, the Thirty-sixth Virginia Regiment was brought up to its left and put into action so as to take the enemy in the flank. The left brigade" (on our extreme right), "commanded by Colonel Drake, I placed in position forming a handsome line and pressed it forward to the attack. . . ." In this movement the last brigade was on the outer end of the radius and had much farther to march, and General Johnson continues: "I found, therefore, ample occupation in pressing forward the left wing, keeping a regular, well-directed line, and in guarding the left flank. . . . Colonel Drake's brigade, under its very gallant, steady and efficient commander, moved almost constantly under my eye, and when necessary at my command. It moved in admirable order, preserving in a perfect manner a regular well-connected line, almost constantly under fire, driving the enemy slowly from hill to hill until about one P.M., when we reached a position nearly opposite the center of the left wing of our trenches. Here, observing the enemy in force in front and no troops supporting us on our right, I sent an aid-de-camp to ask for reinforcements, and received an order to report in person to the commanding general within our defensive works. Upon hazarding the suggestion *that the enemy in front of Colonel Drake's brigade should be attacked*, it was after a slight discussion ordered by General Floyd that this brigade should for a time be displayed before the enemy, and that the other brigades should take their positions in the rifle-pits. Having duly disposed of Colonel Drake's brigade according to orders, I returned in person to the intrenchments at about 800 yards distant. Very soon I found that the enemy had advanced and engaged this brigade. After some personal examination of the enemy, and after learning that the right wing under General Buckner had called for reinforcements from the left, rendering it perhaps injudicious to send out more of the troops from the rifle-pits, I directed Colonel Forrest with a portion of his cavalry to give aid to Colonel Drake, if necessary and practicable. Colonel Forrest soon returned and reported to me that he had advised Colonel Drake to fall back. Yet the enemy were finally driven back in gallant style by the brigade, with heavy loss to them and without the loss of a single man on our side. Having nearly exhausted his ammunition, Colonel Drake fell back with his brigade into the rifle-pits. Thus ended the conflict on the left wing on February 15th, the enemy having been driven back at every point where we had engaged him, with heavy losses."

This long extract from General B. R. Johnson's report of March 4, '62, is given because it sets forth so clearly the whole of the fighting on our extreme right, and gives the condition and position of the Confederate left wing at the time when the order was given by Pillow to retire within the intrenchments.

On turning to General Lew Wallace's report of this day, we find that, "Some fugitives from the battle came crowding up the hill in rear of my own line bringing unmistakable signs of disaster. Captain Rawlins was conversing with me at the time, when a mounted officer galloped down the road shouting: 'We are cut to pieces!' The result was very perceptible. To prevent a panic among the regiments of my Third Brigade, I ordered Colonel Thayer to move on by the right flank. He promptly obeyed. Going in advance of the movement myself, I met portions of the regiments of General McClernand's division coming back in excellent order, conducted by their brigade commanders, Colonels Wallace, Oglesby and McArthur, all calling for more ammunition, want of which was the cause of their misfortune. . . . There was no time to await orders, *and no one from whom to receive them*. My Third Brigade had to be thrust in between our retiring forces and the advancing foe. Accordingly, I conducted Colonel Thayer's command up the road to where the ridge dips toward the Confederate works, and directed the colonel to form a new line of battle at a right angle with the old one. . . . Scarcely had this formation been made when the enemy attacked, coming up the road and through the shrubs and trees on both sides of it, and making the battery and the First Nebraska the principal points of attack. . . . They alone repelled the charge."

This was the attack made by Buckner, and though his story and Gilmer's differ from General Wallace's as to the outcome, yet it is clear that Buckner held the Wynn's Ferry road till ordered back by Pillow, and was not followed from the field into the intrenchments while obeying the order. The commander of the brigade making the assault and the commanding officers of the regiments of the brigade, Third, Eighteenth and Thirty-second Tennessee regiments, all concur in stating that they left the field and were not followed. Taking now Oglesby's time given for his reformation on the left of the division of McClernand as correct, and as at about eleven o'clock, we have the attack by Buckner on Thayer's brigade as occurring before noon. We have now followed through the various reports the Union troops in their retreats from the right to behind the only brigade General Wallace had on the investing lines, have seen the value of his disposition of that brigade for the new condition of affairs, and the result of the assault made on

the brigade by Buckner's troops. The order from Pillow has been generally promulgated and is being obeyed. This brings a lull in the fight of somewhat over an hour. We can now compare the original intentions of the enemy with the results obtained. The attack was made for the purpose of opening a route of escape to Charlotte and so to Nashville, with the further purpose, in case of great success, of pursuing it to a complete rout of the forces under General Grant. By noon the road to Charlotte was open and more than half * of the Union army driven back with more or less demoralization in the ranks. The force with which the attack was made was far superior to the force which received the attack. At noon Wallace put in his last brigade and sent to C. F. Smith to inform him of the situation. The attacking force amounted to nearly the entire Confederate force, for very few troops were left in the lines. Had the attack on Wallace been made with the whole force outside the rebel works, and with the vigor which characterized that of the early part of the day, the brigade would have been enveloped and literally taken off its feet, leaving then only the three brigades of C. F. Smith to contend with, and such of the other troops as might have filled their cartridge-boxes and stomachs, for both were failing, as the army had started on the 12th with forty rounds of ammunition and two days' rations, and the half of the 15th was now spent. The conclusion from the position is for every person to draw for himself. Happily that dangerous state did not arrive. Pillow's order to retire within the intrenchments to the original positions saved us from any experiments in that direction. As for the order itself, it stands alone in the history of battles, so far as I know, and the mind is so lost in wonder at it as to be unable to grapple with it in criticism. The blood shed that day by the Confederate troops was given away in sound and smoke. Far worse than that, as will be seen when the remaining division of the Union army starts to its feet under the orders of the veteran who commanded it.

General Wallace, in his report, says: "About three o'clock" (it must have been at least an hour earlier) "General Grant rode up the hill and ordered an advance and attack on the enemy's left while General Smith attacked their right." General Wallace took a fresh brigade belonging to C. F. Smith's division and one of his own which had been in the fight under McClernand and made the assault on Drake's brigade, which we have seen from Johnson's report had been left out by itself. General Wallace says that this attack drove the rebel regiments three-quarters of a mile, when

* McClernand had three brigades, C. F. Smith four, and Wallace two, making nine in all. The defeated troops were composed of McClernand's three brigades, one from C. F. Smith's division, and one from that of Wallace, or five in all.

about five o'clock he received an order to retire his column as a new plan of operations was in contemplation for the next day.

In General L. Wallace's account of the battle as given in the *Century Magazine* for December, 1884, he says: during this lull in the fighting, "General Grant rode up to where General McClernand and I were in conversation. . . . Proceeding at once to business, he directed them to retire their commands to the heights out of cannon-range and throw up works." This was what was agreed upon during the consultation on board the flagship, from which he had evidently but just returned. "Reinforcements were *en route*, he said, and it was advisable to await their coming. *He was then informed of the mishap to the first division and that the road to Charlotte was open to the enemy.* . . . In his ordinary quiet voice he said, addressing himself to both officers: 'Gentlemen, the position on the right must be retaken;' with that he turned and galloped off." General Grant then evidently went to his head-quarters to send off the following dispatch to Foote: "If all the gunboats that can will immediately make their appearance to the enemy it may secure us a victory. Otherwise all may be defeated. A terrible conflict *ensued in my absence*, which has demoralized a portion of my command, and I think the enemy is much more so. If the gunboats do not show themselves it will reassure the enemy and still further demoralize our troops. *I must order a charge to save appearances.* I do not expect the gunboats to go into action, but to make appearance and throw a few shells at long range." Having sent off this dispatch, General Grant must have ridden directly to General C. F. Smith's camp, where he gave the order to assault, for General Smith says in his report: "Under the orders of the commanding-general the division remained quiet on the next day (15th) except to keep up the annoyance by skirmishers and slow artillery fire until *toward* three P.M., when I received the general's personal order to assault the enemy's right—a half mile from my habitual position." This was the practicable point of assault reported by C. F. Smith to the commanding-general on the day before. General Grant in his report says: "This plan (to partially fortify and await repairs to the gunboats) was frustrated by the enemy making a most vigorous attack upon our right wing commanded by General J. A. McClernand with a portion of the force under General L. Wallace. The enemy were repulsed after a closely contested battle of several hours, in which our loss was heavy. . . . About the close of this action the ammunition in the cartridge-boxes gave out, which, with the loss of many of the field officers, produced great confusion in the ranks, and seeing that the enemy did not take advantage of it convinced me that equal confusion and possibly greater demoralization

existed with him. Taking advantage of this *fact* I ordered a charge upon the left (enemy's right) with the division under General C. F. Smith, which was most brilliantly executed, and gave to our arms full assurance of victory." . . . That there was absolutely no demoralization among the rebels except among a portion of Buckner's command, is fully shown by all the Confederate reports of this day's fighting. The results, however, were satisfactory in the highest degree.

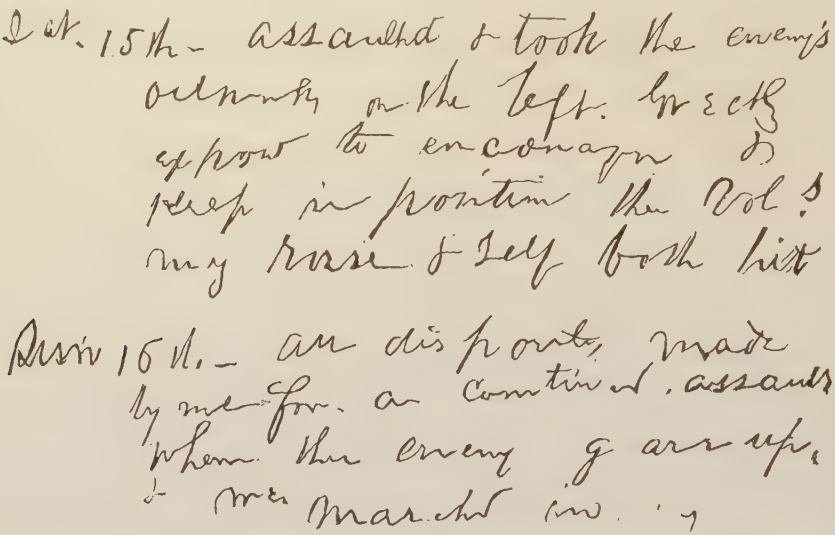
In the military history of General Grant it is said: "Grant was returning to his head-quarters from the flag-ship at about nine o'clock, when he met an aid galloping up to inform him of the assault. This was the first information he had of the battle; he next met General C. F. Smith, who had not yet been engaged, and learning from him the position of affairs on the right, at once directed him to hold himself in readiness to assault the rebel right with his whole command. Riding on, he soon reached the point where the hardest fighting had occurred." It is a pity that this is not correct, for then the assault by General C. F. Smith might have been ordered much earlier, and it would be pleasant to imagine the grand old soldier turning to the right after he carried the lines, and sweeping down along the breastworks, capturing batteries, and coming out in the rear of the enemy's force. The statement, however, cannot be correct, for Wallace says the information of the disaster was given to General Grant by McClernand and himself during the lull, and *after* General Grant had given instructions looking forward to awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. General C. F. Smith would have noted it in his report with the dispositions made by him to be in readiness, and he says all was quiet until toward three o'clock. Lastly, General Grant in his dispatch to Foote says: "A terrible conflict *ensued in my absence*," and we know the attack on Wallace was not made until it was at least twelve o'clock.

The personal order to make the assault was given, however, to General Smith toward three o'clock. In his report General Smith says: "On the receipt of this order the artillery was ordered to open heavily, and the brigade commanders to press forward with large numbers of skirmishers and make a dash at any available opening, while the Second Iowa, supported by the Fifty-Second Indiana (belonging to the Third Brigade, but which had been posted to guard the left), Twenty-fifth Indiana, Twelfth Iowa, etc., was ordered to lead the assault. This regiment" (Second Iowa), "was ordered to rely on the bayonet and not to fire a shot until the enemy's ranks were broken. Right gallantly was the duty performed. The left wing of the regiment under its colonel (Tuttle) moved steadily over the open space, down the ravine and up the rough ground covered with large timber, in

unbroken line, regardless of the fire poured into it, and paused not until the enemy broke and fled. It was quickly followed by the other wing with Lieutenant-Colonel Baker in the same manner, the united body pressing the enemy through their encampment and towards the enemy's works, just above. The movement of this regiment was a very handsome exhibition of soldierly conduct. The Fifty-second Indiana, ordered to follow and support the Second Iowa, from the nature of the ground and want of tactical knowledge, instead of going to the left as I had intended came up (in) confusion, and instead of moving forward remained behind the earthworks. . . . The Twenty-fifth Indiana following in order moved in advance to the support of the Second Iowa and covered it when that regiment from want of cartridges retired behind the intrenchment first taken from the infantry of the enemy. As soon as the outwork was taken I sent for a section of Stone's battery, which soon arrived and opened upon the enemy with happy effect, silencing a heavy gun—a twenty-four pounder. Meanwhile the regiments of the Third (Cook's) Brigade arrived, but as it was getting dark I deemed it better to dispose of the troops for the night and be in readiness for a renewed assault on the morrow—the crest of the enemy's works being only some four hundred yards distant and the ground more or less favorable." Then follows a statement of the dispositions for the night, etc.

The professional man will read with delight this clear short story of a perfectly planned assault. In General C. F. Smith the country had a professional soldier who had the genius at once to adapt himself to the necessities arising from our having armies composed of raw, undrilled troops. He knew that the ranks were filled, as the "ranks of war" were never filled before, by the respectable, self-respecting free-born Americans—that individually brave, yet from thorough ignorance of their new calling, and a want of confidence in the knowledge possessed by their officers and in their fellow-soldiers, they were uncertain in their "staying qualities." To make the best use of them was to give them a leader who they knew understood his business and shared its dangers with them. General Smith selected for the assaulting regiment one that had only joined his command the evening before. When it moved forward *he* was with it, and when the bullets began to fly, and the regiment showed symptoms of wavering, he said, "Boys, no flinching now; we will do the work." Those words at once gave tone and confidence to every man, and, from that time on, hardened old soldiers could not have done better. Words of praise came but seldom from General Smith's lips, and those that he bestows on the Second Iowa are beyond all price.

In the private journal of General C. F. Smith which is before me is the following entry, which we present in facsimile:



The following letter from Colonel Thomas J. Newsham, the adjutant-general of General Smith's division, addressed to the writer, explains itself:

"Edwardsville, Illinois June 10th 1885

Thursday the 13th of February 1862 the General's (Smiths) division held the left of General Grant's line investing Donelson—on that day the best brigade of the division at General Grant's request was sent to reinforce McClernand on the right of our line—another brigade was sent on the morning of the 14th, and the evening of that day another brigade was sent by General Smith to help the same part of our line leaving us only the new troops which were constantly arriving from Cairo, and by Saturday the 15th we had not a single regiment of our old Paducah division, even our artillery was gone to the right by the General's (Grant's) orders.

Saturday we opened a brisk fire all along our front and maintained the same all day. About 3 p m of Saturday the General and myself were sitting at the base of a large tree on the high ground on our extreme right when General Grant rode up with his staff and said 'General Smith all has failed on our right—You must take Fort Donelson.' Smith sprung to his feet and brushing his moustache with his right hand said 'I will do it,' and turning to me said 'Capt Newsham ride to the left and get the regiments there under arms at once.' I did so and found the 2nd Iowa, Colonel Tuttle on our extreme left having just arrived that morning.

I had just got the men in line when the General (Smith) rode up and asked what regiment it was there in his front. I answered it was the 2nd Iowa. He turned to the men and said 'Second Iowa you must take the fort—take the caps off your guns—fix bayonets and I will support you.' We then moved in the following order: the 2nd Iowa—the 7th Iowa the 25th Indiana the 14th Iowa and the 7th Illinois, moving out of the woods by the left flank until the colors reached the edge of the wood, then forward by column by wings, crossed the small stream—then through the abattis and up the hill—the General and myself immediately behind the first line and until within 20 paces of the line of works when the enemy opened on us with double barrelled shot guns loaded with buckshot in our very faces. Great gaps were made in our line and through one of these in our front the General rode and we rode into the fort in advance of our line—in fact the General could have placed his hand on the heads of the rebels who were firing at our advancing men—the fight soon became a hand to hand one and for one hour and ten minutes until dark the battle raged fiercely; through it all the General was calm but terrible, recklessly exposing himself, and by his presence and heroic conduct led the green men to do things that no other man could have done. After making the required dispositions for the night he retired to his own camp at the foot of a white oak tree (our tents having been given for the use of the wounded) where he and his staff laid down in the snow, without food, waiting for daylight to renew the attack. The next morning before daylight the General called me and asked me to go to the front and see that everything was ready for a forward movement as soon as daylight appeared. (We had 4 regiments inside the works, and 8 regiments close up under the same.) Arriving there I found the men all quite ready and waiting only for daylight, when the Col. of the 2nd Iowa came to me and said there was a rebel officer on the picket line who wanted to know if there was an officer present who could negotiate for terms of surrender. I told him no, but I would soon have one there who could do so; turning to go for the General, I soon met him and told him what had happened. He rode to the front, and the rebel Major asked the General what terms he would give to them with a view to surrender the fort and army. Genl. Smith said, 'I make no terms with rebels with arms in their hands—my terms are unconditional and immediate surrender.' The Major then said, 'it will take me three-quarters of an hour to go to the Head Quarters and return.' The General replied, 'I will give you one half hour to be back here with your answer—if not here in that time I will move on your works. Go.' Turning to me the General said, 'Captain, go and tell General Grant what I have done.' By this

time it was light enough for me to see to ride pretty fast, and, arriving at the little log cabin which was General Grant's Head Quarters, I found General Grant eating breakfast with his staff, and reported to him as directed. Grant said, 'Tell Smith that I approve all that he has done.' I was about to leave for the front again, when Grant said, 'Hold on, Captain; I will ride back with you;' which he did, and, arriving where Smith was, the rebel officer had just returned, and Grant did the talking.

Such, in brief, was the part played by General Smith at Fort Donelson."

In a letter dated October 29, 1885, Colonel Newsham gives other interesting facts. He says that just after the capture of the enemy's breastworks "Gen. Smith sent me for artillery and I brought two ten pounder Parrott guns inside and opened fire—the General told me the guns were too light and urged me to procure heavier ones, which I did by bringing up two twenty pounders. . . . As I passed out the second time in quest of the heavy guns and near Gen. Grant, he asked me if 'Smith wanted anything.'—Without any authority from Gen. Smith, I told Gen. Grant that he wanted some of his old regiments. Gen. Grant at once sent Capt. Rawlins to the right of his line to get the 9th Illinois (a regiment that Gen. Smith loved); when the fight closed for the night, and after making the required dispositions of the men inside (now 4 regiments) we started out to go to the camp for the night. Just outside there was a regiment drawn up in line of battle with about 50 men with bandages on their arms and legs. The General asked me what regiment it was; I answered the 9th; he asked what those white bandages were on the men for?—I told him they were on men who when they heard that *he* wanted them had left the field hospital and joined the regiment to do and die for him. We were now about the right of the regiment and the grand old hero at once took off his cap and rode down the front of the regiment *bareheaded*. The officers and men stood silent until he had passed, and then a cheer from their full hearts broke forth that told him how they appreciated the mark of respect he had paid them. We at once retired to our dreary camp, wet, cold and hungry—no tents—nothing to eat—but a great fire to warm us. We laid down after talking of the fight and the desperate work expected in the morning, and slept as best we could. . . . On Sunday morning, the 16th, after we started in and the surrender had been consummated, we rode at the head of our division, the 2nd Iowa, in advance, and having passed the rebel battery on our right we came upon five rebel regiments standing in line with arms piled on the ground. Some of the officers came to General Smith and offered their swords which the General declined, saying, 'Gentlemen keep your swords.' We rode to the little town of Dover and

there met General Buckner who extended his hand to General Smith, who declined to take it, when Buckner said: 'General Smith, I believe I am right:' the General answered, 'that is for God to decide, not me, for I know that I am right.' About 10 A.M., Buckner asked us to breakfast but the General declined, and we returned to the place of honor—the captured works on the right of the enemy's line, where after seeing that all the men had food we ate some hard tack and raw pork about 1 P.M.—the first food that had passed our lips since Friday morning.

When I begin to write of him I loved so much my pen is too slow to express half the incidents which crowd my memory. . . ."

The most careful study of the operations before Fort Donelson will show that at no time would any military man have been warranted in the predication of an opinion as to the final result, for the request for the gunboats "to throw a few shells at long range" and the charge which was ordered "to save appearances" were not indicative of great hopes. Such battles have been fought before, and in such battles some one must win, but they involve chances which generals in their plans would as a rule prefer to eliminate. The country should forever remember and do justice to the general who led the victorious assault and the brave men whom he commanded in that critical hour. The assault of General Smith decided the issue at Fort Donelson.

After General Halleck had had time to inform himself thoroughly as to events at Fort Donelson, he sent the following despatch:

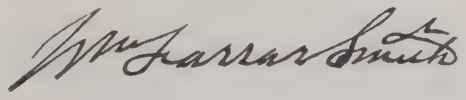
Headquarters, St. Louis, February 19, 1862.

Major-General McClellan:

Brigadier-General Charles F. Smith, by his coolness and bravery at Fort Donelson when the battle was against us, turned the tide and carried the enemy's outworks. Make him a major-general. You can't get a better one. Honor him for this victory and the whole country will applaud.

H. W. Halleck,
Major-General.

The proceedings of the Confederate council of war held that night in Dover are as rich in humor as a capital comedy—the transfer of the command from one to another till it came down to one who sat with pen in hand to write the order to show the white flags at daylight, and the letter asking for terms, the points of etiquette which were discussed, the scurrying of those to escape who declared to the last that "they would die rather than surrender," and the rapid scratching of the pen as the door closes on the fugitives, make a scene irresistibly ludicrous.



FROM BURNSIDE TO HOOKER

TRANSFER OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, 1863

The wounds of Fredericksburg were yet fresh when, thirteen days after the most bloody and useless conflict of the war, on the 26th of December, 1862, Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside, commanding the Army of the Potomac, had devised another plan for attacking the enemy in his front, and ordered the army to be ready to move upon twelve hours' notice.

His plan was to cross the Rappahannock at a place called Muddy Creek, about seven miles below Fredericksburg; a feint, which could be turned into a positive attack should the enemy discover the movement below, to be made above. The positions for the artillery to protect the crossings had been selected, surveys made, and the corduroy cut for building the necessary roads.

A cavalry expedition was organized to co-operate, consisting of twenty-five hundred of the best cavalry in the army, of whom one thousand were picked men, to move, accompanied by a brigade of infantry to protect their crossing, to Kelly's Ford; there the thousand picked men were to cross, proceed to the Rapidan, and cross that river at Raccoon Ford; the Virginia Central Railroad at Goochland or Carter's—blowing up the locks of the James River Canal at the place of crossing—the Richmond and Lynchburg Railroad at a point further south—blowing up an iron bridge—the Richmond, Petersburg and Weldon Railroad where it crossed the Nottaway River—destroying the railroad bridge there—and effect a junction with Major-General John J. Peck at Suffolk, where steamers would be in waiting to convey them to Acquia Creek.

To deceive the enemy and draw attention from the attacking column, when the thousand picked men crossed the Rappahannock, a part of the remaining fifteen hundred were to proceed toward Warrenton; another part toward Culpeper; the rest to accompany the thousand picked men as far as Raccoon Ford, and return. While the proposed expedition should be *en route* the general movement would be made.

The army was organized in four* Grand Divisions, the Right, com-

* The Roster of the Army of the Potomac, under Burnside, as published in "Reports of Military Operations during the Rebellion, 1860-65. Washington, War Department Printing Office, 1877," gives *three*, and is incorrect. By courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert N. Scott, Third

manded by Major-General E. V. Sumner; the Center, by Major-General Joseph Hooker, the Left, by Major-General W. B. Franklin; and the Reserve, by Major-General Franz Sigel. A division of cavalry was attached to each of the Grand Divisions, except the Reserve. The authority exercised by these commanders was equal to that of the general commanding an army.

The Right Grand Division was composed of the Second Corps, commanded by Major-General Darius N. Couch, and the Ninth by Brigadier-General Orlando B. Wilcox; the Center, of the Third Corps, commanded by Major-General George Stoneman, and the Fifth, by Major-General Daniel Butterfield; while the Left was composed of the First Corps, commanded by Major-General John F. Reynolds, and the Sixth, by Major-General William Farrar Smith. The Grand Reserve Division was composed of the Eleventh Corps, commanded by Brigadier-General Julius H. Stahel, and the Twelfth by Major-General Henry W. Slocum.

About the 30th of December, Brigadier-General John Newton, commanding the Third Division, and Brigadier-General John Cochrane, commanding the First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Corps, obtained leave of absence, informing Generals Franklin and Smith that upon arrival in Washington they would take occasion to represent to some one in authority the dispirited condition of the army, and the danger of a forward movement at that time.

It was their intention to confer with Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Senate Military Committee, and Hon. Moses F. Odell of New York, a member of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, and to them impart a statement of the condition of the army, "to undergo the operation of their judgment, and to be weighed at their true value, whatever that might be." Congress having taken its holiday recess, both gentlemen were absent from the city.

General Cochrane, who upon arrival had started out alone to arrange an interview with Senator Wilson and Mr. Odell, upon being informed of their absence, thought it advisable to see the President upon a matter of such vital interest to himself and the people. Calling upon the Secretary of State, Hon. William H. Seward, through him an interview with President Lincoln was arranged for late in the afternoon of their arrival.

U. S. Artillery, in charge of the office for compilation and publication of the official records of the Union and Confederate armies, the writer has had access to the returns of the army made at the time. The Eleventh Corps marched from Fairfax Court-House, December 10, 1862, arriving at Falmouth, December 15th.

The earnestness of the officers is apparent when it is considered they did not arrive in Washington until three o'clock of the afternoon on which the interview was had. Arrived at the Executive Mansion and ushered into the presence of the kind-hearted, easily approached President, who nevertheless was commander-in-chief of the army and navy, the gentlemen found themselves, as officers of the army, in a very delicate position.

General Newton, the senior officer, introduced the subject, and spoke at length upon the military position of the army, and the feeling of the soldiers in connection with their confidence in Burnside as a leader; although, as General Newton says, he did not wish to tell him, and did *not* at any time tell him, that the troops had no confidence in General Burnside; notwithstanding that was his firm belief.

Upon General Newton's conclusion the President evinced much feeling, apprehensive the conversation was a representation by officers of the Army of the Potomac concerning the plan of operation of its commander, with a view to his supersedure by some other officer.

General Cochrane therefore addressed him, with all the quiet eloquence at his command, in protest of such an understanding; assuring him of his mistake, and that *he* was there *only* for the purpose of disclosing to him, as commander-in-chief of the army, certain facts within his knowledge, derived through information from others and personal observation, which he was convinced it was important the President should be informed of; that he deemed it the best evidence of patriotism and loyalty to the government he could give; that he would not interfere with the plans or action of General Burnside as commander, and if he *would* he could not, as he was not aware of them; and that his last thought was to distrust or desire to replace him with another.

General Newton, also, disclaimed to the President any intention to interfere with the military authorities. He said he considered it his duty, if true to his country, to let some one in authority know his convictions of the condition of the army, as, if it were again defeated at Fredericksburg, or anywhere along the Rappahannock, it would not be a mere defeat as before, but destruction. He said his only motive in calling upon the President and making the statement he had, was, that he felt the very existence of the nation to depend upon it.

He requested the President not to believe what he had stated because *he* had said it, as, after all, it was only his opinion, but to investigate and ascertain for himself the condition of the army.

After a long conversation between the President, the Secretary of State,

who was a party to the interview, and Generals Newton and Cochrane relative to the military features of the ground below the position of the army on the Rappahannock, which General Newton had in part reconnoitered, the President seemed to realize he had been mistaken, and was pleased to say he was glad the gentlemen had visited him, and that good would come of the interview, which was thus ended.

General Newton, now engineer-in-chief of the army, has since said it was his belief that, "with the best troops in the world, we would have failed at that time in a direct assault upon the works of the enemy in rear of Fredericksburg, within a distance of six miles in either direction. It is laid down by the very best military writers—not merely theoretical, but practical military writers—that the passage of a river in face of an opposing force never succeeds, except by mere chance; that the instances of success are so rare that the rule is proved by the exceptions; that it is impossible to pass a river except by what is called a surprise—that is, at a point so far removed from the main body of the enemy, or do it so suddenly, that you have time to get your troops over, and not only get them over, but also in order of battle, so as to be ready to meet an attack; for if the enemy charge upon you before you get in order of battle, the more troops you have over the worse for you."

In the mean time the cavalry expedition had started, the brigade of infantry accompanying it having crossed the Rappahannock at Richard's and returned by Ellis's Ford, leaving the way clear for the cavalry to cross at Kelly's Ford.

The day the crossing was to be made Burnside received from the President this telegram: "I have good reason for saying that you must not make a general movement without letting me know of it."

He was greatly surprised, and could not understand why the President should have sent him such a dispatch. None of the officers of his command, except two of his staff, had been informed a forward movement was contemplated. He could but believe the dispatch related to important military operations in other parts of the country and that co-operation was necessary. He immediately ordered the cavalry to remain where it was, at Kelly's Ford, until further orders.

A part was soon after sent to intercept the bold and dashing Confederate cavalier, Major-General J. E. B. (Jeb) Stuart,* who had made a raid to Dumfries, capturing there twenty-five wagons and two hundred prisoners, thence toward Alexandria and around Fairfax Court-House,

*Captain J. E. B. Stuart, First Cavalry, resigned May 14, 1861, to assist in repelling, as he considered it, the invasion of his native State of Virginia.

burning the railroad bridge across the Accotink, the hard-riding raiders returning in triumph with their spoils.

General Burnside went to Washington, and was informed by the President that some general officers from the Army of the Potomac, whose names he declined to give, had called upon him and represented that he contemplated a forward movement; and that the army was so dispirited and demoralized it received the approval of no prominent officers and would result in disaster.

He assured the President that none of his officers had been advised of his plan, and proceeded to explain it in detail, urging him to grant permission for its execution; but he declined to approve it at that time.

The Secretary of War, Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, and Major-General Henry W. Halleck, general-in-chief, were sent for, and learned for the first time of the President's action in preventing the movement, although General Halleck had known a forward movement was contemplated.

Burnside was amazed at the revelation of feeling in the army—known to every one in it but himself. General Halleck approved the request he then and there wrote, that the officers who made the representations to the President be at once dismissed, and Burnside remained in Washington two days to urge such action, without avail.

When he returned to camp, he learned that many of the details of the proposed movement were known to sympathizers of the enemy in Washington, thereby rendering it impracticable.

Upon being asked to whom he had communicated his plan, he said he had informed no one in Washington of it but the President, the Secretary of War, and General Halleck; and in camp, but two of his staff officers, who had not been out of camp since. He professed not to know how the enemy had obtained his plans.

A correspondence then took place between the President, General Halleck, and General Burnside, who requested authority from the President or General Halleck to make a movement across the river, and while urging the necessity, admitted there was hardly a general officer who approved it. He said he was willing to assume all responsibility himself —promising to keep in mind the President's caution against running any risk of destroying the Army of the Potomac—but desired at least General Halleck's sanction of the movement.

Being informed by General Halleck that while he had always favored a forward movement he could not take the responsibility of giving any directions as to how and when it should be made, Burnside decided upon a movement, without further correspondence, and, although unable to

devise any as promising as the one just thwarted by the interference of subordinate officers, without hesitation adopted a plan and proceeded to put it into execution.

He made a personal reconnoisance of the ground above Falmouth, which determined him to cross his entire force at Bank's and United States Fords, if found expedient, and make further preparations with reference to crossing at Muddy Creek, as at first contemplated.

The roads and pontoon trains were made ready, the artillery detailed to cover the crossing—in fact, the necessary preparations were complete—when he delayed two days on account of conflicting intelligence respecting the enemy's position which rendered it necessary to send a spy over the river. He had in his employ, as a spy—ostensibly at work upon the railroad—a resident of Fredericksburg, who had been driven away on account of his well-known Union sentiments. This man went over and back, two nights in succession, and obtained information which decided Burnside to make the crossing above.

Accordingly the army moved on the morning of the 20th of January, upon good roads and with pleasant weather.

The Grand Divisions of General Hooker and Franklin moved up the river by parallel roads, while General Couch's Second Corps went below Fredericksburg to make demonstrations. To General Sigel, with the Reserve Grand Division, was assigned the duty of protecting the line of communication on the river front.

Positions for the artillery had been selected by General Henry J. Hunt, chief of artillery, the guns were well up and the pontoon trains only a short distance behind, when the army encamped for the night, in the woods, at convenient distance from the fords. It was decided to make the crossing early next morning.

During the night the most terrible storm of driving snow, sleet, and pouring rain ever experienced in that vicinity overtook the unfortunate army, rendering the roads and the whole face of the country impassable.

All the long hours of that fearful night, large numbers of soldiers toiled at the guns with the horses, in the futile effort to haul them up the heights and place them in position. Double and triple teams of horses and mules were harnessed to each wagon, carrying one pontoon boat, and by morning fifteen boats were at the river bank; but five more were needed to complete even one bridge. Long stout ropes were attached to the guns and pontoon wagons; a hundred and fifty men being put on each, who worked and tugged with the horses and mules. The animals dropped dead by the score, while the men, after floundering through the mud for a few feet

were breathless. Virginia mud has a national reputation, the upper geologic deposits affording unequaled elements for bad roads. It is a soil, out of which the bottom drops when it rains, so tenacious that extrication from its clutch is almost impossible.

The ever watchful, intrepid Lee had discovered the movement of the Union army, during the night, and by morning, notwithstanding the war of the elements, had massed his army to prevent the crossing. Night came again but the guns and necessary pontoons were not up.

A chaos of artillery and pontoon wagons encumbered the road to the river—supply and ammunition trains were mired by the way—all in sight of the enemy's pickets, who jeered and taunted the dispirited army, shouting: "Say! Yanks! We'll be over in the morning and haul your guns and pontoons out of the mud for you." "We'll build your bridges, and escort you over." "Why didn't you let us know you were not going to cross again at Fredericksburg?" "You ought not to get mad so quick." "We had a first-class reception fixed up for you, last time—if you had only come where we lived—but if you had called again, instead of bringing us away up here, such an infernal night as last night, we would have given you a regular warming—have painted the town red—before we allowed you to go back."

Another morning dawned upon another day of rain and storm, and things generally went from bad to worse. The more hopeless the undertaking, the more tenacious Burnside; and he early determined to leave his artillery—even his pontoons—where they were, hopelessly stuck in the mud, cross in the face of Lee's army with such pontoons as he had at the river, and make a bold attack upon the arrogant, insulting enemy.

General Hooker stoutly protested against so reckless a venture, and other generals were virtually insubordinate.

Ascertaining the three days' rations carried in the haversacks of the men to be exhausted, and realizing the violent opposition of the rank and file—who had become aware of his purpose—he reluctantly abandoned the forward movement; but not until he had telegraphed General Halleck he would be glad to meet him at Acquia Creek, or, if Halleck preferred, he would "run up to Washington for an hour."

Being told, in reply, that he must be his own judge about the necessity of going up, he telegraphed back, "I shall not go up." He then ordered the army back to the camps it had left, in the vicinity of Fredericksburg.

The problem of a backward movement was almost as serious as the forward movement he had abandoned.

Nearly the whole army was put at work corduroying the bottomless

roads and getting the artillery, pontoon, and other wagons on to the corduroy.

Early on the morning of the 23d the army moved, floundering and staggering as best it could, back to camp, desperately humiliated.

The recollections of that terrible "Mud March" will ever live in the memories of its participants.

It was an ample vindication of General McClellan for resisting the almost universal and popular demand of the people at home—by their comfortable firesides—for a forward movement during the winter months, when he was in command. It should have forever stopped the daily bulletin from Washington: "All quiet on the Potomac. Only one picket shot last night;" responded to by the innumerable host of "*croakers*," with: "Why don't the army move?"

The position in which Burnside now found himself was as unfortunate as humiliating. He had discovered, as he supposed, that his campaign would have been a failure even had the weather continued favorable, for the reason that the leading officers of his army lacked confidence in his ability as a commander.

In desperation, apparently, after ordering the troops back to camp, as he said: "I went to my adjutant-general's office and issued an order which I termed General Order No. 8.

Head-Quarters Army of the Potomac,
January 23, 1863.

General Orders,
No. 8.

First. General Joseph Hooker, Major-General of Volunteers and Brigadier-General in the United States Army, having been guilty of unjust and unnecessary criticisms of the actions of his superior officers and of the authorities; and having, by the general tone of his conversation, endeavored to create distrust in the minds of officers who have associated with him; and having, by omissions and otherwise, made reports and statements which were calculated to create incorrect impressions; and for habitually speaking in disparaging terms of other officers, is hereby dismissed the service of the United States, as a man unfit to hold an important commission during a crisis like the present, when so much patience, charity, confidence, consideration, and patriotism are due from every soldier in the field.

This order is issued subject to the approval of the President of the United States.

Second. Brigadier-General W. T. H. Brooks, commanding First Division, Sixth Army Corps, for complaining of the policy of the government and for using language tending to demoralize his command, is, subject to the approval of the President of the United States, dismissed from the military service of the United States.

Third. Brigadier-General John Newton, commanding Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, and Brigadier-General John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Army Corps, for going to the President of the United States with criticisms upon the plans of their commanding officers, are, subject to the approval of the President, dismissed from the military service of the United States.

Fourth. It being evident that the following named officers can be of no further service to this army, they are hereby relieved from duty, and will report in person, without delay, to the adjutant-general of the United States Army:

Major-General William Buel Franklin, commanding Left Grand Division.

Major-General William Farrar Smith, commanding Sixth Army Corps.

Brigadier-General Sam. D. Sturgis, commanding Second Division, Ninth Army Corps.

Brigadier-General Edward Ferero, commanding Second Brigade, Second Division, Ninth Army Corps.

Brigadier-General John Cochrane, commanding First Brigade, Third Division, Sixth Army Corps.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Taylor, acting adjutant-general, Right Grand Division.

By command of Major-General A. E. Burnside.

Lewis Richmond, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Speaking of his action afterward, General Burnside said: "I told my adjutant-general to issue that order at once. One of my admirers—only two persons knew of this—one of them, who is a very cool, sensible man, and a firm friend, told me that, in his opinion, the order was a just one, and ought to be issued; but that he did not think I intended to place the President in a position where he either had to assume the responsibility of becoming my enemy before the public, thereby enabling a certain portion of my friends to make a martyr of me to some extent, or had to take the responsibility of carrying out the order, which would be against the views of a great many of the most influential men in the country, particularly that portion of the order in reference to the officers I proposed to have dismissed from the service."

General Burnside took the order, signed and issued in due form, with exception of being made public, and handed it to the President with his resignation as a major-general; saying he had never sought command, particularly that of the Army of the Potomac, and it was his wish to go into civil life after it was determined he could no longer be of use in the army. At the same time he said he did not wish to place himself in opposition to the President, or do anything to weaken the government. He suggested that the President might say to him: "You may take the responsibility of issuing this order, and I will approve it."

The President said to him: "I think you are right, but I must consult

with some of my advisers about this." Burnside replied: "If you consult with anybody you will not do it, in my opinion." The President answered: "I cannot do that: I *must* consult with them." "You are the judge," said Burnside, "and I will not question your right to do as you please."

The President asked him to remain in Washington that day, but as he felt he could not remain away from his command, requested him to go up again that night.

Upon presenting himself at night, the President said he had concluded to relieve him and place General Hooker in command. That with the kindest and best feeling toward Burnside, he was compelled to such a course by reason of the unfortunate state of existing circumstances. That he saw no other way out of the dilemma in which he found himself.

Burnside, who was not at all surprised, in fact expected and desired such a course on the part of the President, simply said: "I suppose, Mr. President, you accept my resignation, and all I have to do is to go to my home." From the depths of his heart, Mr. Lincoln warmly replied: "*General, I cannot accept your resignation; we need you, and I cannot accept your resignation.*"

Nearly twenty-three years have passed since those days of almost despair of the Republic, and it would seem time to look upon the causes, as well as the conduct of the unfortunate war between the States—as it then appeared; *now*, as though it had been one of God's political blessings in disguise—in a spirit of fraternity, charity and loyalty. Ben. Perley Poore, in his *Life and Public Services of Ambrose E. Burnside*, published in 1882, says of the change of commanders: "President Lincoln was not willing to permit the dismissal of the disaffected or demoralized generals, whose partisan feelings and prejudices had overshadowed their entire conduct. He accepted the alternative, and relieved General Burnside from the command of the Army of the Potomac, conferring the command on Gen. Joseph E. Hooker."*

After a free interchange of views and various proposals of commands for General Burnside, between the President, Secretary Stanton and General Halleck, it was arranged that for the time being he was to have thirty days' leave of absence.

Upon going to the War Department he was permitted to read the brief of the order, about to be issued, relieving him, as follows:

* Some historians make the mistake of writing General Hooker's name, "Joseph E." He entered the army from West Point in 1837, as Joseph Hooker, and, according to army registers, never officially changed his name

War Department, Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, January 25, 1863.

General Orders, }
No. 20. }

1. The President of the United States has directed:

First. That Major-General Burnside, at his own request, be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

Second. That Major-General E. V. Sumner, at his own request, be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

Third. That Major-General W. B. Franklin be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

Fourth. That Major-General J. Hooker be assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

2. The officers relieved as above, will report, in person, to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

By Order of the Secretary of War.
E. D. Townsend,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Burnside was indignant, considered the wording of the order "at his own request" very unjust, and upon its promulgation tendered and demanded the immediate acceptance of his resignation.

Persuaded by friends to recall his resignation and acquiesce in any order affecting himself that might be deemed necessary for the good of the country, he patriotically volunteered to serve wherever he might be required.

He transferred the command of the Army of the Potomac to his successor without loss in any perceptible degree of the respect and esteem in which he was held by the Northern people, for his intense patriotism and zeal in the common cause.

In so doing he issued the following farewell address:

Head-quarters of the Army of the Potomac,
Camp near Falmouth, January 26, 1863.

General Orders, }
No. 9. }

By direction of the President of the United States, the commanding general this day transfers the command of this army to Major-General Joseph Hooker.

The short time that he has directed your movements has not been fruitful of victory, nor any considerable advancement of our lines, but it has again demonstrated an amount of courage, patience and endurance that, under more favorable circumstances, would have accomplished greater results.

Continue to exercise these virtues, be true in your devotion to your country and the principles you have sworn to maintain, give to the brave and skillful general who has long been identified with your organization, and who is now to command you, your full and cordial support and co-operation, and you will deserve success

Your general, in taking an affectionate leave of the army, from which he separates with so much regret, may be pardoned if he bids an especial farewell to his long and tried associates of the Ninth Corps. His prayers are that God may be with you, and grant you continued success until the Rebellion is crushed.

By command of Major-General A. E. Burnside.

Lewis Richmond, Assistant Adjutant-General.

When it was announced to General Hooker that he had been placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, he said: "I doubted, and so expressed myself, if it could be saved to the country. I make this statement to vindicate myself from the aspersion that I made use of improper influences to obtain the command. No being lives who can say that I ever expressed a desire for the position. It was conferred upon me for my sword, and not for any act or word of mine indicative of a desire for it."

General Hooker in assuming the great responsibility, suddenly transferred to him, published from

Head-quarters, Army of the Potomac,
Camp near Falmouth, January 26, 1863.

General Orders,
No. 1.

By direction of the President of the United States the undersigned assumes command of the Army of the Potomac.

He enters upon the discharge of the duties imposed by this trust with a just appreciation of their responsibilities. Since the formation of this army he has been identified with its history.

He has shared with you its glories and reverses, with no other desire than that these relations might remain unchanged until its destiny should be accomplished.

In the record of your achievements there is much to be proud of, and with the blessing of God we will contribute something to the renown of our arms and the success of our cause. To secure these ends your commander will require the cheerful and zealous co-operation of every officer and soldier in this army.

In equipment, intelligence, and valor, the enemy is our inferior. Let us never hesitate to give him battle wherever we can find him.

The undersigned only gives expression to the feelings of this army when he conveys to our late commander, Major-General Burnside, the most cordial good wishes for his future.

My staff will be announced as soon as organized.

Joseph Hooker,
Major-General Commanding Army of the Potomac.

General Sumner, relieved from duty "at his own request," without having made such a request or said anything that could be so misconstrued, apparently because he was older than and superior in rank to General Hooker, was ordered to his home at Syracuse, New York, and died on the twenty-first of the following March, over sixty years of age.

The Army of the Potomac, always superior to its commanders, until, indeed, it was finally commanded by our most eminent grand commander, General Ulysses S. Grant, marched and fought through heat and cold, sunshine and storm, victory and defeat—oftener defeat—for four long years.

Its soldiers, trained in the arts of peace, from raw recruits became veterans. Reared to every comfort, they became inured to every hardship.

Victims of swamp and typhus fevers; baffled time and again by flood; battling at every disadvantage with the flower of the enemy; long denied a victory; matured plans jeopardized; fighting all day, marching all night; advancing until they saw the spires of Richmond, then back again within sight of the white dome of the Nation's Capitol; never elated by success nor depressed by defeat; disaster following disaster, they were buoyant to the close—until at Appomattox, on April 9, 1865, that grand Army of the Republic wore its crown, just before that other grand Army of the Republic, under "the great flanker," General William T. Sherman, after its march "from Atlanta to the Sea," was ready to appear upon the scene and divide its honors.

History is *already* writing the annals of the Army of the Potomac high on the scroll of *Fame*.

From May, 1861, to March, 1864, the losses of the Army of the Potomac were, in killed, 15,220; wounded, 65,850; captured, 31,378; in all, 112,448. After Grant supervised its efforts, from May 1, 1864, to April 9, 1865, killed, 12,500; wounded, 69,500; captured or missing, 28,000; in all, 110,000. From the beginning to the close of the war, killed, 27,720; wounded, 135,350; captured or missing, 59,378. A grand aggregate of 222,448. Adding those who died of gunshot wounds—they are dying daily—the number of men who lost their lives in action in the Army of the Potomac was 48,902; probably one-half of all who died from wounds on the field of battle, in all the armies of the United States. Add to this the deaths from disease and discharges for disability, and it is explained why so large a part of the pension roll is devoted to the *Army of the Potomac*.

O. O. Howard Mills.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA

ITS ORIGIN AND CONSEQUENCES

To properly understand the condition of things preceding the great war of the Rebellion and the causes underlying that condition and the war itself, we must glance backward through the history of the country to, and even beyond, that memorable 30th of November, 1782, when the independence of the United States of America was at last conceded by Great Britain. At that time the population of the United States was about 2,500,000 free whites and some 500,000 black slaves. We had gained our independence of the Mother Country, but she had left fastened upon us the curse of slavery. Indeed, African slavery had already, in 1620, been implanted on the soil of Virginia before Plymouth Rock was pressed by the feet of the Pilgrim Fathers, and had spread, prior to the Revolution, with greater or less rapidity, according to the surrounding adaptations of soil, production, and climate, to every one of the thirteen colonies.

But while it had thus spread more or less throughout all the original colonies, and was, as it were, recognized and acquiesced in by all as an existing and established institution, yet there were many, both in the South and North, who looked upon it as an evil—an inherited evil—and were anxious to prevent the increase of that evil. Hence it was that, even as far back as 1679, a controversy sprang up between the colonies and the Home Government upon the African slavery question—a controversy continuing, with more or less vehemence, down to the Declaration of Independence itself.

It was this conviction that it was not alone an evil, but a dangerous evil, that induced Jefferson to embody, in his original draft of that Declaration, a clause strongly condemnatory of the African slave trade—a clause afterward omitted from it solely, he tells us, "in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never * attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it," as well as in deference to the sensitiveness of Northern people, who, though having

* Prior to 1752, when Georgia surrendered her charter and became a royal colony, the holding of slaves within its limits was expressly prohibited by law; and the Darien (Georgia) resolutions of 1775 declared not only a "disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America" as "a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties (as well as lives), but a determination to use our utmost efforts for the manumission of our slaves in this colony upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves."

few slaves themselves, "had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others"—a clause of the great indictment of King George III., which, since it was not omitted for any other reason than that just given, shows pretty conclusively that where the fathers in that Declaration affirmed that "all men are created equal," they included in the term "men" black as well as white, bond as well as free, for the clause ran thus: "*Determined to keep open a market where* MEN *should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every Legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the* LIBERTIES *of our people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the* LIVES *of another.*"

During the war of the Revolution following the Declaration of Independence, the half a million of slaves, nearly all of them in the Southern States, were found to be not only a source of weakness, but through the incitements of British emissaries a standing menace of peril to the slaveholders. Thus it was that the South was overrun by hostile British armies, while in the North—comparatively free from this element of weakness—disaster after disaster met them. At last, however, in 1782, came the recognition of our Independence, and peace, followed by the evacuation of New York at the close of 1783.

The lessons of the war, touching slavery, had not been lost upon our statesmen. Early in 1784 Virginia ceded to the United States her claims of jurisdiction and otherwise over the vast territory north-west of the Ohio; and upon its acceptance, Jefferson, as chairman of a select committee appointed at his instance to consider a plan of government therefor, reported to the ninth Continental Congress an ordinance, to govern the territory ceded already, or to be ceded, by individual States to the United States, extending from the 31st to the 47th degree of north latitude, which provided as "*fundamental conditions* between the thirteen original States and those newly described" as embryo States thereafter to be carved out of such territory ceded or to be ceded to the United States, not only that "they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America," but also that "*after the year* 1800 *of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States*"—and that those *fundamental conditions* were "*unalterable* but by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled, and of the particular State within which such alteration is proposed to be made."

But now a signal misfortune befell. Upon a motion to strike out the clause prohibiting slavery, six States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, voted to retain the prohibitive clause, while three States, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, voted not to retain it. The vote of North Carolina was equally divided; and while one of the delegates from New Jersey voted to retain it, yet as there was no other delegate present from that State, and the Articles of Confederation required the presence of "two or more" delegates to cast the vote of a State, the vote of New Jersey was lost; and, as the same Articles required an affirmative vote of a majority of all the States —and not simply of those present—the retention of the clause prohibiting Slavery was also lost. Thus was lost the great opportunity of restricting slavery to the then existing slave States, and of settling the question peaceably for all time. Three years afterward a similar ordinance, since become famous as the "Ordinance of '87," for the government of the North-west Territory (from which the free States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin have since been carved and admitted to the Union), was adopted in Congress by the unanimous vote of all the eight States present. And the sixth article of this Ordinance, or "Articles of Compact," which it was stipulated should "*forever remain unalterable*, unless by common consent," was in these words:

"Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always that any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, *such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed*, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor, or service, as aforesaid."

But this "Ordinance of '87," adopted almost simultaneously with the framing of our present Federal Constitution, was essentially different from the ordinance of three years previous, in this: that while the latter included the territory south of the Ohio River as well as that north-west of it, this did not; and as a direct consequence of this failure to include in it the territory south of that river, the States of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, which were carved out of it, were subsequently admitted to the Union as, and thus greatly augmented the political power of, the slave States. And at a later period it was this increased political power that secured the admission of still other slave States—as Florida, Louisiana and Texas—which enabled the slave States to hold the balance of such power as against the original States that had become free, and the new free States of the North-west.

Hence, while in a measure quieting the great question of slavery for the time being, the "Ordinance of '87" in reality laid the ground-work for all the long series of irritations and agitations touching its restrictions and spread, which eventually culminated in the clash of arms that shook the Union from its center to its circumference. Meanwhile, as we have seen—while the "Ordinance of '87" was being enacted in the last Congress of the old Confederation at New York—the Convention to frame the Constitution was sitting at Philadelphia under the presidency of George Washington himself. The old Confederation had proven itself to be "a rope of sand." A new and stronger form of government had become a necessity for National existence. To create it out of the discordant elements whose harmony was essential to success, was a Herculean task, requiring the utmost forbearance, unselfishness, and wisdom. And of all the great questions dividing the framers of that Constitution perhaps none of them required a higher degree of self-abnegation and patriotism than those touching human slavery.

The situation was one of extreme delicacy. The necessity for a closer and stronger union of all the States was apparently absolute, yet this very necessity seemed to place a whip in the hands of a few States with which to coerce the greater number of States to do their bidding. It seemed that the majority must yield to a small minority on even vital questions, or lose everything.

Thus it was, that instead of an immediate interdiction of the African slave trade, Congress was empowered to prohibit it after the lapse of twenty years; that instead of the basis of Congressional representation being the total population of each State, and that of direct taxation the total property of each State, a middle ground was conceded, which regarded the slaves as both persons and property; and the basis both of representation and of direct taxation was fixed as being the total free population "plus three-fifths of all other persons" in each State; and there was inserted in the Constitution a similar clause to that which we have seen was almost simultaneously incorporated in the "Ordinance of '87," touching the reclamation and return to their owners of fugitive slaves from the free States into which they may have escaped.

The fact of the matter is, that the Convention that framed our Constitution lacked the courage of its convictions, and was "bulldozed" by the few extreme Southern slave-holding States—South Carolina and Georgia especially. It actually paltered with those convictions and with the truth itself. Its convictions—those at least of a great majority of its delegates—were against not only the spread, but the very existence of slavery; yet

we have seen what they unwillingly agreed to in spite of those convictions; and they were guilty moreover of the subterfuge of using the terms "persons" and "service or labor" when they really meant "slaves" and "slavery." "They did this latter," Mr. Madison says, "because they did not choose to admit the right of property in man," and yet in fixing the basis of direct taxation as well as Congressional representation at the total free population of each State, with "three-fifths of all other persons," they did admit the right of property in man! As was stated by Mr. Iredell to the North Carolina ratification convention, when explaining the fugitive slave clause: "Though the word slave is not mentioned, this is the meaning of it." And he added: "The Northern delegates, owing to their peculiar scruples on the subject of slavery, did not choose the word slave to be mentioned."

In March, 1789, the first Federal Congress met at New York. It at once enacted a law in accordance with the terms of the "Ordinance of '87" —adapting it to the changed order of things under the new Federal Constitution—prohibiting slavery in the Territories of the North-west; and the succeeding Congress enacted a Fugitive Slave law.

In the same year (1789) North Carolina ceded her western territory (now Tennessee) south of the Ohio, to the United States, providing, as one of the conditions of that cession, "that no regulation made, or to be made by Congress, shall tend to emancipate slaves." Georgia, also, in 1802, ceded her superfluous territorial domain (south of the Ohio, and now known as Alabama and Mississippi), making, as a condition of its acceptance, that the "Ordinance of '87 shall, in all its parts, extend to the territory contained in the present act of cession, *the article* only *excepted*, which forbids slavery."

Thus, while the road was open and had been taken advantage of at the earliest moment by the Federal Congress to prohibit slavery in all the territory north-west of the Ohio River by Congressional enactment, Congress considered itself barred, by the very conditions of cession, from inhibiting slavery in the territory lying south of that river. Hence it was that while the spread of slavery was prevented in the one section of our outlying territories by congressional legislation, it was stimulated in the other section by the enforced absence of such legislation. As a necessary sequence, out of the territories of the one section grew more free States, and out of the other more slave States, and this condition of things had a tendency to array the free and the slave States in opposition to each other, and to sectionalize the flames of that slavery agitation which were thus continually fed.

Upon the admission of Ohio to statehood, in 1803, the remainder of the North-west territory became the territory of Indiana. The inhabitants of this territory (now known as the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin), consisting largely of settlers from the slave states, but chiefly from Virginia and Kentucky, very persistently (in 1803, 1806 and 1807) petitioned Congress for permission to employ slave labor, but—although their petitions were favorably reported in most cases by the committees to which they were referred—without avail, Congress evidently being of opinion that a temporary suspension in this respect of the sixth article of the "Ordinance of '87" was *not expedient*. These frequent rebuffs by Congress, together with the constantly increasing emigration from the free States, prevented the taking of any further steps to implant slavery on the soil of that territory.

Meanwhile the vast territory included within the Valley of the Mississippi, and known at that day as the Colony of Louisiana, was, in 1803, acquired to the United States by purchase from the French—to whom it had but lately been retroceded by Spain. Both under Spanish and French rule, slavery had existed throughout this vast yet sparsely populated region. When we acquired it by purchase, it was already there as an established "institution;" and the treaty of acquisition not only provided that it should be "incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution," but that its inhabitants, in the mean time, "should be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, *property*, and the religion which they professed"—and as "the right of property in man" had really been admitted in practice, if not in theory, by the framers of that Constitution itself—that institution was allowed to remain there. Indeed, the sparseness of its population at the time of purchase, and the amazing fertility of its soil and adaptability of its climate to slave labor, together with the then recent invention by Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, of that wonderful improvement in the separation of cotton fiber from its seed, known as the "cotton-gin"—which, with the almost simultaneous inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright's cotton-spinning machines and Watt's application of his steam-engine, etc., to them, marvelously increased both the cotton supply and demand, and completely revolutionized the cotton industry—conspired to rapidly and thickly populate the whole region with white slave-holders and black slaves, and to greatly enrich and increase the power of the former.

When Jefferson succeeded in negotiating the cession of that vast and rich domain to the United States, it is not to be supposed that either the

allurements of territorial aggrandizement on the one hand, or the impending danger to the continued ascendency of the political party which had elevated him to the Presidency, threatening it from all the irritations with republican France likely to grow out of such near proximity to her colony, on the other, could have blinded his eyes to the fact that its acquisition must inevitably tend to the spread of that very evil, the contemplation of which, at a later day, wrung from his lips the prophetic words, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." It is more reasonable to suppose that, as he believed the ascendency of the Republican party of that day essential to the perpetuity of the Republic itself, and revolted against being driven into an armed alliance with monarchical England against what he termed "our natural friend," republican France, he reached the conclusion that the preservation of his Republican principles was of more immediate moment than the question of the perpetuation and increase of human slavery. Be that as it may, it none the less remains a curious fact that it was to Jefferson, the far-seeing statesman and hater of African slavery and the author of the Ordinance of 1784—which sought to exclude slavery from all the Territories of the United States south of, as well as north-west of the Ohio River—that we also owe the acquisition of the vast territory of the Mississippi Valley burdened with slavery in such shape that only a war, which nearly wrecked our Republic, could get rid of.

Out of that vast and fertile but slave-ridden old French Colony of "Louisiana" developed in due time the rich and flourishing slave States of Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas.

It will have been observed that this acquisition of the Colony of Louisiana and the contemporaneous inventions of the cotton-gin, improved cotton-spinning machinery, and the application to it of steam power, had already completely neutralized the wisdom of the Fathers in securing, as they thought, the gradual but certain extinction of slavery in the United States, by that provision in the Constitution which enabled Congress, after an interval of twenty years, to prohibit the African slave trade; and which led the Congress, on March 22, 1794, to pass an act prohibiting it, to supplement it in 1800 with another act in the same direction, and on March 2, 1807, to pass another supplemental act—to take effect January 1, 1808—still more stringent, and covering any such illicit traffic, whether to the United States or with other countries. Never was the adage that, "The best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft aglee," more painfully apparent. Slaves increased and multiplied within the land, and enriched their white owners to such a degree that, as the years rolled by, instead of compunctions of conscience on the subject of African slavery in America, the South-

ern leaders ultimately persuaded themselves to the belief that it was not alone moral, and sanctioned by Divine Law, but that to perpetuate it was a philanthropic duty, beneficial to both races! In fact one of them declared it to be "the highest type of civilization."

In 1812, the State of Louisiana, carved from the purchased colony of the same name, was admitted to the Union, and the balance of the Louisiana purchase was thereafter known as the Territory of Missouri.

In 1818 commenced the heated and protracted struggle in Congress over the admission of the State of Missouri—carved from the Territory of that name—as a slave State, which finally culminated in 1820 in the settlement known thereafter as the "Missouri Compromise."

Briefly stated, that struggle may be said to have consisted in the efforts of the House, on the one side, to restrict slavery in the State of Missouri, and the efforts of the Senate, on the other, to give it free rein. The House insisted on a clause in the act of admission providing, "That the introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party has been duly convicted; and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-five years." The Senate resisted it—and the bill fell. In the mean time, however, a bill passed both Houses forming the Territory of Arkansas out of that portion of the Territory of Missouri not included in the State of Missouri, without any such restriction upon slavery. Subsequently, the House having passed a bill to admit the State of Maine to the Union, the Senate amended it by tacking on a provision authorizing the people of Missouri to organize a State Government without restriction as to slavery. The House decidedly refused to accede to the Senate proposition, and the result of the disagreement was a Committee of Conference between the two Houses, and the celebrated "Missouri Compromise," which, in the language of another,* was: "That the Senate should give up its combination of Missouri with Maine; that the House should abandon its attempt to restrict slavery in Missouri; and that both Houses should concur in passing the bill to admit Missouri as a State with" a "restriction or proviso, excluding slavery from all territory north and west of the new State;" that "restriction or proviso" being in these words: "That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, *slavery* and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of

* Hon. John Holmes, of Massachusetts, of said Committee on Conference, March 2, 1820.

crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, *shall be and is hereby forever prohibited; Provided always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor and service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid." At a subsequent session of Congress, at which Missouri asked admission as a State with a Constitution prohibiting her Legislature from passing emancipation laws, or such as would prevent the immigration of slaves, while requiring to enact such as would absolutely prevent the immigration of free negroes or mulattoes, a further compromise was agreed to by Congress under the inspiration of Mr. Clay, by which it was laid down as a condition precedent to her admission as a State—a condition subsequently complied with—that Missouri must pledge herself that her Legislature should pass no act "by which any of the citizens of either of the States should be excluded from the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States."

This, in a nutshell, was the memorable Missouri struggle, and the "Compromise," or compromises, which settled and ended it. But during that struggle—as during the formation of the Federal Constitution, and at various times in the interval, when exciting questions had arisen—the bands of National Union were more than once rudely strained, and this time to such a degree as even to shake the faith of some of the firmest believers in the perpetuity of that Union. It was during this bitter struggle that John Adams wrote to Jefferson: "I am sometimes Cassandra enough to dream that another Hamilton, another Burr, may rend this mighty fabric in twain or perhaps into a leash, and a few more choice spirits of the same stamp might produce as many nations in North America as there are in Europe."

It is true that we had "sown the wind," but we had not yet "reaped the whirlwind."

John A. Logan

WASHINGTON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN

At the beginning of the year 1754, the Virginia authorities determined to take possession of the point of land at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. Accordingly, two companies of one hundred men each were raised, and put under the command of Major George Washington. Of one of the companies William Trent was captain. On the meeting of the Virginia Assembly, a large sum was voted for the defense of the colony, and the force increased to six companies. Colonel Joshua Fry was put in the chief command, and Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was made second. About the middle of February, an advance party of Trent's men, forty-one in number, had gone forward, and were busily engaged in building a fort on the site of the present city of Pittsburg, when, on the 17th of April, their operations were suddenly checked by the descent of a large force of French and Indians from Venango. They were reported to be a thousand strong. Their commander was Captain de Contrecœur. Though their numbers were not so great as reported, it was still a formidable force, and outnumbered the Virginia detachment nearly twenty to one. De Contrecœur at once sent in an order for the surrender of the place. As it happened, the superior officers of the company were absent at the time, and the command for the moment devolved upon the ensign, whose name was Ward. He was allowed but one hour in which to consider de Contrecoeur's demand. He begged for time to confer with his superiors, but the request was refused. The English, the French officer claimed, had no authority in the valley of the Ohio, and consequently it could not be necessary to consult about it. They were clearly intruders, and must depart at once. As all thought of resistance to such numbers was out of the question, Ensign Ward had nothing to do but to deliver up the unfinished fortification, and betake himself elsewhere. The French were not otherwise severe in their terms, and Ward was allowed to bring away all his men, arms, and working tools.* The French at once completed the fort, on a larger scale than the English had contemplated, and called it Fort Duquesne, in compliment to the governor of Canada.

Meantime Washington was on his way westward with two companies of about seventy-five men each. He arrived at Wills Creek on the 20th of April. On the 25th he was met there by Ensign Ward, who recounted the

*Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. II. p. 12.

affair at the Forks of the Ohio. Upon this intelligence, he resolved not to proceed to the Forks until sufficient reinforcements should be received, but to direct his course to the Monongahela, at the mouth of the Redstone. There were at that place storehouses that had been erected by the Ohio Company, and there he could deposit his munitions and supplies. Besides, from that point there would be water-carriage for the heavy artillery, whenever it should be determined to proceed to the Forks of the Ohio. An additional reason was, that it was desirable to keep the troops employed, in order to prevent the demoralization that would ensue from an inactive camp life, and to encourage the Indians in their allegiance.* Washington had received some small accessions to his force, and had now about 250 men. The work of making a road through the wilderness was exceedingly difficult, and his progress was slow and tedious. At the Youghiogheny he received word from his old friend, the Half-King, who had been his companion the preceding winter in his trip to Fort Le Boeuf, that a party of French were on the march to meet him. Washington proceeded immediately to a favorable spot called the Great Meadows, where he threw up a breastwork, and put himself in the best possible state of defence. The Great Meadows was a narrow glade beyond the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny, and about four miles from the eastern base of the Laurel Hill. Washington at once sent out scouts, but they returned without having seen any signs of the enemy. Mr. Gist, however, now made his appearance, and reported that a party of French had been at his house, thirteen miles distant, the day before, and that he had just seen the tracks of the enemy within five miles of the camp.† This was in the morning of the 27th of May. The following night Washington received word from the Half-King, who was encamped with a number of warriors about six miles off, that the enemy was close at hand. Washington with forty men immediately set out for the camp of the Half-King. The night was extremely dark. The rain poured down in torrents. The path was obscure and difficult. "We were frequently tumbling over one another," says Washington, "and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes' search would not find the path again." It was daylight before Washington had joined the Half-King. A council was held, and it was determined to march together, hand in hand, "and strike the French." Two Indians who had been sent out to ascertain the position of the enemy, discovered them in an almost inaccessible retreat at a short distance. A plan of attack was

* Sparks, Vol. II. p. 15, Note.
† Sparks, Vol. II. p. 25.

agreed upon, and the movement was at once begun. The French discovered their approach, however, and flew to arms. Firing immediately began on both sides, and was continued with vigor for a quarter of an hour, when the French gave up. Their commander, M. de Jumonville, and nine of his men were killed, twenty-two men were taken prisoners, and one man, a Canadian, made his escape at the beginning of the affray. This man, whose name was Mouceau, returned safely to Fort Duquesne. He gave to de Contrecoeur an entirely untruthful account of the affair up to the moment of his escape, which has been perpetuated by the French historians, much to the prejudice of Washington's good name. In the skirmish, Washington had one man killed, and two or three wounded. The Indians escaped unharmed.

Among the prisoners were two principal officers, M. Drouillon and M. La Force, and two cadets, M. de Boucherville and M. du Sablé. With La Force Washington had some acquaintance. He had accompanied Washington a few months before on his journey from Venango to Fort Le Boeuf. He was a dangerous enemy. Washington represents him as "a bold, enterprising man, and a person of great subtlety and cunning." "These officers pretend they were coming on an embassy," writes Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, "but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as you will see by the instructions and summons inclosed. Their instructions were to reconnoiter the country, roads, creeks, and the like, as far as the Potomac, which they were about to do. . . . This, with several other reasons, induced all the officers to believe firmly that they were sent as spies, rather than anything else, and has occasioned my detaining them as prisoners, though they expected, or at least had some faint hope, that they should be continued as ambassadors."* Washington treated these officers with great kindness, and forwarded them with a letter bespeaking the favor of the Governor; but the history of La Force was such that it was deemed proper to keep him in confinement. He was accordingly put in jail at Williamsburg. About two years afterward, he managed to escape from durance, but was captured before he had proceeded far in his flight, and returned to prison, loaded with chains.† M. Drouillon was sent to England.

Colonel Fry, when on his way to join Washington, died suddenly at Wills Creek, on the 31st of May, and the chief command devolved upon Washington. Some reinforcements had been sent forward, and he now

* Sparks, Vol. II. p. 33.
† Sparks, Vol II. p. 178, Note.

found himself at the head of about four hundred men. The principal part of these reinforcements was a company of independent troops from South Carolina, under Captain Mackay. As Washington apprehended that as soon as the news of the recent skirmish should reach Fort Duquesne, a stronger party would be sent out against him, he at once set to work to enlarge and strengthen the slight fortification that he had made at Great Meadows. The work was called Fort Necessity.

Washington now renewed his attempt to reach the mouth of the Redstone. Captain Mackay and his company of South Carolinians were left as a guard at the fort, and Washington and his men moved forward. They cleared the path, and made a road as they proceeded, for the passage of artillery and wagons. But the labor was so arduous, that in two weeks they had advanced only as far as Mr. Gist's place, at the second crossing of the Youghiogheny. Here Washington was informed that a very large force of French and Indians were on the march to oppose him. It was determined at first to make a stand at Mr. Gist's; accordingly intrenchments were made, and Captain Mackay was ordered to bring his company forward. At a council of war, however, it was resolved to retire eastward, and the retrograde movement was begun. It was not the intention to remain at Fort Necessity, but when they reached that point the men were found to be so fatigued, and so exhausted from want of food, that it was thought advisable to confront the enemy there. The works were accordingly further strengthened, the ground cleared of trees and bushes, and preparations made for the expected conflict.

They had not long to wait. Early in the morning of July 3d, Washington received word that the enemy, nine hundred strong, was in his near neighborhood. Their commander was M. de Villiers, brother of the unfortunate Jumonville. By eleven o'clock the whole body approached the fort, and began a brisk firing at some little distance, with the object of drawing Washington away from his defenses. But Washington collected his men within the fort, and an interchange of firing was kept up all day, but with no great effect on either side. The rain poured down nearly constantly. The trenches were filled with water, and many of the arms were rendered unserviceable. At the close of the day the French asked for a parley, and that an officer might be sent out to them for that purpose, engaging at the same time for his safety. The request was at first refused, as Washington suspected it to be only a ruse to discover his condition; but upon being repeated Captain Vanbraam, a Dutchman, who professed to have some knowledge of the French language, was sent out. He returned with certain articles of capitulation, which he pretended to interpret. The terms, as

they were explained to Washington, were not rigorous. The English were to be allowed to retire without molestation, with colors flying and drums beating, and to take everything with them except their artillery.* Washington's force in the battle of Fort Necessity was about four hundred men. Twelve of the Virginia troops were killed, and forty-three were wounded. The loss to Captain Mackay's company is not known. The next morning the English marched out, taking their wounded with them. The men were in a very weak and enfeebled condition from long exposure, hard labor, and insufficient food, and were much encumbered with the baggage and wounded. There was some pilfering of the departing soldiery by the Indians, and some danger of such a horrible tragedy as a few years later took place at Fort William Henry; but this calamity was providentially averted, and the English retired without any serious embarrassment.

Two points in the articles of stipulation afterward involved Washington in some adverse criticism and personal odium. The loyalty of Vanbraam is to be suspected; besides, his knowledge of both English and French was very deficient. Washington did not understand the French language; also, it must be remembered that at this time he was but a youth of barely twenty-two years. One of these points was to the effect that the English should not attempt to make any establishments at that place or west of the mountains for the space of one year.† The language of the article was explained to Washington by Vanbraam to mean that the English would "not attempt buildings or improvements on the lands of his Most Christian Majesty." As Washington denied the right of the French king to the country in the Ohio valley, he very readily assented to the proposition. He was afterward somewhat criticised by his countrymen for granting this stipulation.

Again, the language of one of the articles referred to the death of Jumonville as an assassination. The language used was, "l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville." This was misread and misconstrued by Vanbraam. An officer of the regiment afterward declared that no such word as "assassination" was mentioned. As the article was interpreted, it read, "the death of Jumonville." As it stood, it brought upon Washington a great deal of odium with the French. "We made the English consent to sign," said de Villiers, "that they had assassinated my brother in his camp." The French claimed that Jumonville was proceeding as a peaceful ambassador, and that he had been ruthlessly assassinated by Washington. The French nation grew very warm over it. It was made the subject of an

* Sparks, Vol. I. p. 56.

† The language of the article was, "Dans ce lieu-ci, ni deça de la hauteur des terres, pendant une année à compter de ce jour."—*Sparks' Writings of Washington*, Vol. II., Appendix, Note.

epic by M. Thomas, a somewhat distinguished French poet. We have seen the character of Jumonville. He came with a large retinue of armed men. He secreted himself as well as he could in an obscure retreat. He ran to arms immediately on the approach of the Virginians. He made no amicable demonstration whatever. "They pretend that they called to us," says Washington, "as soon as we were discovered, which is absolutely false, for I was at the head of the party in approaching them, and can affirm, that, as soon as they saw us, they ran to their arms without calling, which I should have heard, if they had done so." The character of Jumonville was very dubious, to say the least. While generally just and generous toward Washington, the French have always held up their hands in horror at this act, and have excused it only on account of the youth and inexperience of Washington, and the violence of his men. Captains Vanbraam and Stobo were given as hostages to the French for the return of the prisoners taken in the skirmish with Jumonville. The cartel was not recognized by the authorities. These officers were sent to Canada. After some time Captain Stobo made his escape. Vanbraam seems to have thrown in his lot with the French, and did not afterward return to Virginia. The conduct of Washington and the Virginia troops was highly approved by the Governor and Council, and met with the almost unqualified praise of the people. Washington and his officers received a vote of thanks of the House of Burgesses for their brave and gallant service in defence of their country, while a pistole was granted from the public treasury to each of the soldiers.

The affair of Great Meadows is memorable as the first conflict of arms in the long and bitter war that followed, and as the scene of the first unsheathing of the sword of Washington—a sword that afterward pointed out the path that led his country to liberty and independence.

T. J. Chapman.

PRINCESS OR PRETENDER?

A LEAF FROM OLD LOUISIANA HISTORY

In the year 1721 began in the colony of Louisiana a romance which, gradually spreading the tidings of itself across the ocean, became, until the year 1771, when its heroine died, a fruitful topic of conversation and speculation in the courts of Russia, Prussia, France and Austria. This romance, wherein figured the accessories of an imperial court; the misfortunes of a lovely, but unhappily married, young princess; a fictitious death and burial; a secret escape and flight from the palace of the Czars at St. Petersburg, and finally a residence *incognito*, and "love in a cottage" on a plantation situated in the wilds of Louisiana, on the Red River; concerned the Grand Duchess Christine, a princess of the German house of Wolfenbuttel, wife of the Grand Duke Alexis, son of Peter the Great, and whose son, under the name of Peter II., became Emperor of Russia in 1727, succeeding the Empress Catherine, the wife of his grandfather, the great Czar.

It would be impossible at this day to decide upon the exact truth of the story of the Princess Christine, or Augustine Holden, as she was first known in Louisiana, or Mme. D'Aubant, her subsequent name by marriage to the Chevalier D'Aubant, an officer serving in the troops of the colony. We can only trace her career in the old French chronicles and histories of Louisiana, in a few scattered writings of European celebrities, and also in the modern histories of the State, as well as in two or three romances of the present century. Intermingled with undoubtedly truthful, because historical, details regarding the Princess Christine we find, in some accounts, that glamour of romance which denies that the unhappy woman died in her husband's palace in St. Petersburg about the year 1716, and which affirms that, in point of fact, her death was a pretended death, her burial, with all court honors and ceremonies, a deceptive one, and that, by the aid of her intimate friend and *confidante*, the famous Countess Konigsmark, and two or three faithful retainers, she managed to escape from the palace and from St. Petersburg and to make her way through the Czar's dominions to France whence she sailed from the port of L'Orient for Louisiana. It may be said here that the verdict of history, as uttered in our later histories, has pronounced the pretensions of Augustine Holden, who landed

at Biloxi, on the Mississippi Sound, in 1721, and who afterward claimed to be the Princess Christine, to be those of an imposter; but if it was an imposture, it was one well carried out; if it belonged to that class of doubtful allegations treasured up in the proverbial Italian saying as possibly not *vero* —not true—it at least was *ben trovato*—well invented.

Historically viewed, in what aspect does the story of the Princess Christine present itself? The daughter, as before stated, of the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, a German Princeling, Christine marries the Grand Duke Alexis, the eldest son of Peter the Great of Russia, and heir to the throne. Two children were issue of this marriage. One of these, Peter, was born in 1714, and became eventually Emperor of Russia; the other was a girl, Nathalie. Alexis, the husband of the Princess Christine, was a profligate and a man of brutal nature. Her life was made insupportable by his barbarities. It was under these circumstances that, after a most unhappy married life of a few years, she died in 1716 (according to the accepted version of history) and was duly buried, the Emperor Peter, the members of the imperial family, and court officials and dignitaries assisting at the obsequies. Of the unworthy Alexis, it is sufficient to quote the following brief account of his career and fate subsequent to the death of Christine:

"Inclined to low pleasures, and decidedly adverse to that reformation of the ancient manners of the country which it was the object of Peter's life to effect, Alexis secretly quitted Russia, and retired to Naples. By a promise of forgiveness, he was induced to return to Moscow, where he was thrown into prison, tried secretly, and condemned to death. He was found dead in prison, and it was given out that he had been carried off by some natural illness; but suspicions have been generally entertained that a private execution accomplished the end, without incurring the risks of a public one. He died in 1718. Alexis left a son, who, in 1727, became Emperor under the name of Peter II." This Peter, born in 1714, and the son of Christine, died in 1730.

At this stage we depart from the cold, rugged path of history and enter into the flowery ways of mystery and romance, which, in one aspect of the story of her life, diversify the records of the career of Christine of Wolfenbuttel. It has been related already, how, after an assumed illness and pretended death, aided by the Countess Konigsmark, mother of the celebrated Marshal Saxe, Christine fled from the palace and from Russia, leaving the mourners to bury an untenanted coffin. In her journeyings and wanderings she was under the charge of an old family retainer—one Walter—who was also privy to her flight. At Lyons, in France, where they lived for a time, she was known as the daughter of Walter, who had styled himself

Mons. De L'Escluse since his entry into France. Following her fortunes, further, we find her eventually, to wit in 1721, still accompanied by Walter (now known as Mons. Walter, as she was called Augustine Walter, his daughter) and a maid, Agatha, sailing from France, among a shipload of German settlers, for Biloxi, in the colony of Louisiana. From that point the Walters, now transformed into Holdens, repaired to the Red River country, where they settled upon a small plantation in the Colonie Roland.

The experiences of Christine as a creation (or a creature, it matters little which) of romance would have been incomplete without the traditional lover; and, indeed, that necessary adjunct to the plot was not wanting in the chapter of her checkered life. At the time when she lived in St. Petersburg also lived in the same city a young officer in the service of the Czar, named by some D'Aubant and by others Maldeck, who was a chevalier of some unmentioned Order. Frederick the Great of Prussia, in a writing concerning him, calls him Maldeck; but D'Aubant appears to have been his name, as he is so styled by all the old French historians who wrote of colonial affairs, and this name has been preserved by the later historians. D'Aubant frequently had seen Christine in public, if not in private at court, and, it may be presumed from later developments, had nourished for her an affection which, although silent and hopeless, was not the less faithful to the object that had aroused it. It is related, also, that one day while Christine and her friend, the Countess Julie B—— were hunting in the Hartz Mountains in Germany, the two, straying from the hunting party, were lost in the forest. D'Aubant chanced to be of the party, and it was his fortune to rescue the fair estrays from their perilous predicament. This incident perhaps tended to attach an additional interest in his mind to the Princess.

When the news of the death of Christine came to the ears of D'Aubant he resolved to leave the Czar's service and depart from St. Petersburg. This he did. He went to France. Subsequently, mournfully impressed by the death of the woman who had been so much in his thoughts, he felt a yearning for that solitude which the crowded and prosaic Old World could not give him. But, before taking this step, a mysterious circumstance had occurred which had much to do with his course. While in France, one day, he saw at the cathedral in Poitiers a woman accompanied by two other women and a man, in whom he recognized, or thought he recognized, the lost Christine. This woman at one time during the service had raised her veil for a moment and had glanced at him, as it seemed to him with a look of recognition. He afterward made inquiries regarding the party and

the next day learned where they lived. He sought the house and in an interview with the daughter of the owner of the house, who happened to be one of the three women he had seen at the church, he was told that the strangers were a traveling party on their way from Lyons to the port of L'Orient, whence they were to set sail for Louisiana. The man he had seen was a Monsieur De L'Escluse, the veiled woman was his daughter, and the other female was her maid Agatha. Before he took his departure from the house a slip of paper was given him by the woman whom he had questioned, who had received it from the guest of the day before, with instructions that it be given to him if he should call at the house and ask concerning her. On it was written in a woman's hand:

> I have drunk of the waters of Lethe;
> Hope yet remains to me.

These were the circumstances, therefore, which influenced D'Aubant to seek Louisiana. There was a chance that he might meet her in the wilds of that new land, if indeed it were Christine, and not a phantom of the imagination which had appeared before his eyes. Before his mind came continually the half-veiled face of the cathedral. Was it, indeed, Christine, whom all believed to be long dead and buried? Impossible! And yet, the scrap of paper that had been left in trust for him with the significant lines upon it—memory, the souvenirs of the past, instinct, perhaps—all declared to his heart that, unreal as it seemed, it was she.

At L'Orient he heard more of the party. They had just sailed in a vessel bound for Biloxi, a post and settlement west of Mobile. The man was no longer called De L'Escluse, however; now, it was a Monsieur Walter with his daughter and two servants who had sailed with some German settlers in a ship belonging to the India Company. Eagerly D'Aubant waited for the departure of the next vessel destined for Louisiana. One sailed in a very few days. Taking with him all his fortune in the shape of money, with which he had decided to purchase land in Louisiana and become a planter, he took passage in the ship. On the voyage out he once heard of Christine and her companions. The ship on which he sailed touched at Teneriffe. There he learned that a certain ship, which was weighing anchor preparatory to leaving the port, as they entered the harbor, was the vessel in which they had sailed.

D'Aubant's vessel finally left Teneriffe, and without any misadventure arrived at Mobile. Almost immediately after landing he began to search for Christine. He heard of their arrival at Biloxi, and of their departure from that point for New Orleans; but that was all. He pursued his

investigations, but nowhere could he hear of a family named Walter or De L'Escluse, which had come to, or departed from, any settlement in the colony. He was in despair. They had gone traveling so as to avoid questionings and observation, to the Illinois country—perhaps to Canada or Mexico. If it was Christine, he could understand why she should wish to preserve her *incognito*.

Without altogether abandoning hope, he next turned his thoughts to selecting a locality for his plantation home. He chose a beautiful spot on the Red River to which he gave the name of Valley of Christine. Thither, accompanied by a colony of some sixty persons, which he had organized, he repaired and established himself.

The reader will remember that on the arrival of Christine in Louisiana, Walter had changed his name to Walter Holden. It was under this name, therefore, that he was known after his departure from Biloxi, as Christine was known as Augustine Holden, his daughter. As the Holdens they also finally settled in the Colonie Roland, on the Red River. This change of name, it may be presumed, was the cause of D'Aubant's failure to trace them in their journeyings, subsequent to their leaving Biloxi.

Fate was not long in bringing Christine and the Chevalier D'Aubant together. The Valley of Christine and the Colonie Roland, the respective homes of the two, were about fifty miles apart, and by a train of circumstances, most natural in the condition of affairs, D'Aubant was led one day to visit the Colonie Roland. There he saw Christine. Disguise, then, was useless. Christine was troubled—agitated; but she confessed to her identity. She begged him to preserve her secret as he would his life, and told him of her simulated death and of her flight. She had recognized him, she said, at Poitiers, and, not thinking that they ever would meet again, she had left for him the paper which had been given him by the daughter of the man at whose house they had lodged. She had sought to avoid him, however, as she wished to be thought, by him as by all the world, as no longer among the living.

The interest which D'Aubant previously had felt in Christine now changed to devotion. He besought her to induce Walter to remove to the Valley of Christine, there to live. She yielded to his solicitations, and not long after this first meeting the Holdens joined D'Aubant's colony.

Here began the happiest years of Christine's life. Under the shade of the trees of the Valley of Christine, where feathered songsters, undismayed, sang their songs of love and promise, she listened with throbbing heart to the words of the man whom she had learned to love. She was a widow. Years had passed since Alexis had ceased to exist. Perhaps sometimes pride

—memories of that high estate which once had marked her for the exalted rank of Empress of Russia—may have intervened to cause her to hesitate at the idea of becoming the wife of a simple gentleman. But as she recalled her years of self-sacrifice and of bitter disappointments near a throne, the contrast was too favorable to allow her to reject, in that humble and peaceful home on the Red River, the compensation which the hand of a kindly Fate seemed to hold out for her acceptance. The birds sang her epithalamium on the day when, having consented to become the Chevalier D'Aubant's wife, she was married to the man of her choice and of her heart by a priest from the neighboring Spanish post of Andayes.

In this period of quiet contentment but one obstacle remained to her complete happiness; she mourned, as only a mother can mourn, for her children, absent and forever lost to her, Petrovich and Nathalie.

As a planter D'Aubant prospered. Two children, daughters, were born to him and Christine. More than twenty years passed in peace in the Valley of Christine.

In the course of years D'Aubant's health became a matter of solicitude to him and to Christine. In order to obtain medical advice he sold his Louisiana estate and they went to Paris, taking with them their daughters, now grown to womanhood.

In Paris began a new phase in Christine's life. D'Aubant's health was improved, but it was considered advisable that he should seek a home in a more balmy clime than that of Louisiana. They, therefore, lingered in Paris, endeavoring to obtain D'Aubant's appointment as officer in the military service in the Isle of Bourbon. One day, during this interval, Christine was walking in the gardens of the Tuileries, accompanied by her daughters. They were conversing in German. A distinguished man and an admirer of the fair sex, Marshal Saxe, attracted by the sound of his own language, approached them and spoke to them. He was the son, as before mentioned in the course of this sketch, of that Countess of Konigsmark who had aided Christine to escape, and was at that time at the height of his fame as a great and successful general. He recognized Christine, in spite of the years that had intervened since the days of her girlhood.

He promised to respect her secret, at least until she should have left Paris, when, he said, he would feel it his duty to inform the King of his discovery. Satisfied with this, Christine and D'Aubant left the city shortly after and went to the Isle of Bourbon, D'Aubant with a commission as Major of troops, obtained through the Marshal's influence. After their departure Saxe told Louis XV. of the incident. The King thereupon

ordered that the Governor of the Isle of Bourbon be instructed to treat the Chevalier D'Aubant and his family with every consideration. He also wrote to the Empress of Austria, who was Christine's niece, informing her that her aunt was still alive. The Empress wrote to Christine, inviting her to take up her residence at the Imperial Court. But, happy in her new home with her husband and children, she declined the proposition and continued to dwell in the Isle of Bourbon.

Death at last broke into the happiness of Christine's life. D'Aubant died, and not long after he was followed to the grave by his daughters. Bereft of husband and children, Christine returned to Europe, and made her residence at the city of Brunswick, her expenses being met by a pension granted her by the Empress of Austria. At last she entered a convent in Paris, and there, in the year 1770, or 1771, she died. It is related that during her last illness, just before her death, she opened her eyes, which had been closed in a seeming sleep. "I have had a beautiful dream," she said, "and now comes the awakening."

In what I have written above is given the substance of the experiences of the Christine of romance, of surmise, and of court gossip. But one thing remains to complete the narrative, and that is, turning from the aspect of romance that has been presented to the reader, to reverse the medal and to show Augustine Holden in the light of history, as associated with the colonial records of Louisiana.

Judge Martin in his *History of Louisiana*, the standard history of the State, thus briefly summarizes the story of the woman whose fortunes we have followed:

"Two hundred German settlers of Law's grant were landed in the month of March (1721) at Biloxi, out of twelve hundred who had been recruited. The rest had died before they embarked or on the passage. . . . There came among the German new-comers a female adventurer. She had been attached to the wardrobe of the wife of the Czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, the only son of Peter the Great. She imposed on the credulity of many persons, but particularly on that of an officer of the garrison of Mobile (called by Bossu the Chevalier D'Aubant, and by the King of Prussia Maldeck), who having seen the princess at St. Petersburg imagined he recognized her features in those of her former servant, and gave credit to the report which prevailed that she was the Duke of Wolfenbuttel's daughter" (the wife of the Czarowitz), "and the officer married her."

Charles Dimitry.

THE NEW-YEAR'S HOLIDAY

ITS ORIGIN AND OBSERVANCES

There is a touch of the old Roman superstition yet extant concerning auspicious beginnings. The world seems much better worth living in when the first day of the year has been spent satisfactorily. The precise origin of the setting apart of this day as a special holiday is lost in the mist of ages; but its observances date from very high antiquity. The Christians borrowed the customs and ceremonials which distinguished it from the old Romans—who were no inventors, but obedient to the beliefs and customs of their fathers and fathers' fathers—and who dedicated New-Year's-day to a double-faced Latin deity, called Janus. The name Janus appears to be a corruption of Diana, and the Goddess Diana identical with the daughter of King Zeus, who was the twin sister of Apollo, and who in the Trojan war sided with the Trojans and quarreled with Hera, the wife of Jupiter, snatching the bow from her back and beating her with it most unmercifully. Homer represents Hera as the great national divinity, a sort of earth goddess of fine manners and good breeding, although sometimes very cross to poor Jupiter; and as she often sat on one hand of King Zeus at state banquets, and, as we are taught, could compel the sun to go to bed that the long day which was to be the last of the Trojan prosperity might close in the middle of the afternoon, we may consider her quite capable of projecting the New-Year's holiday, and, further, of designing the mode in which it should be perpetuated and celebrated to the end of time. At all events, whether the gods and heroes of Mythology had any part in its origin or otherwise, circumstantial evidence points in their direction. Romulus, who was said to be the son of Mars, and no doubt on terms of intimacy with his mythological relations, introduced the worship of Janus into Rome 753 B.C. His successor, Numa, the second ante-historical King of Rome, paid Janus the compliment of naming the first month in the year January.

In ancient Rome all undertakings that were commenced on the first day of the New Year were expected to terminate successfully. The Roman magistracy invariably entered upon their duties on New-Year's morning, and the whole nation knelt in prayer with the early dawn. The entire day was deemed sacred. The rulers banqueted after the manner of the gods, and, imitating the intellectual Greeks, had music throughout the meal. Gentlemen not infrequently paused between the courses to sing songs with lyre accompaniments. The peasantry wore festal garments in the streets, and journeyed great distances to bring presents to the Emperor—a compulsory tribute. They also gave gifts to each other of dates, figs, plums, cakes, and copper coins with the double head of Janus upon them. No

one would lend anything or suffer a neighbor to take fire out of his house, or anything of iron, on New-Year's-day.

The early Fathers of the Church tried to suppress these practices, which they denounced as heathenish and savoring too much of idolatry. Claudius I., who was a reformer as well as a tolerable scholar and author, modified the ancient fashion by a decree, chiefly because of his dislike to the pagan performances attending presentations—which were considered as omens of prosperity for the coming year. It was this monarch who converted the southern portion of the British Isle into a Roman Province, and waged a war with Germany; thus, while he labored to suppress New-Year's observances in his own country, he was instrumental in spreading the custom all over Europe. It was caught and perpetuated in England for a succession of centuries. Even under the Tudors and Stuarts the English nobility, according to "ancient custom," sent the king a purse of gold "every New-Year's tide," and presents were made among all classes of people. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth the lords of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, the chief officers of state, and the servants of the royal household down to the master-cook, sergeant of the pantry, and dustman, contributed to the wardrobe and jewelry of Her Majesty every New-Year's-day. In the time of Charles II., the gifts to the sovereign were mostly made in plate.

The Germans and the Holland Dutch interpreted in a broader sense the pretty notion which had come down to them from the old Romans. If good fortune attended all business enterprises beginning with the first day of the year, why might not friendships be more secure if begun or cemented on that same propitious occasion? Thus was inaugurated the delightful custom of New-Year's visits—a custom which the Dutch brought to America with them nearly three centuries ago, and which has been, from that period until the present hour, one of the most important social observances of the year. The winter holidays or Christmas season in Dutch New York occupied some two or three weeks, and, commonly, all public business was suspended until the hilarity was over. The Christmas festival, elaborately described in a former number of this Magazine [X. 471], was particularly distinguished by boisterous revels, and great men became trifling and frolicsome.

But New-Year's-day was quite another affair. Dignity was everywhere observable. Ladies were never to be seen in the streets; they were in their decorated homes, in the richest of apparel, welcoming the chief magnates of the colony with stately courtesy and becoming grace. The French and English who subsequently settled in New York fell in with the established custom, and soon became more devoted to its agreeable exactions than even the Dutch themselves. No gentleman of that early school, who esteemed himself eligible to good society, ever thought of omitting to visit his lady acquaintances on the first day of the year; and in the mean time the English habit of making presents on New-Year's-day instead of Christmas was adopted by the Dutch.

Until the Revolution, the custom of making New-Year's calls was confined

strictly to New York—no other American city or town having even so much as contemplated borrowing it. To Washington, when he came to reside in New York as the first President of the new Republic, it was a novelty. New-Year's came on Friday, in 1790; Mrs. Washington was therefore at home, it being her usual day of the week for receiving calls. The President stood beside her, with all the stiffness for which he was remarkable. Guests began to arrive at noon, and, during the afternoon hours, came the Vice-President, the Governor, the Senators, Representatives, Foreign public characters, and all the principal gentlemen of the city; while, in the evening, such as remained were served to tea, coffee, and plum and plain cake. Washington's curiosity found expression before the company finally departed. He asked a New Yorker whether such usages were casual or otherwise, and, being told that New-Year's calling had always been a feature of New York life, observed, with emphasis: "The highly favored situation of New York will, in the process of years, attract numerous emigrants, who will gradually change its ancient customs and manners; but, whatever changes take place, never forget the cordial and cheerful observance of NEW-YEAR'S-DAY."

Since then the custom has winged its way to the remotest corners of the land, from ocean to ocean, until nearly every place of any size on the American continent maintains a general interchange of civilities on New-Year's-day. In the city of Washington, as in New York, it might appropriately be called "Gentleman's Day." No bright colors enliven the streets; but dark clouds of broadcloth are drifted by the gusts of inclination or duty, in all directions. Industry retires from public view, not a business vehicle cumbers the broad thoroughfares. Carriages filled with gentlemen line the avenues of travel, and a gentlemanly throng blockades the sidewalks.

The custom like other customs has had its abuses. At one period the unmannerly young man multiplied himself indefinitely in order to gain access to high places. But when the ladies found they were compelled to greet dudes and strangers instead of expected friends, they corrected the impertinence by sending cards as for any other reception. This special abuse came through the rapid influx of people from other communities, and was confined chiefly to the metropolis.

In Washington the assemblage of visitors on New-Year's-day at the Executive Mansion is one of the most brilliant of the year. The ladies of the Cabinet officers, of the Chief-Justice, and Justices of the Supreme Court, and of the Foreign Ministers, in full dress, usually pay their respects to the President and the ladies of his household, in company with their husbands, and then return to their own parlors to receive during the remainder of the day. Through a whim of fashion the time-honored custom has recently been frowned upon by some of the leaders in New York society—but for how long is an open question. The New-Year's holiday not being an offspring of fashion in any sense, and its observances having been entailed through the ages, the chances are very slight that it will be permanently affected by so erratic a power.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

General C. F. Smith's Unpublished Report of the Capture of Fort Donelson.

[Copied by the Editor, from General C. F. Smith's manuscript in pencil in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Marshall Oliver, Annapolis, Maryland.]

H^{d} Quarters 2nd Division
District of West Tenn^{e}
Pittsburg, Tenn^{e}
March 29, 1862

The Asst Adj't Gen^{l}
H^{d} Quarters District West Tenn
Savannah, Tenn.

Sir

I present to the Major Gen^{l} commanding the District the following as the Report of the operations of my Division during the attack on Fort Donelson.

The first Brigade commanded by Colonel McArthur, 9th Ills., consisting of the 9th, 12th, and 41st Ills. Infantry, was detached during almost the entire period of our three days operations, and hence its service did not come under my personal notice, save to a very limited extent. It is well known to me however they did gallant service; and as no official notice has been taken of this so far as I am aware, I take pleasure in transmitting herewith the reports of the Reg'nt^{l} Commanders, with a list of the casualties in the Brigade, amounting to 70 killed, and 340 wounded.

The 2nd Brigade commanded by Col Morgan L Smith, of the 8th Mo, consisting in part of his own Reg'nt, and the 11th Ind^{a}, was in like manner detached, and as the Report of General Wallace indicates, performed most distinguished services.

Co^{s} C of the 2^{d} (Capt F) and I, of the 4th regular Cavalry (Lt Powell)—the squadron commanded by (the) captain (of) the former—belonging to the Division were detached from it, from before the fall of Fort Henry until after the fall of Fort Donelson. It is within my knowledge they did gallant and effective service for which they have thus far received no credit. I take pleasure therefore in transmitting with this the Report of Lt Powell (Capt F. being absent on account of ill health) and commending both officers to the favorable notice of the government.

That part of the Division under my immediate orders was organized as follows; the 3^{d} Brigade, commanded by Col John Cooke 7th Ills consisted of his own regiment commanded by Lt Col Babcock, 50th Ills (Col Bane), 12th Iowa (Col Wood) 52nd Ind^{a} (Col Smith,) & 13th Missouri (Col. Wright). The 4th Brigade commanded by Col Lauman, 7th Iowa, consisting of his own regiment commanded by Lt Col Parrott, 2nd Iowa, Col Tuttle, 14th Iowa, Col Shaw, 25th Indiana, Col Veatch, and

16th M° (commonly called Western sharp shooters) Lt Col Compton, the 2d Battalion, 1st M° light-artillery, commanded by Major Cavender, consisting of 3 batteries of 4 Parrott guns each—10 & 20 pounders, commanded respectively by Captains Welcker, Richardson, and Stone.

Arriving on the evening of February 12th at a short distance from the outwork of the enemy on his right, the investment of the place was partially commenced by throwing the 4th Brigade on our left, and the 3d Brigade on its right, joining the 1st division on the right with the first (McArthur) Brigade in reserve, with a battery in advance on the road leading to Dover and Fort Donelson.

Early on the following morning (13th) the regiments were posted in order of investment, in easy cannon range of the enemy's line of defence from the West—his extreme right to the South a somewhat central position with reference to that line, going as far off as possible to the left of the 1st division.

The ground covered by the division was thickly wooded, and exceedingly hilly and broken. The enemy's works were on the highest ground in the vicinity; he had an Infantry breastwork in front of his main line (vulgarly called rifle pits) crested with logs from under which they fired; the whole strengthened by a wide *abattis* from felled timber of large size.

Ignorant of the ground we had to feel our way cautiously; as soon as the regiments were measureably in position, orders were given to Brigade commanders to cover our front of attack with as many skirmishers as possible, well supported by their regiments, keeping a strong reserve; to press forward as steadily and rapidly as the ground would admit, and if the opportunity offered to assault with the bayonet.

During this time Major Cavender's batteries, by sections or pieces, were posted to the best apparent advantage, well supported, with orders to open on the enemy. This was handsomely done and quick response made. Our pieces were shifted from time to time, and served with good effect, better as we afterward knew from the enemy than was suspected; their long ranges sending shells into the Fort, and causing sharp loss and great moral effect. Our casualties were numerous on this day. The Reports of the different commanders partially confirmed by my personal observations satisfied me that an assault on almost any part of the entire front covered by us was not practicable, without enormous sacrifice of life.

At night-fall the skirmishers were recalled and the troops ordered to remain in position, but from necessity without fires, as the night was very inclement—rainy, snow and sleet and cold—the discomfort of the men was very great.

On the next day (14th) the same system of annoyance was kept up but, under the orders of the Çommanding general to a more limited extent. At night-fall the advance parties were recalled as before. Our casualties of this day were not so numerous as the day before. The night inclement as before with the same discomfort. During the course of this day I made a personal reconnoiseance of the ground on our extreme left and satisfied myself that the only apparent practicable

point of assault was in that quarter—the enemy's extreme right being protected by an impassable slough which fact was communicated to the Commanding general.

Under the orders of the Commanding general the Division remained quiet on the next day (15th) except to keep up the annoyance by skirmishers and slow artillery fire, until towards 3 o'clock P. M. when I received the general's personal order to assault the enemy's right—a half mile or more from my habitual position. On the receipt of the order the artillery was ordered to open heavily and the Brigade commanders to press forward with large numbers of skirmishers, and make a dash at any available opening; whilst the 2nd Iowa—supported by the 52nd Inda (belonging to the 3d Brigade, but which had been posted to guard the left) 25th Inda, 12th Iowa, &c—was ordered to lead the assault. This regiment was ordered to rely on the bayonet and not to fire a shot until the enemy's ranks were broken. Right gallantly was the duty performed. The left wing of the regiment under its Col (Tuttle) moved steadily over the open space down the ravine and up the rough ground covered with large timber in unbroken line, regardless of the fire poured into it, and paused not until the enemy broke and fled. It was quickly followed by the other wing under its Lt Col (Baker) in the same manner; the united body pursuing the enemy through their encampment and towards the enemy's works just above, where they skirmished for a considerable time. The movement of this regiment was a very handsome exhibition of soldierly conduct.

The 52d Inda ordered to follow and support the 2nd Iowa, from the nature of the ground and want of tactical knowledge, instead of going to the left as I had intended, came up (in) confusion, and instead of moving forward, remained behind the earthwork just taken, from where and from some unexplained cause fired fatal shots into their friends in front. They remained in this position until sent to reform in the rear.

The 25th Inda following in order moved in advance to the support of the 2nd Iowa, and covered it when that regiment for want of cartridges retired behind the intrenchments just taken from the infantry of the enemy.

As soon as the outwork was taken I sent for a section of Stone's battery, which soon arrived and opened upon the enemy with happy effect silencing a heavy gun —24 pounder. Meantime the regiments of the 3d (Cooke's) Brigade arrived but as it was getting late I deemed it better to dispose of the troops for the night and be in readiness for a renewed assault on the morrow—the crest of the enemy's works being only some 400 yards distant, and the ground more or less favorable.

Increasing the artillery on the ground first taken by a couple of 20 pounder Parrott guns, the 4th Brigade was disposed to guard the position, with the 3d Brigade in reserve several hundred yards in rear.

The 9th and 12th Ills (1st Brigade) having reported at this time, the latter was thrown forward around the base of the hill towards the enemy's main work; the 9th remaining in reserve. The night was cold, but neither the hail storm——

MINOR TOPICS

THE BLADENSBURG RACES

Letter from ex-Postmaster-General, Hon. Horatio King.

Editor of Magazine of American History :

I wish I had known of an amusing production, which has unexpectedly come into my hands, touching "The Bladensburg Races," since your contributor, Colonel Norton, wrote me asking for some appropriate accompaniment to the burlesque British engraving of the "Burning of Washington," in your December issue. This is a ballad of sixty-eight stanzas, somewhat after the style of "John Gilpin's Ride." It opens in this wise :—

"James Madison a soldier was,
Of courage and renown,
And *Generalissimo* was he
Of famous Washington.

Quoth Madison unto his spouse,
'Though frighted we have been
These two last tedious weeks, yet we
No enemy have seen.

To-morrow is the twenty-fourth,
And much indeed I fear
That then, or on the following day
That Cockburn will be here.'

'To-morrow, then,' quoth she, 'we'll fly
As fast as we can pour
Northward, unto Montgomery,
All in our coach and four.

'My sister Cutts, and Cutts and I,
And Cutts's children three,
Will fill the coach ;—so you must ride
On horseback after we.'

He soon replied, 'I do admire
Of human kind but one,
And you are she, my *Dolly* dear ;
Therefore it shall be done.' "

The "Generalissimo" thereupon prepares for the trip—saying his "trusty steed the Griffin bold," would "safely bear him through"—that he, with the members of his Cabinet, "would start as though for Bladensburg," but when they had cleared the town they would put "for Montgomery, and o'ertake the coach at early noon." This seemed greatly to please "Mistress Dolly," on whose ruddy cheek he pressed a kiss—

"O'erjoyed was he to find,
Though bent on running off, she'd still
His *honor* in her mind."

Fearing the "mob should grumble loud," the coach was not allowed to start from the White House ; but "six precious souls, and all agog," entered it "at brother Cutts's"—

"Smack went the whip, 'round went the wheels,
Were never folks so glad :
The dust did rise beneath the coach,
As though the dust were mad."

The "General" mounted to follow, when, "looking back," he "saw his Cabinet behind."

"'Monroe, you're late!' quoth Madison,
'Tis late, indeed, I fear,
For us to steer for Bladensburg :
The British are so near.' "

And now, as

"The Cabinet on horseback sat,"

They "reasoned high," as to whether they should set out for the camp,

"Or northward straight should fly."

Before the council ended "Cuffee screamed, 'De Shappo-hat and sword'" of the General "'be leave behind,'" when he was directed to bring them at once. This caused a little delay, but the "gallant Four"—Madison, Monroe, Armstrong and Rush (the "Boatswain," Secretary of the Navy, was detained) soon reached the "country road," when they moved on rapidly, not a little accelerated by the

"loud blast of a bugle-horn," which disturbed "our hero," the General, "it scared his horse so."

"Away went he—and after him
Our heroes rode apace,—
They little dreamt when they set out,
Of running such a race."

With some mishaps and much trepidation, they at length all "came unto the spot, where Winder's forces lay," when they anxiously inquired:

"'Where are the British? Winder, where?
And Cockburn, where is he?—
D'ye think your men will fight, or run,
When they the British see?'"

Now, telling Armstrong and Rush to "stay here in camp," the "General," with Monroe as his "Aid," said he would return—adding:

"'And, Winder, do not fire your guns,
Nor let your trumpets play,
Till we are out of sight—Forsooth,
My horse will run away.'"

They flew toward Montgomery, the "General:"

"Then, speaking to his horse, he said,
'I am in haste to dine:
'Twas for *your* pleasure I came here;
You shall go back for mine.'

Now, at Montgomery, his wife
Out of the window spied
Her gallant husband, wond'ring much
To see how he did ride.

'Stop, stop! your Highness, here's the house!'
They all at once did roar;
'Here, at Montgom'ry, you're as safe
As ten miles off, or more.'

'Stop him, Monroe! here's sister Cutts,
The girls, and Cutts, and I;
The dinner's cold, and we are tir'd!'
Monroe says, 'So am I.'"

But the distant cannonade so frightened the steeds, that "neither horse nor

James a whit inclined to tarry there," and, with Monroe, the "General" kept on until they finally brought up at Frederick, much to the astonishment of everybody on the road—the women thinking "our General rode express:"

"And so he did; for he first bore
The news to Frederick-town;
Nor stopt from where he first got up,
Till he again got down.

Now, long live Madison, the brave!
And Armstrong, long live he!
And Rush, and Cutts, Monroe and Jones!
And Dolly, long live She!

And when—their Country's cause at stake,
Our General and Monroe
Next take the field, to lead our trooops
Against th' invading foe;

But fly their posts—ere the first gun
Has echo'd o'er the wave,
Stop! stop! Potomac! stop thy course!
Nor pass MOUNT VERNON'S GRAVE!"

The whole production reveals an undercurrent of disrespect and bitterness—especially toward Madison—which leads to the supposition that the verses were written very soon after the battle. They were printed in 1816, but the author of them, so far as I am aware, is unknown.

H. K.

WASHINGTON, *December* 2, 1885.

REPRINTS

TWO EXCEPTIONALLY INTERESTING LETTERS

James Meyrick (London) *to Benedict Arnold, in* 1781.

John Hancock to General Washington, in 1781.

[From a rare copy of the *Oriental Miscellany:* or, *Authentic Repository of all Public Events,* from June, 1781, to January, 1782. *Printed in London, England.*]

(FIRST LETTER.)

"*The following Copy of a Letter written by Mr.* MEYRICK, *one of the American Agents in London, to the famous General* ARNOLD, *was found in the Packet, which was intercepted in its Passage to New York:*

Parliament-street, 30th Jan, 1781.

Sir,

I have received the honour of your different letters, inclosing bills of Exchange upon Harley and Drummond (bankers to the Court), to the amount of 5000*l.* sterling, of the receipt of which I regularly gave you notice. On the day they were paid, I placed the sum in the funds, in compliance with your intimation; and as the time was extremely favourable, I flatter myself with the pleasure of meeting your approbation, and that you will be pleased with the manner in which I have disposed of it.

As it is proposed that some orders may arrive from you, directing the disposal of your money in some different way from that in which I have employed it, I thought it best not to shut it up entirely, as a long time might elapse before I received from you the necessary powers for transferring the capital, in case I had purchased the stock in your name; mean while the dividends could not be received for your use.—The method I have adopted is commonly practised in similar cases, and I can immediately alter it in whatever manner you think proper, as soon as you will do me the honour to give me notice of your sentiments by a letter. The account is as follows:

Bought by Mess. Samuel and William Scholey, Stock Brokers, for Major-general Arnold, 7000*l.* sterling in the new annuities, at 72¼ per cent. in the manner following:

	£.	s.	d.
Under the name of Major-general Benedict Arnold, 100*l.* sterling stock, at 7¼ per cent. in the new consolidated annuities, at 4 per cent, and 6,900*l.* sterling in the same fund, under the name of James Meyrick Esq.	4.987	10	0
Commission to the Brokers		8 15	0
Letter of attorney for receiving the dividends		0 1	6
	£4.996	6	6

There then remains of the 5000*l.* three pounds thirteen shillings and sixpence.

Thus by this method, if I receive any instructions from you for employing your money in a different manner, I can sell out the 6,900*l.* and dispose of your money agreeable to your directions before this letter reaches you ; and if it is your wish that it should remain in the funds, it can be placed under your name, by my transferring the 6,900*l.* and joining it to your 100*l.* The reason of my purchasing the latter sum in your name was, that you might have an account open. The letter of attorney, here enclosed, enables me also to receive the dividends for the whole 7000*l.* after I have transferred, if it is your wish that I should do it. I hope that I have now explained everything sufficiently, and I can assure you, I have acted with greater care in this transaction than if it had been for myself.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

James Meyrick.

Major-general Arnold, New York."

(SECOND LETTER.)

From the Jamaica Royal Gazette.

[The character of Washington's letter which called forth such a vigorous response from John Hancock may easily be inferred.]

" Sir

I received your two letters ; and that your sentiments might be as fully conveyed to Congress as they are to me, I sent copies of both to each member, which as the subject was of such a nature as to make its general publication dangerous to the States, we had a private Meeting to consider of it.

After recapitulating your conduct since you were invested with command, and minutely examining the motives that induced you to take up arms in defence of your country, we must readily acquit you of any sinister design, any selfish view, or any treasonable intention. You have, as a General, acted with a prudent caution, and avoided any decisive action with the enemy. This undoubtedly was an original plan ; and you have well executed it. If there were any opportunities which might have gained an advantage for the army of the States, and which offered themselves in the want of Generalship in the enemy, such opportunities, in being omitted, are not chargeable to your account.

We recollect the strict injunctions you had not to risk a battle, and we console ourselves in the loss of a few advantages, by your many escapes from danger, when an attack by the enemy might have finally put an end to your hopes. These escapes, Sir, we attribute as well to your military skill, as to the hand of Providence.

Hitherto we have been distinguished by many marks of Providence in our favour. We have now the assurance of two great allies, from whose interposition we had but very faint hopes at the beginning of the war. Those nations have taken a decided part in our favour; and, as it was the world's opinion, that in the last war between the House of Bourbon and the House of Hanover, America was the ally that turned the scale in favour of Great Britain, so are we now to hope that she will preponderate with equal weight on the sides of France and Spain. To talk therefore of making a submission is to talk idly. We are now a match for our haughty enemy; they know it, they dread it, and the language of some persons speak it.

You say that our finances are low, and our paper money not current; that the troops are discontented, and in some parts almost famishing; you likewise tell us of innumerable desertions, and that the disaffected are many.

All these Mr. Washington, may be true, and it is what we are to expect. But Great Britain herself has dissatisfied men in her army, her navy, and her Senate. We have convincing proofs every day of a kindling rebellion in the very heart of that proud empire. Trust me, Mr. Washington, Heaven has great things yet in store for us; and with such a prospect, it is blasphemy against the cause we fight in to utter a distrust of Providence. As to our credit being low, so is that of England. Our paper currency is as good as their Stocks. The value of either is ideal, and the only difference lies in long custom having established English faith, and want of time to prove American punctuality, having raised suspicions of our honesty. We should, therefore, by every stratagem, keep up the spirits of the people: their despondence alone can do credit an injury.

Disaffection is dangerous, and therefore, by severity in punishment should be stopped. A few examples always deter the herd; and if you practice, you will find good consequences in the advice. As to deserters, if they will not go over to the enemy, it is only an inconvenience *pro tempore:* we generally get them again, either as recruits, or by proclamation of pardon. But, Sir, you surprise us in saying the troops are famished. The ratio of provision is regularly paid for, and our contractors are honest men. There surely must be some mistake in that part of your letter, or the complaints made to you are without foundation. However, an enquiry into that supposed grievance shall instantly be made; and I can pledge myself to you, in name of Congress, that the cause, if any, shall be immediately done away.

The last dispatches we had from Dr. Franklin speak highly of the honourable mention in which the army under your command made throughout the French dominions; and he gives us every assurance, that so soon as the channel fleet of Britain is blocked up in Portsmouth, and that Rodney is defeated in the West Indies, a reinforcement of both men and money will be sent to America. The great superiority of the House of Bourbon at sea gives the man authority to talk in high terms of doing as they please with the British fleet. Indeed the navy of

England cannot thrive so fast now as it did last war ; for every difficulty that the ingenious devices of some persons there can form is daily practiced to prevent the first Lord of the Admiralty from doing his business. Not that this is done more to serve us, than it is from the avowed hatred which some persons bear that nobleman ; an hatred which will never cease, as it arises from that strong passion, jealousy. We may therefore hope in a short time to see the fleet of England moulder away ; and then, without any internal commotions, her Sun of Glory is set for ever.

The melancholy *contour* of your letter has much affected us all. We know your abilities and have a strong confidence in them ; you are loved and adored by the army ; and even your enemies allow you merit. If you desert us, it may do us effectual mischief. The English consider you as our sheet anchor ; and your resignation would indeed be a triumph to them ; you must not therefore at this time think of it ; the very idea is dangerous, and if published would sow discontent indeed throughout the army. Lucrative motives, we are certain, are no objects to you, or you might name your terms. The gratitude of America is, however, superior to the promises of Congress ; and when the day of peace comes, her glorious General will not be forgot.

As to the conquest of Charlestown, it is indeed an immense loss to us ; but the victory of Britain in Carolina will be short-lived ; we have friends who are working such a mine as will blow up all their triumphal schemes ; and if Providence favour us, the news of the surrender will come to their ears a day too late for their rejoicing in London. I have already given you a hint that must raise your expectations—the explanation will surprise you. [Here follow about twenty lines of strange figures, somewhat like the Hebrew characters.]

In a stedfast hope that the God of battle will direct you how best to act, should Clinton attack you, I remain your invariable friend,

J. Hancock

G. Washington."

NOTES

BISHOP MEADE—In the recently issued Volume IV. of the Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Rev. Philip Slaughter, D. D. writes: "Bishop Meade, though never meddling with politics, which is regarded in Virginia as out of the ministerial sphere, was of the Washington, Hamilton and Marshall school: and clung to the Union till the Force Bill was passed, which made the South solid, as the first gun at Sumter did the North. He seized the forlorn hope that the separation might be a peaceable one, like that between Judah and Israel. The Convention of May, 1861, was the semicentenary of his ministry; and he preached the Convention Sermon. It was like the swan-song of the sainted Simeon, or rather like Moses on Pisgah taking a retrospect of his life and a survey of the promised land. He said that historians and poets had painted in glowing colors the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, but the word of God did not thus speak: the only wars that had any pretense for justification were those in defense of the rights of person and property; and even these were attended with so much sin and suffering, that they must be regarded as sore scourges and judgments of an angry God."

JOHN WASHINGTON—*To the Editor of the Magazine of American History:* Some months ago I found the name of John Washington with the tax of 16 shillings affixed in the manuscript Tax Lists of New Castle, Delaware, for the year 1693. As the Washington family were interested in the Principio Iron Works in Cecil County, Maryland, founded in 1715, and the latter were not above four or five hours' drive from New Castle, it is probable that the above John Washington was nearly connected with the family of the Father of our Country. JOHN MEREDITH READ

December 1, 1885.

CHURCHES IN NEWARK, 1707—In Rev. Dr. Bowen's work on *The Days of Makemie*, after a little sketch of a Minister's meeting in Newark, at the house of Mr. Jasper Crane, the author says: "Here there is a Reformed Dutch Church, also one of French Huguenots. A small circle of Presbyterians are in the habit of meeting together in private houses for reading the Scriptures and for prayer and praise. They are true men and tried. One of these, a lawyer of talent and growing influence, Mr. David Jamison, was imprisoned for his religion in Europe and brought into this country and sold into servitude for a term of years.

"I hear also of Captain John Theobalds, John Vanhorn, a merchant, Anthony Young and William Jackson, both of the latter also banished from Scotland for devotion to Christ and Presbyterianism."

QUERIES

JAMES BRIDGER—What sources are there of information regarding this "old man of the mountains?" The absence of his name in *Poole's Index* proves that, at least up to the year 1883, he had never been the subject of a magazine article.

In the catalogue of the Congressional Library I cannot discover the title of any book about him. But next to John Colter, Bridger was first to penetrate into the Geyser-realm of the Yellowstone. Bonneville, in 1832, found Bridger west of the Rockies as a resident partner of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Reynolds, in 1859 and 1860, would have failed every way in his Yellowstone Expedition, but for Bridger as guide and factotum. Who will point me to other authorities concerning this mountaineer besides Bonneville, Stansbury, and Reynolds? JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

MEADE—LATHAM—I. David Meade, of Virginia, and afterward of Kentucky, says in his history of the Meade family: that Andrew, the immigrant ancestor, was a native of Ireland; that he went from Ireland to London, and thence came to New York near the close of the 17th Century; that while in New York he married Mary Latham, of Flushing, and of "Quaker parentage;" and that subsequently this Andrew Meade and his wife settled on the Nansemond River in Virginia, then the "head-quarters" of the Friends in that colony.

Query—(1) Who were the parents of Mary Latham, and where did they reside? (2) The date and place of her marriage to Andrew Meade?

II. In the abstract of the will of George Fox, and of the subsequent proceedings in relation to that will (*Historical and Geneological Register*, October, 1885, pp. 327–9), mention is made of Fox's stepdaughter, *Sarah Meade*, wife of *William Meade*, of London, in 1688, and also in 1697.

Query—(1) What family relation, if any, was Andrew, of Virginia, to William, of London? (2) Was Andrew Meade himself at any time a member of the Society of Friends? A. H. HOYT

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER IN DUTCH—A copy of the Book of Common Prayer, published by John Crellius, Amsterdam, 1711, has been preserved in the Van Rensselaer family. The English and "Low Dutch" are printed in parallel columns. The "Approbation" of the Bishop of London sets forth the reasons for the publication. "Whereas the Liturgy of the Church of England, as by Law established, was translated into the Dutch Language, and is now to be reprinted in the English and Dutch Languages both together; and whereas We are satisfied from persons of good credit, that it is performed by JOHN CRELLIUS, Printer in *Amsterdam* with great care and exactness: We do not only approve of the republishing of it, but likewise recommend it to the use of all such, as shall like that Service, and hope, it may be of use in foreign Parts, at least to justifie Our Church-Worship. But that, which chiefly has made Us presume to reiterate Our Approbation, is from the Authority of the QUEEN'S MAJESTY, who has been graciously pleased to allow and encourage the use of it in the *Dutch Congregation*, at the *Chaple of St. James* upon the xiv. of April, 1703.

"Given under Our hand the xxiii. of June 1710. H. London."

Is there any reason to believe that this service-book was used in any of the Dutch congregations in this country?

B.

REPLIES

THE BOSTON RIOT OF 1778 [viii. 856, 785]—Neither the care of the governing powers in Boston, nor the ideas of benefits received, or to be derived from the alliance with France were sufficient, during the stay of the French fleet in that port, wholly to cure the ancient prejudices and hereditary animosity of the populace, with respect to a nation which they had so long considered as a rival, and so frequently encountered as an enemy. The difference of religion, language, and manners could not fail to hold a considerable share in keeping these animosities still alive; although, so far as it can be judged from appearances at this distance, the French have studied more in their commerce with the Americans to evade the effect of these peculiarities, and have shown a greater deference to the prejudices, and conformity to the manner and opinions of the people than they perhaps ever practiced in their connections with any other part of mankind. Indeed, a mode of conduct directly contrary has for many ages been considered as one of the striking characteristics of that nation; and has, not unfrequently, been productive of the most fatal consequences to themselves as well as to others.

However, it was a most violent affray, in which numbers on both sides were engaged, and the French seem to have been very roughly treated; it happened on the 17th of September, 1778, at night, in Boston. Some of the French were said to have been killed, and several were certainly wounded; among whom were some officers, and one particularly of considerable distinction. As both D'Estaing and the government of Boston were eager to accomodate matters in such a manner as that no sting should remain behind on either side, a great reserve was observed with respect to the particulars of the riot, as well as of the circumstances which led to it; and the cursory imperfect sketches that were published, showed evidently that they were not to be relied on.

A proclamation was issued by the council of State on the following day, strictly urging the magistrates to use their utmost endeavors for bringing the offenders to justice, and offering a reward of three hundred dollars for the discovery of any of the parties concerned in the riot. And to remove the impression of its arising from any popular animosity to the French, the Boston prints labored to fix it upon some unknown captured British seamen and deserters from Burgoyne's army, who had enlisted in their privateers. D'Estaing had the address to give into this idea, and to appear thoroughly satisfied with the satisfaction he received. The high reward produced no manner of discovery.

The same spirit operated just about the same time and in the same manner, but much more violent in degree and fatal in consequence between the American and French seamen, in the city and port of Charleston, South Carolina. The quarrel there began, as at Boston, ashore, and at night, and ended in the last extreme of hostility—an open fight with cannon and small arms; the French firing from their ships, whither they had been hastily driven from the town, and

the Americans from the adjoining wharfs and shore. Several lives were acknowledged to be lost, and a much greater number were, of course, wounded.

As the northern colonies, particularly the province of Massachusetts, do not produce wheat in any proportion at all equal to their own consumption, and that, through the continual losses and dangers which their supplies from the southern experienced in their passage, together with some local causes, provisions of all sorts had for some time been so unusually scarce and dear in the town and neighborhood of Boston as nearly to threaten a famine, it was generally expected, and undoubtedly apprehended by himself, that D'Estaing would have encountered great difficulties, if not actual distress, from the impracticability of victualing, and the doubt even of subsisting his fleet at that port. He was, however, relieved from these difficulties and apprehensions by a singular fortune. The New England cruisers happened at that very period to take such a number of provision vessels on their way from Europe to New York, as not only abundantly supplied the wants of the French fleet, but furnished such an overplus, as was sufficient to reduce the rates of the markets at Boston to something about their usual moderate state. This fortunate supply was a matter of great triumph to that people.

Thus was D'Estaing, on the 3d of November, enabled to quit Boston, and to prosecute his designs in the West Indies, with a fleet thoroughly repaired, clean, well victualed, and his forces in full health and vigor. And thus it may be said, without any extraordinary stretch of license, that to all appearance, a royal fleet owed its preservation, at least in a very great degree, to the industry and fortune of a few privateers.—The *Universal Magazine*, February, 1784. Vol. 74, page 87. PETERSFIELD

YELLOW BREECHES [xiv. 324, 415, 521]—Is not Yellow Breeches a blunder of the colonial compositor? I find in a list of letters advertised in the same paper (*Philadelphia Packet*), April 20, 1772, "James Maxwell, *Yellow Springs*," also in the issue of November 2, the same year, "Neal Deffas, *Yellow Springs*."

Why should a letter be directed to a *creek*? The settlement at Yellow Springs was quite early. Some of our Philadelphia investigators may be able to locate James McKnight; there was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly of that name in 1779. BRISTOL

YELLOW BREECHES [xiv. 324, 415, 521]—In answer to your inquiry as to the origin and signification of the word Yellow Breeches, the name of a stream flowing between York and Cumberland Counties, I would say very good authority derives it from the Indian words *calla passcink*, which signify "where it turns back again." The name is supposed to refer to some place in the stream where it makes a sharp turn or angle, the terminal syllable *ink* signifying "place" or "locality" in the Delaware language.

S. G. BOYD

YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, *October* 30.

YELLOW BREECHES—GALLAPASSCINKER [xiv. 324, 415 and 521.]—As I had no inducement whatever to mislead Petersfield, or any one else, it did not oc-

cur to me that my statement regarding the Indian name of Yellow Breeches Creek would be questioned; I therefore did not take the trouble to give any authority for it. It is evident from the communication of H that neither Trego or he had proper facilities for discovering the Indian name of the creek. That the Indian name is not lost he will find by consulting the *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. I,* 133, or the *Historical Map of Pennsylvania*, published by the same society. Heckewelder, the Indian missionary, gives Gallapasscinker as the Indian name of Yellow Breeches Creek, and says it signifies "Where it turns back again (alluding to a particular place on the creek, where bends are)."

In regard to the origin of the name Yellow Breeches I have heard a more probable story. Early in the last century an Indian chief, known to the traders as Yellow Breeches, had a small town at the mouth of the creek—hence the name Yellow Breeches. I can give no printed authority for this, but it came down from my great grandfather, who settled near the creek. I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA.

JOHN BRECKINRIDGE [xiv. 190]—*Editor of Magazine of American History:* In an interesting article in your August Magazine, I find the following statement in reference to the election of John Breckinridge to the House of Burgesses: "The House treated the election as a jest or worse and summarily set it aside. They were surprised to see the same boy returned the next election and once more set that aside. A third time the same return was made, and this time the lad took his seat."

This may be tradition, but is it history? We have before us the Journals of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and after a careful examination give the result of our labor. The earliest election after the time spoken of, "the autumn of 1780," was in the spring of 1781. In the records for the spring term of the Assembly we find no mention of the names of the members from Botetourt, but at the adjourned session held in November, we find on the 8th, "the Sergeant-at-arms ordered to take into custody John Breckinridge, *member* from the County of Botetourt. On the 14th he attended in custody, gave good cause for absence and was admitted to his *seat* without payment of fees." On the 28th the Sergeant-at-arms was ordered to take into custody John Breckinridge, and Samuel Lewis, *members* from Botetourt. On the 29th, John Breckinridge, one of the members from the County of Botetourt, was admitted to seat on payment of fees. In October, 1782, we find Thomas Madison and Thomas Lewis representing Botetourt County. On the 23d of October, 1783, we find the Sergeant ordered to take into custody John Breckinridge, one of the members from Botetourt. On November 11th and 19th, we find John Breckinridge among those voting. On the 16th of December, and again on the 17th, we find the Sergeant ordered to take him into custody. In the spring and fall sessions for 1785, we find John Breckinridge as a member. It is perhaps also proper to state that the General Assembly of Virginia in 1780 held its sessions at Richmond, the then capital, and not at Williams-

burg, and that John Wood and Thomas Madison were the members from Botetourt for that year. W. D. H.

MAYSVILLE, KENTUCKY.

HISTORICAL TREES [xiv. 516]—I would add to the list of Historical Trees, the Charter Oak at Hartford; the Stuyvesant Pear Tree at New York city; the Oaks under which George Fox preached at Flushing, Long Island; the Tulip Tree at Tarrytown under which Andre is said to have been taken; the Elms at Boston, Newport and Providence, known as "Liberty Trees;" and Penn's famous Treaty Elm.

Is not the story of Hamilton planting the thirteen trees on the same footing as George Washington and the cherry tree? Can any authentic contemporary reference be found to prove it?

PETERSFIELD

COOL AS A CUCUMBER [xiv. 103]—This is not an Americanism. Dean Swift uses it in his *New Song of New Similies.*

> Pert as a pear monger I'd be,
> If Molly were but kind;
> *Cool as a cucumber* could see
> The rest of woman-kind.

MINTO

JACK DATCHETT [xiv. 517]—In reply to "Collector," who asks for the name of the author of "*Jack Datchett, The Clerk: an Old Man's Tale:* Baltimore, 1846," I would inform him that it was written by John Donaldson of this city, who is still living. J. G. M.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

BURNING OF COLUMBIA, S. C.—*Editor Magazine of American History*—In a communication by Rev. J. Croll Baum [xiv. 619], in the December number of your valuable magazine, under the caption of "An Incident of the Burning of Columbia, S. C.," he implies, or leaves the impression, to me at least, that General Sherman was directly or indirectly responsible for the burning of that city. Mr. Baum is either ignorant of the facts in the case or is intentionally malicious. In this late day, after all angry feelings have died out between the contending factions, and committees "On the Conduct of the War" have exonerated General Sherman from setting fire to or ordering it done to Columbia or any city or building in the "late Confederacy," except its non-destruction was a means of "aiding or abetting the war."

I certainly have my doubts if General Sherman ever knew of the particular building named in the above mentioned paper, much less ordered its destruction.

If Mr. Baum will take the trouble to look over the report of the "Committee on the Conduct of the War,"—that particular part referring to the burning of Columbia—he will find the blame is put where it belongs, upon the rebel cavalry, who set fire to a large amount of baled cotton at the depot, which was fanned into flames by an increasing high wind after our possession. The utmost exertion was made to extingush it by order of General Sherman. I am personally cognizant of these facts, as I was there.

If any further reference is needed I would refer the gentleman to *Sherman's Memoirs*, p. 286, where he will find a complete and full explanation of the same. Yours,

ONE OF SHERMAN'S BOYS

KANSAS CITY, *December* 1, 1885.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This old Society celebrated its eighty-first Anniversary, November 17, when the Address was delivered by Hon. Luther R. Marsh, on "The Alphabet,—the Vehicle of History." The origin and growth of this elementary tool of the human intellect, and its power in all the fields of thought and language, especially in its function as the vehicle of history, were traced and analyzed by the eloquent lecturer in an able, interesting, and philosophical discourse, which it may be said most happily illustrated itself in showing what genius and learning can do with the simple instrument of which it treated. The rhetorical charm of vigorous, well-expressed thoughts and the speaker's well-known graces of oratory held the close attention of the large and cultivated audience to its conclusion.

At the regular meeting, December 1, Dr. George H. Moore, favored the Society with the results of a patient, and accurate research into "The Origin and History of Yankee Doodle," adding another valuable and interesting exposition to the many important contributions to American History, which have emanated from his pen and commanded the attention of historical students. Dr. Moore criticised the numerous theories extant respecting the origin both of the word *Yankee* and of the words and tune of "Yankee Doodle." He briefly exhibited their fallacies, and antedated those respecting the word, which are not simply of fanciful derivation, by producing historical instances of its use as far back as the commencement of the 18th century. His theory of its derivation assigns the origin of the word to the Low-Dutch word *janker*, which signifies "a howling cur, a yelper, a growler, a grumbling person;" and he found in the history of the relations existing between the English and Dutch, sufficient grounds for the hostility and contempt, which the latter illustrated and emphasized by calling the former *dogs*.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The November meeting of this Society was held Monday evening, November 9.

President Hon. John H. B. Latrobe in the chair: Secretaries, Messrs. W. Hall Harris, Mendes Cohen, and Henry C. Wagner were present. Sixteen active members were elected. A bust of the late John P. Kennedy, by Prof. Leonce Rabillon, of Johns Hopkins University, was presented to the Society by the artist.

Rev. W. F. Brand, D.D., of Harford County, read a very interesting paper on Lieutenant-Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, commander of the Maryland Line at the battle of Monmouth. Colonel Ramsay was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1740. He was appointed United States Marshal for Maryland by Washington, and continued in that position by Presidents Adams, Jefferson and Madison. He was severely wounded at Monmouth, where, at the command of Washington, the Maryland Line checked the advance of the troops of Sir Henry Clinton, until the main body of the American army could be brought up.

Many descendants of Colonel Ramsay are now living in Baltimore and Harford and Cecil Counties.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, December 5—A stated meeting was held at the Society's house, in Somerset Street, Boston.

General James Grant Wilson, of New York city, read a paper on Commodore Isaac Hull. It contained many new and interesting facts concerning the celebrated New England sailor and the famous Boston frigate *Constitution*, General Wilson having had placed in his hands all of Hull's papers with a view to the preparation of a biography of the conqueror of the *Guerrière*. Among the numerous extracts which General Wilson gave from Hull's correspondence were the following: Writing from the *Chesapeake* to a New York friend just before his departure in the *Constitution* for that city in 1812, Hull says: "I am now about to sail from this place for New York. I may by the time I arrive off your port find my passage disputed, but if it is only by a single-deck ship, I hope to enter and *bring her with me.*" After his escape from the British squadron off Sandy Hook he put into Boston, and before his departure on a frigate-hunting expedition he wrote to the same New York friend: "If I have the good luck to fall in with the *Shannon* or any other British frigate now afloat, there will be some hard pounding before we part company."

At the conclusion of the reading, thanks were unanimously voted to General Wilson for his excellent and instructive paper, and a copy of it was requested.

John Ward Dean, the Librarian, reported as donations to the Library in November, eighteen volumes and sixty-five pamphlets.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At its meeting on December 1, this society was addressed by Amasa M. Eaton, Esq., on the history of the French and American treaties of alliance, the origin and partial adjustment of spoliation claims and the nomination of several Rhode Island claimants. The paper treated the subject in an exhaustive and comprehensive manner, and indicated thorough research and an intelligent analysis of public and private documents in the preparation of the material. The author spoke of the unfortunate position in which America found herself, at the mercy of two rival nations, France and England, and thought it remarkable that any American vessels escaped plunder and confiscation. The humiliations and insults to which our national flag was exposed upon the sea was sufficient to make the American blood tingle and boil. It was only when we became a nation in fact as well as in name, that we were able to make any impression upon our friends across the Atlantic by our mode of assertion of our rights.

At the close of the reading, Mr. Alfred Stone moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Eaton for his admirable paper, and remarked that one potent reason for the delay and negligence in the adjustment of these claims lay in the fact that the majority of the claimants lived north of Mason and Dixon's line. He believed that justice would yet be done.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Henry T. Beckwith, and President Gammell in putting the question said that the paper was a most interesting chapter in American history.

BOOK NOTICES

THE GREEK ISLANDS, and Turkey After the War. By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 228. 1885. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume is if possible more interesting than any of Dr. Field's previous volumes of travel. The subject of it may be no richer in historical and poetical associations than the sacred localities of Palestine, which lent such a subtle charm to the author's *Among the Holy Hills*. But the picturesque islands in the Grecian waters are alive with stirring memories, and Dr. Field's word-painting was never more vivid and pleasing than in his descriptions of places and scenes throughout this entire work. He takes the reader to Cyprus, with its tombs, its buried cities, and temples and palaces — the monument of a mighty power long since passed away—where perhaps no equal space in the world contains richer treasures, and where to dig in its soil is to uncover the remains of a hundred generations. He then proceeds along the shores of Asia Minor, tracing the outline of the coasts where once marched the armies of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia ; also of Darius the Great on his way to the Bosphorus—on which he laid the bridge of boats to pass over into Europe seven hundred thousand men—followed by his son Xerxes with a million of men to conquer Greece. Along this highway, also, Alexander the Great marched the other way, carrying war into Asia, more than three hundred years before Christ was born. And nearly four hundred years later, Paul, the Apostle, climbed the same pass in his second missionary journey to the scattered churches of Asia Minor. Alexander, one of the greatest figures of antiquity, has left scarcely a trace of his brilliant career upon modern institutions, while Paul lives in the heart of millions, through all the eighteen centuries since that time, and is a living force in this present living world. The island of Scio is the reputed birthplace of Homer—Scio which sixty years ago was the scene of an event which made the ears of the civilized world to tingle. The author says : "One charm of a voyage in the Greek Archipelago is, that, while winding in and out among the islands, the mainland is almost always in sight. . . ." "It was on the Sabbath morning that we were sailing up the Dardanelles. As we came on deck we found the shores on either hand bristling with forts—reminders of the fearful struggles that have taken place for the possession of Constantinople. A little above the Castles the strait narrows till it is less than a mile wide, and its passage might be obstructed by heavy chains swung from shore to shore. It was at this point that Xerxes laid his bridge of boats between the ancient Sestos and Abydos ; and here Alexander the Great, with his Macedonians, crossed into Asia. Here Leander swam the strait to keep his tryst with Hero, and Byron followed his example. These historical and romantic associations gave such an interest to the scenes around us that we were in no haste to come to the end of our voyage."

The book abounds with thought and information. "The whole Eastern question revolves round this narrow strip of the Bosphorus—the border-line of Europe and Asia." We learn how America has contributed with her schools and colleges and churches to brighten even Asiatic gloom—how the refluent wave from the youngest of nations touches those ancient shores. We have given here but the merest glimpse of what is in store for the reader. The volume is delightfully entertaining throughout, and will be thoroughly appreciated.

PRACTICAL ECONOMICS. A Collection of Essays respecting certain of the recent Economic Experiences of the United States. By DAVID A. WELLS, LL.D., D.C.L. 8vo, pp. 259. 1885. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The scholarly essays embraced in this volume, each of which illustrate some phase in the recent economic experiences of the United States, have nearly all of them appeared in the various publications of the day, but are now collected with some revisions and additions, and presented to the intelligent public in permanent form. "Our Experience in Taxing Distilled Spirits" is an original contribution to this work ; and the "Production and Distribution of Wealth" embodies the author's annual address as President of the American Social Science Association, at Detroit in May, 1885. These two essays occupy the concluding pages of the volume, and are full of thought and valuable instruction. In discussing the "Production and Distribution of Wealth," the author wisely says : "The time has not yet come when society in the United States can command such a degree of absolute abundance as to justify and warrant any class or individual, rich or poor, and least of all those who depend upon the products of each day's labor to meet each day's needs, in doing anything which can in any way tend to diminish abundance. Street processions, marching after flags and patriotic mottoes, even if held every day in the week, will never change the conditions which govern production and compensation. Idleness produces nothing but weeds and rust ; and such products are not marketable anywhere, though society often pays for them most dearly." "The Silver Question" and "Tariff Revision" are important chapters in this admirable book, which to be appreciated must be read ; and we would cordially recom-

mend that the "True Story of the Leaden Statuary" be by no means omitted. The distinguished economist writes with great force and elegance of diction, and his opinions should command careful consideration. In his preface he says: "A century hence, except for such chronicles of recent tariff legislation as are here given, the writer is of the opinion that the world would find it very difficult to believe that such an illiberal commercial policy and body of tax and navigation laws as now exist, could ever have been maintained and defended for any length of time by a people so free, well-educated and jealous of their individual rights as those of the United States."

OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN. The Lord's Prayer. In a series of Sonnets. By WILLIAM C. RICHARDS. Square 12mo, pp. 30. Lee & Shepard. Boston, 1885.

For three years in succession the enterprising Boston publishers, Lee and Shepard, have provided an exceptionally beautiful gift-book at the Christmas season—a holiday gem of original poems from the pen of Professor William C. Richards. The first of these, "The Lord is my Shepherd," and the second, "The Mountain Anthem," were welcomed on every hand with enthusiasm. The charming little work just issued, entitled, "The Lord's Prayer," speaks for itself all that is necessary in its own praise. It consists of a series of sonnets, thirteen in number, each one exquisitely illustrated, and the whole very daintily and tastefully bound in the same general styles as its companion volumes. Of the sweetness and felicity of expression which pervades these poems a general idea may be gathered from the following extract from the poet's "Amen":

"Desire and faith are blent in this strong word,
The pith and point of every earnest prayer,
And breathed, for evermore, though unaware,
When contrite hearts with heavenward sighs are stirred."

PERSONAL MEMOIRS OF U. S. GRANT. In two volumes. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 584. New York, 1885. Charles L. Webster & Company.

In taking up this work the reader is interested from the very first paragraph—"My family is American, and has been for generations in all its branches, direct and collateral." The history of the life of the most conspicuous American of his time, told by himself, in pithy, easy, clear continuity of narrative, in connection with events of the greatest moment in our national existence, cannot otherwise than possess a magnetism for the American public such as never invested any other autobiographical record since the world was created. As the leading actor in the stirring scenes of our late gigantic Civil War, General Grant's utterances will be treasured in all the future, and by people of every shade of opinion wherever the English language is spoken. He wrote chiefly from memory, thus it will be no matter of surprise if his recitals and conclusions should, in various instances, be controverted by other living participants in the great contest. But his having written at all is a source of perpetual gratulation. The circumstances which inspired this story of his remarkable career, from boyhood to the grave, have in them so much of pathos that the American heart is touched with tenderness toward the dying author. There is a feeling also of confidence in his absolute integrity, and, as expressed in his preface, in "his sincere desire to avoid doing injustice to any one, whether on the National or Confederate side, other than the unavoidable injustice of not making mention often where special mention is due."

The twenty-second chapter of the volume will be examined with exceptional interest in connection with General W. F. Smith's article on Fort Donelson in the current number of this magazine. Concerning General C. F. Smith, General Grant writes: "General Halleck, unquestionably, deemed General C. F. Smith a much fitter officer for the command of all the forces in the military district than I was, and, to render him available for such command, desired his promotion to antedate mine and those of the other division commanders. It is probable that the general opinion was that Smith's long services in the army and distinguished deeds rendered him the more proper person for such command. Indeed, I was rather inclined to this opinion myself at that time, and would have served as faithfully under Smith as he had done under me. But this did not justify the dispatches which General Halleck sent to Washington, or his subsequent concealment of them from me when pretending to explain the action of my superiors.

On receipt of the order restoring me to command I proceeded to Savannah on the *Tennessee*, to which point my troops had advanced. General Smith was delighted to see me and was unhesitating in his denunciation of the treatment I had received. He was on a sick bed at the time, from which he never came away alive. His death was a severe loss to our Western army. His personal courage was unquestioned, his judgment and professional acquirements were unsurpassed, and he had the confidence of those he commanded as well as those over him."

MEMORIAL BIOGRAPHIES OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. Towne Memorial

Fund. Vol. IV. 1860-62. 8vo, pp. 559. Boston, 1885. Published by the Society.

We find in this new volume of the series several memoirs of no little interest and excellence. The life, early, domestic, professional, and judicial, of Samuel Shaw, the eminent Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, is, perhaps, one of the best. It is in two parts, the first written by Samuel S. Shaw, A.M., LL.B.; the second by Hon. P. Emory Aldrich, LL.B., showing how the professional and judicial life of the subject extended over a period of fifty-six years—twenty-six at the bar, and thirty on the bench—and whose published opinions are found in fifty-five volumes of the Massachusetts Reports, beginning with the tenth of Pickering and ending with the fifteenth of Gray, embracing every branch of the law, both civil and criminal, many of these opinions dealing with the most important questions of Constitutional law. From many points of view the sketch of General Wm. H. Sumner, by Mr. Oliver B. Stebbins, might also be quoted as the gem of the book, as it contains a large amount of contemporaneous history, in which frame-work the portrait of the versatile Sumner is drawn with consummate skill. General Sumner was the author, it will be remembered, of numerous important works, of which was the history of East Boston, one of the most noteworthy of America's local histories. The chapter on George N. Briggs, Governor of Massachusetts, is also one of absorbing interest. It is from the pen of Mr. Joseph E. H. Smith, who had every opportunity of judging correctly of the personal characteristics of his subject, and who writes: "To excel in goodness is unquestionably to be great; and it is surely a great thing to be loved of the people, without regard to official station or political leadership, as George N. Briggs certainly was." An admirably written paper on Cornelius Conway Felton, President of Harvard University, is by the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, of Cambridge; the able biographer of Judge Daniel Appleton White is the Rev. Henry M. Foote, A.M., of Boston; the memoir of Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell is presented by his daughter, Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam, sister of James Russell Lowell; and Judge Richard Sullivan is the subject of a carefully prepared biographical sketch by Mr. Thomas C. Amory. The volume contains many other notable contributions, in all, the memoirs of thirty-five deceased members of the society; and it has been edited with marked ability by Mr. Albert H. Hoyt, A.M., the present secretary. It is a most valuable contribution to the biographical literature of America.

VALENTINO. An Historical Romance of the Sixteenth Century in Italy. By WILLIAM WALDORF ASTOR. 12mo, pp. 325. New York, 1885: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In touching upon Italian history in the sixteenth century Mr. Astor has performed a singularly important service to the present reading generation. His book is launched as a romance, and as a romance it will be judged; but to such scholars as are familiar with the picturesque back ground of events, upon which he has based his unique romance, it will ever possess something more than a mere romantic and transitory fascination. Mr. Astor has evidently made good use of his peculiar opportunities while in Italy for the searching of archives, and his entire work from cover to cover reveals close, conscientious, and laborious study. The very name of Borgia awakens an unshapely train of ideas in the popular mind of to-day, of which wickedness without limit is the conspicuous feature. Mr. Astor has gathered and transformed the whole tangled mass of varied material relating to the family of Borgia into a consummate work of art. The notorious Valentino—Cesare Borgia—is the central figure in the story, while the marvelously beautiful Lucretia and a multitude of other historical personages of equal note are marshaled into critical notice—with all their brilliant accessories, as well as their intrigues and crimes—and with a master hand he has wrought it into a chapter of intense interest, invested with the freshness of contemporary gossip. The costumes, amusements, weapons, mode of warfare, houses, furniture, and habits of the old Italians in high life during the sixteenth century, are pictured by Mr. Astor with surprising accuracy; and thus his charmingly well written and readable romance is given permanent historical value.

A CAPTIVE OF LOVE — Founded upon Bakiu's Japanese romance, "*Kumono Tdyema Ama Yo No Touki.*" By EDWARD GREEY, 12mo, pp. 280. 1885. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: C. T. Dillingham.

Never has a book made its appearance in the New York market at a more timely juncture. With its appetite whetted for everything Japanese by the various dramatic versions of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Mikado," the public turned with avidity to a real Japanese Village, imported bodily from Japan, with its artisans and tradesfolk, its women and babies, and domestic life. It is now, as never before, ready to read a genuine Japanese novel, and to appreciate much of its local color. When the heroine gracefully sits down upon her heels, the reader who has visited the village knows just how she looked. When Takeakira beats his numbed arms upon his body and murmurs "cold, cold," the reader remembers seeing the little Jap women shiver over their teapot, and murmur something which may

have been "*Samni, Samni,*" though he did not actually hear it. It is well that a book so abundantly and gratuitously advertised should be worthy the occasion. It is, in truth, a very fascinating tale, full of the quaint situations which we have learned to associate with the remarkable people whose life it fancifully portrays, and well illustrated from drawings by native artists. The meaning of the original title done into English is, "The moon shining through a cloud-rift on a rainy night," which may do very well for a title in its native land, but is hardly adapted to an English audience. Judging from this romance the Japanese are every whit as wicked in their novels as occidentals are wont to be under like circumstances. The author's notes—not the translator's—are among the unique and characteristic features of the book, which must be read to be fully appreciated; since the generally mixed character of plot, with its magic, spirits, demons, thunder-animals, and the like, is *sui generis*.

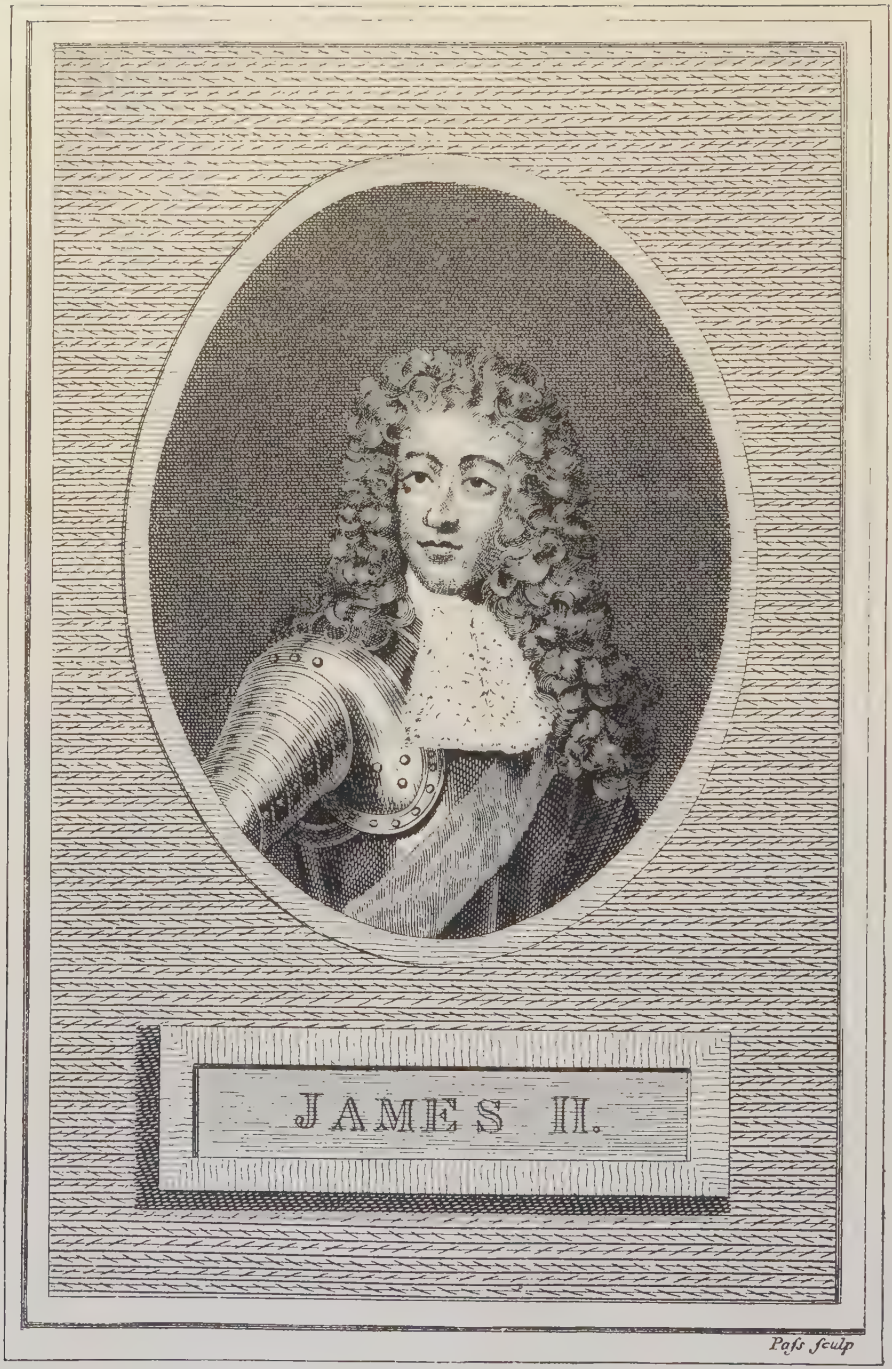
THE ORIGIN OF REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By OSCAR S. STRAUS. 12mo, pp. 150. 1885. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Apparently there are very few Americans who have seriously considered the questions suggested by the above title. A foreigner asking why a Democratic Republican form of government was originally selected would, in a majority of cases, be told that there was no choice open; that the people would have nothing else; that it was obviously the one thing to do. If the seeker after knowledge pursued his inquiries further he would probably find his informant unprepared to go into details. With this conviction in his mind the author, two years ago, prepared a lecture which attracted so much attention from students of history that he extended his researches, and the present attractive little volume is the result. In considering the influences which led first to a provisional and, secondly, to a permanent form, he reviews briefly the history of other revolutions, the bearing of the petitions to the crown, the other negotiations which preceded the Declaration of Independence, the moral influence exerted by the first settlers in the different colonies, and the early acts of the colonial assemblies. The religious and political causes which led to revolt are considered at length and with a comprehensive grasp of the subject which shows thought and study on the author's part. His conclusion is that religious convictions and associations were mainly instrumental in shaping the purposes of our first legislators. The convictions of all of them, consciously or not, were, he thinks, modeled by the divinely given constitution of the Israelitish commonwealth, and he holds that our existing institutions are based upon the teachings given from Sinai. While this line of reasoning is not altogether new, it is carried out here to its natural conclusions with a thoroughness for the like of which we should be at a loss to look elsewhere; and as the arguments are presented in clear, forcible English, the book will be found acceptable to every thoughtful reader, however fastidious in a literary point of view.

FARTHEST NORTH; or, The Life and Explorations of Lieutenant James Booth Lockwood, of the Greely Arctic Expedition. By CHARLES LANMAN. 12mo, pp. 333. 1885. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

So fast does the world move nowadays that even our heroes are temporarily forgotten, until their achievements are recalled to us in some emphatic way. The gallant young officer who carried the American flag nearer to the North Pole than man ever went before, was to the public at large only an incident in the sad story which ended with the few survivors of the ill-fated party at Cape Sabine. His body was among those that were laid side by side under the Arctic sky—his comrades being too weak to bury them—and was brought back by the relief expedition under Commander Schley. Public interest in the story of Lieutenant Lockwood's life centers chiefly in the sledge expeditions which he successfully conducted during the long sojourn at Fort Conger. Of those the most notable is the one already referred to, which led along the coast northward and eastward to 83° 24½′ of north latitude. This was verified by no less than thirty-six observations, patiently taken under exceptionally favorable conditions of weather. The volume is embellished with a handsomely engraved portrait of Lieutenant Lockwood, and several plates from sketches and photographs, which add greatly to the vividness and interest of the narrative. A fine map at the end of the book gives the routes of his explorations, including the famous one just mentioned, and it is most interesting to follow the progress of the little party from point to point along that unexplored coast.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. — Through the courtesy of A. R. Hart & Co., the Magazine has this month been enabled to furnish its readers with a most interesting chapter, showing in terse language the Origin and Consequences of Slavery in America, from General Logan's forthcoming book — *The Great Conspiracy*. The Magazine is still further indebted to the same enterprising publishing house for permission to use its exquisite steel portrait of General Logan as the frontispiece to this, its New Year's number.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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XV FEBRUARY, 1886 No. 2

THE CITY OF ALBANY

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF PROGRESS

ALBANY, the capital of the Empire State, situated upon its picturesque group of hills overlooking the Hudson River, is one of the most interesting as well as ancient cities in North America. On the twenty-second day of July of the present year it will have reached its two hundredth birthday, an event of exceptional importance. It received its original city charter from Thomas Dongan, "Captain Generall, Governour-in-Chief and Vice-Admirall of the Province of New Yorke and its Dependencyes, under his Majesty, James II.," who made a journey to Albany soon after signing the famous "Dongan Charter" for the City of New York—April 27, 1686. While in conference with the chief men of Albany in relation to the Indian policy to be pursued, a far-sighted policy which was to give New York commercial ascendency on this continent, the scheme for incorporating the city, long under discussion as we shall learn on a future page, was finally adjusted; and the charter, in accordance with the energetic efforts of its projectors, gave to the new corporation large franchises, including the management of the Indian trade, then esteemed of vital importance to the country at large. The first mayor of the city of Albany was Peter Schuyler; the first city clerk was Robert Livingston, who was also made sub-collector of the King's revenues; the first recorder was Isaac Swinton; the first aldermen, Dirk Wessels, Jan Jans Bleecker, David Schuyler, Johannes Wendell, Lavinus Van Schaick, Adrian Garritse; and Joachim Staats, John Lansing, Isaac Verplanck, Lawrence Van Ale, Albret Ryckman, Melgert Winantse, were assistant aldermen; Jan Bleecker was chamberlain; Richard Pretty, sheriff; and James Parker, marshal.

As early as 1664 the little village had been called Albany, in honor of the Duke of York and Albany, afterward James II. Its first settlement as a trading-post by the Dutch dated back to 1615. Henry Hudson, the English navigator, in the service of the Old Dutch East India Company, was probably the first European whose eyes rested upon the beautiful site of Albany, on the 23d of September, 1609. Dates, however, are but convenient mile-stones for the marking of progress. Time must pass like any

other force in physics; it never rises to the true dignity of a measure of progress. That dignity is reserved for events; yet the events themselves depend upon physical forces, thus making the path of progress like a series of rings, each one overlapping the one behind it, and all pointing toward the grandest results. The very winds that carried Hudson up the noble river which bears his name, were physical forces that broke through the dividing line between the Atlantic sea-board and the Mississippi basin; for at no other point in a distance of a thousand miles, is the ridge of the Alleghenies cleft to the level of the tide, save at the Highlands of the Hudson. The great sea-captain cursed the fate that led him among the shoals of a stream that he fondly imagined a highway to the

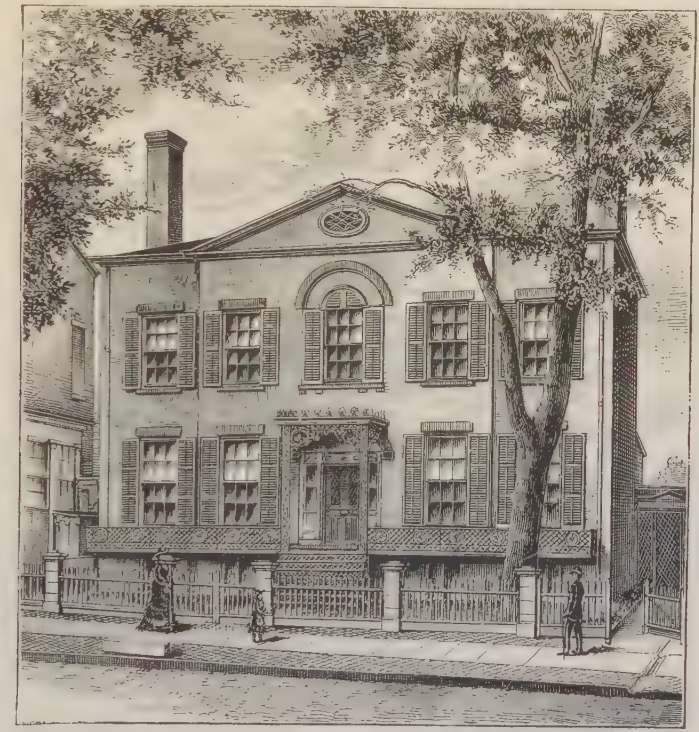
RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR DONGAN.

[*In New York City, two hundred years ago.*]

Pacific Ocean. Disappointed and disheartened, he turned his prow to the southward without once realizing that he had passed the portals of a continent. To him the narrow gap in the mountains represented the western pillars of Hercules upon which he might write the *Ne Plus Ultra* of his hopes. And so he gladly left the pass without dreaming of the civil and religious forces which were already making that their objective point. Even while he was brooding over his troubles Champlain was sailing toward him on the northern lake; Captain John Smith was advancing the interests of English trade with Jamestown; and the Puritans had arrived in Holland on their tedious way to America.

The forces that stood behind Henry Hudson were of a three-fold nature —commercial, religious and political. Holland was then the leading maritime nation of the world, "the Venice of the North." De Ruyter and Van Tromp were carrying her flag to the most distant seas, and at home,

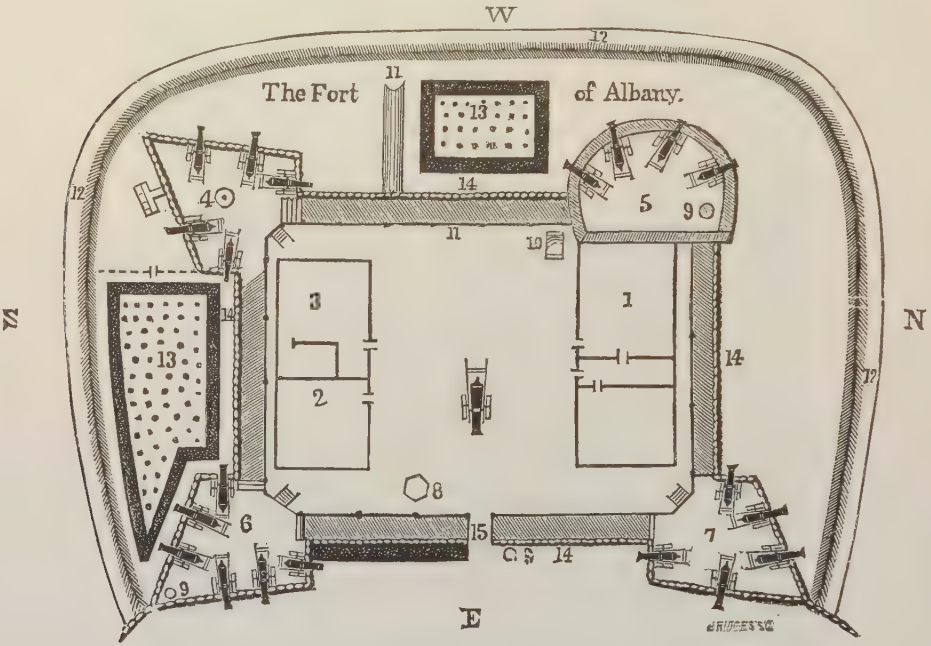
the United Provinces were the center of a civilization that far surpassed that of any other country in Europe. Freedom of religion had been demanded and denied by the imperious policy of Spain, which made the truce of Augsburg a religious peace only in name. Philip II. had run his race, leaving Horn and Egmont as the especial victims of the Dutch effort



RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR TOMKINS, ALBANY.—1807-1817.

for freedom. Barnevelt, the founder of the Dutch Republic, and Grand Pensionary of Holland, was disputing—to his own death—the question of provincial rights. Henry IV. was assassinated. James I., Louis XIII., Gustavus Adolphus, the Emperor Matthias, and the Czar Michael Romanoff were upon the stage in anticipation of the Thirty Years' War. At this critical juncture popular liberty was still a myth. Even James II. trampled upon the assertion of Parliament that its liberties, franchises and jurisdiction were the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England. The fight was between Parliament, with its power to tax, and the Crown, with its judicial and ecclesiastical appendages. In France, the more despotic forms of the feudal system still held control.

In Spain, the prerogatives of the Crown had overcome every semblance of popular rights. The Netherlands alone of all the nations displayed a fair amount of freedom in their constitution; and even that proceeded upon the non-recognition of both the sovereign and the people. The former had neither the judicial nor the ecclesiastical appendages of the British king. Indeed, the judiciary was the supreme political power; and to it



THE OLD FORT.

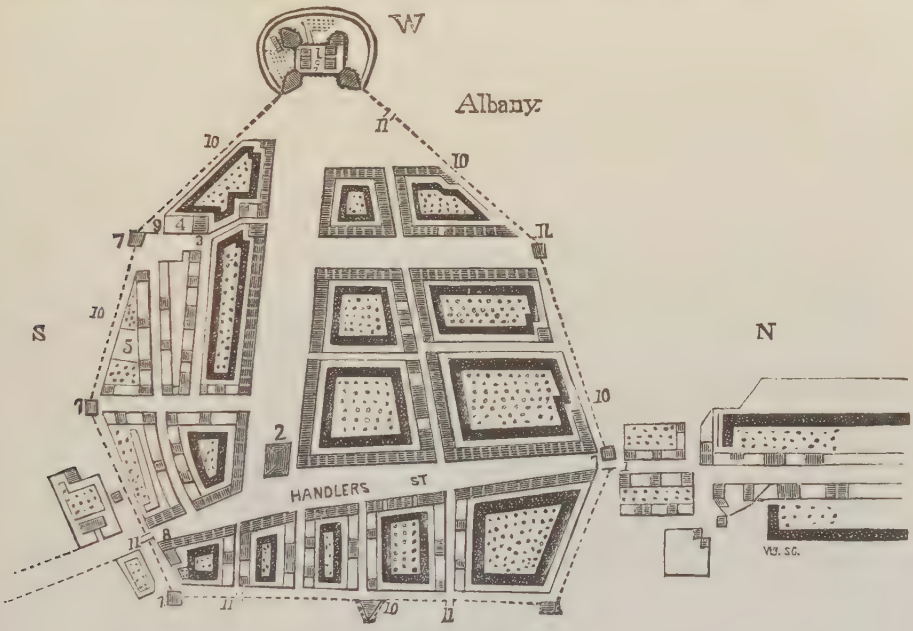
1. Governor's House.
2. Officers' Lodgings.
3. Soldiers' Lodgings.
4. Flag-staff and Mount.
5. The Magazine.
6. The Dial Mount.
7. The Town Mount.
8. The Well.
9, 9. The Sentry Boxes.
11. The Sally Port.
12, 12. Ditch fortified with Stakes.
13, 13. The Gardens.
14. The Stockade.
15. Fort Gate.

[*From Miller's "New York in* 1695."]

the Dutch bent the executive, the legislature, and the people. A most efficient adjunct was the feudal system, so thoroughly controlled by law that absolutism was out of the question. The people, while they were protected as classes or guilds, still had no individual rights that the State was bound to respect. As between the different guilds and classes, however, a nice distinction of rights prevailed; for they were all alike responsible to the States-General.

Such was the situation when the Dutch West India Company was char-

tered in 1621, with the exclusive privilege of trading in the western part of Africa and in the American countries. All judicial power for its prospective settlements was vested in a governor and his council; but the latter had no functions independent of the former. The governor, then styled director-general, was, therefore, the high authority which appointed its own executive officers and established inferior courts, with appellate and admiralty jurisdiction in itself. This executive power, while absolute in the



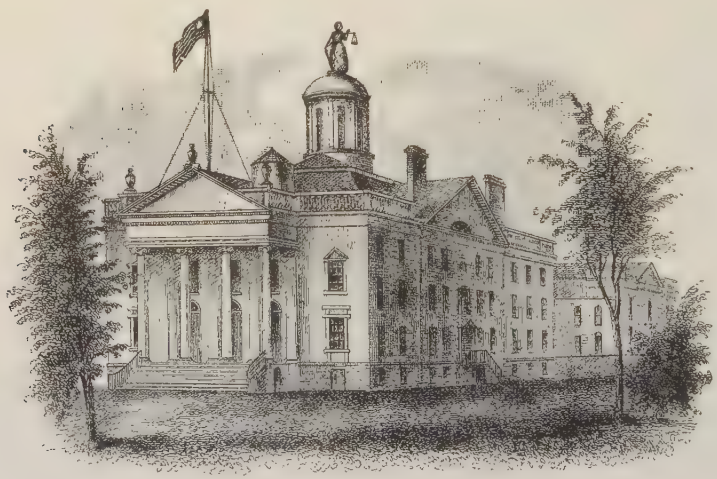
ALBANY IN 1695.

1. The Fort.
2. Dutch Calvanist Church.
3. Dutch Lutheran Church.
4. Burying Place.
5. Dutch Calvanist Burying Place.
7. 7. The Block Houses.
8. The Stadt-house.
9. Great Gun to clear Gulley.
10. 10. The Stockado.
11. 11. Gates of the City, six in number.

New World, was still in complete subservience to the States-General at home. Thus a government with features widely divergent from those of the home government was established in the new province of New Netherland within three years after the granting of its charter. Soon afterward the introduction of the feudal system into the colony gave almost absolute power to the patroons—a power that was speedily curtailed by allowing local governments to the people whenever they should settle in any locality to the required number. At the same time it was announced that no religion save that of the Reformed Church in the United Provinces should

be allowed in New Netherland. In justice to the West India Company it must also be stated that it not only provided ministers and teachers—thus laying the foundation of our common schools—but that it also required of each manorial grant an ample care for religious and other instruction.

For nearly twenty years the governor was the all-sufficient power; and he might have continued in the same comfortable way had not his dependence upon the people been revealed by an Indian war that threatened the destruction of the colony. Confessing his weakness, Governor Kieft recognized the existence of the people by calling together an assemblage of "masters and heads of families." This assemblage, without the first shadow of legislative authority, delegated its advisory powers to "twelve men,"—a group that stands forth as the prototype of all the representative bodies in New York. The advice of the "twelve men" extended beyond the scope of the Indian war and took the form of a demand that the people should have a voice in the council, which was the tax-making power, and that they should have the privilege of nominating their own magistrates. Such advice was too much for Kieft, and he promptly dismissed the board. Continued troubles with the Indians forced the governor again to call upon the people for help. The freemen next chose a committee of "eight men," and agreed to abide by their decisions. The new representative body, after disposing of the Indian trouble, aimed its shafts at Kieft, disputed his right to levy taxes, and demanded his recall that the settlers might enjoy the franchises of their brethren in Holland.



THE OLD STATE CAPITOL, ALBANY. 1809-1883.

It was a critical time in the colony, a time when popular government was to be passed upon by those in authority. Taxation without the con-

sent of the taxed was the crucial question of the hour, which the nations of western Europe were already settling in favor of the people. Kieft had so far yielded to the popular demand as to ask the consent of the "eight men" before he would give a certain revenue act the force of law. This concession marked the first grant of legislative powers to a representative body. A further concession was made when the States-General answered the appeal of the "eight men" by recalling Kieft and allowing the colony to develop the germs of the township system. For that peculiar system of local self-government we are indebted, not to New England, as has been frequently stated, but to Holland itself, where it was a feature of the government long before the settlement of America. Whatever its origin, its promoters in the colonies accomplished more than they intended; for it developed from a mere matter of convenience into one of the most priceless blessings of American citizenship — the right to rule home affairs by home legislation.

THE NEW STATE CAPITOL, ALBANY.

When Stuyvesant succeeded Kieft, he reluctantly allowed the people a voice in the government. They were to elect eighteen men from the farmers, burghers, and merchants, thus keeping alive the guild system of the Netherlands. From these eighteen the new director chose "nine men," charging them to look after the good order of the colony, and to promote the interests of the Reformed religion; and very broadly hinted that their advice would be asked whenever the governor and council desired it. On such occasions the nine men acted as a legislative body in approving or rejecting the appropriations of the higher authorities. The governor, feeling that his power was being curtailed, accomplished the removal of the president of the nine men. An appeal of the people

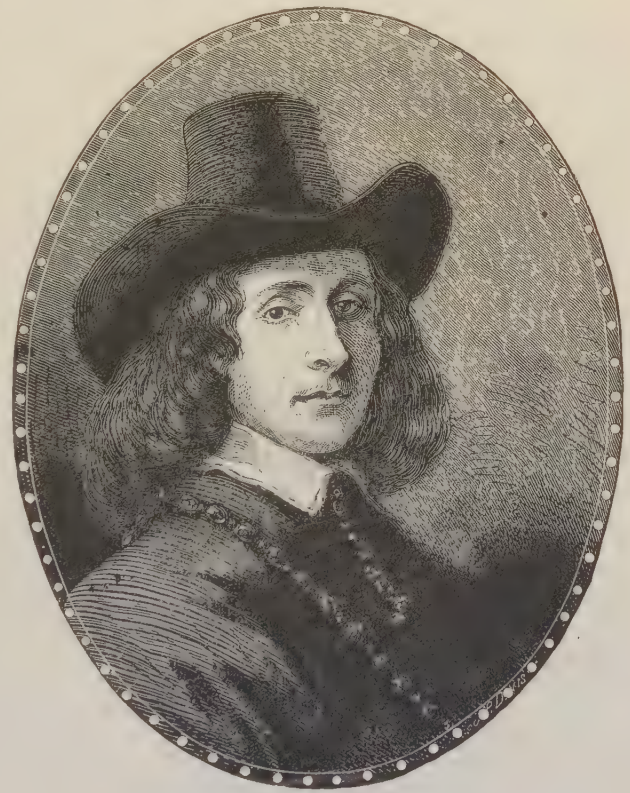
to the home government was sustained, and Stuyvesant was deprived of his assumed right to levy excise duties. Finally, a burgher government was matured for New Amsterdam, and the city was duly incorporated with two burgomasters, five schepens, and a sheriff who held judicial powers. As the burgomasters were the magisterial rulers of the little city, the governor and his council for a time assumed the arbitrary power of their appointment.

The various settlements within the borders of New Netherland were at first totally distinct and independent of each other. The colonies of New England were similarly situated, but the necessities of the Pequod war, and the threatened advance of the French resulted in a confederacy of the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven for more effective co-operation against their enemies, as well as to secure "the liberties of the Gospel in purity and peace." The dwellers in the outlying English towns of New Netherland about the same time protested against the paying of taxes to the West India Company without the equivalent of protection from the Indians and French. The governor yielded to the demand for a closer union with the metropolis of the province, but merely allowed the delegates to meet and concert measures for the common safety. To the assertion of the delegates that no law should be enacted without the consent of the governed, Stuyvesant said the right to assemble belonged to the magistrates alone, and that the people had no natural rights in the premises. Indignant at what he considered the insolence of agitators, he dismissed the delegates, and forbade any future consultations of the sort in New Amsterdam. The towns appealed to the West India Company, and Stuyvesant was sustained in his authority. New Amsterdam in appealing for "all the privileges granted to the citizens of Old Amsterdam," was allowed some further latitude; but was also informed that the privileges of Old Amsterdam

PETER SCHUYLER.

[*First Mayor of Albany.*]

were not adapted to the wants of a new country. The exigencies of a threatened war soon called the delegates from the towns together again, and a statement of the hazardous condition of the colony was sent to the authorities in Holland. But at that moment the fleets of Charles II. were already on their way to American shores, and Dutch New Amsterdam capitulated to the English flag, and became New York.



ROBERT LIVINGSTON.

[*First Town Clerk of Albany*]

At the time of the English conquest, the Dutch had prepared the way for the immediate demand that the elective franchise for the local magistrates should be granted, and that a general assembly of the new Province of New York should be ordered. The latter became a reality in 1683; and among the first of its legislative acts was that assertion of the sovereignty of the people known as "the charter of liberties," approved by the governor, but protested against in vain by the Duke of York, who had become James II. In the following year, 1684, Robert Livingston and Peter Schuyler, two of the principal men of Albany, were sent to New York to tell Governor Dongan that the town of Albany had erected at its own expense, a meeting-house, a watch-house, and a stadt-house or town hall. For this reason, and for other reasons, it was urged that a charter should be issued, giving to the town the full privileges of a city. The governor thought so well of the proposition that he reported it favorably to the Privy Council, using these words in regard to the matters at issue with Rensselaerwick:

"The town of Albany lyes within the Ranslaer's colony, and to say the truth the Ranslaers had the right to it, for it was they settled the place, and upon a petition of one of them to our present king (King James II.), about Albany the petitioner was referred to his Majesty's council-at-law, who, upon perusal of the Ranslaer papers, made their return that it was their opinion that it did belong to them. By the means of Mr. James Graham, Judge (John) Palmer and Mr. (Stephanus Van) Cortlandt that have great influence on the people, I got the Ranslaers to release their pretence to the town, and fifteen miles into the country for commons to the king, with liberty to cut fire-wood into the colony for one and twenty years."

The question was not settled at once. There were several interviews, and the details were discussed with much spirit on both sides. But the result was the incorporation of the City of Albany in 1686, as before stated. The record of the first meeting of the justices of the peace after the granting of the charter is specially interesting in this connection. "In nomine domino Jesu Christi Amen. Att a meeting of ye justices of ye peace for ye County of Albany ye 29th day of July A.D. 1686. Pieter Schuyler gent. & Robt Livingston gentn. who were commissionated by ye towne of Albanie to goe to New Yorke & procure ye charter for this citty wh. was agreed upon between ye magistrates and ye Right Honle. Col. Tho. Dongan, Govr. Genll. who accordingly have broght the same along with them, & was publishd with all ye joy & acclamations imagineable, & ye said two gentn. received ye thanks of ye magistrates & burgesses for their diligence & care in obtaining ye same; and whereas Pieter Schuyler is nominated & appointed to be mayr. of ye Citty of Albany by ye said charter, till such time that anoyr. fitt pson be chosen in his room was sworn as follows:—whereas you Pieter Schuyler are appointed & commissionated to be Mayr. & Clerk of ye Market & Coroner of ye Citty of Albany, as also Coroner for ye sd. county, by ye charter granted to ye sd citty by ye Right Honll. Coll. Tho. Dongan, Govr. Genll. of this province, you doe swear by ye ever-living God, yt. ye will truly endeavor to ye best of ye skill with a good conshience & according to the laws of this governmt, dispence justice equally in all cases & to all psons whereunto by virtue of yr. office you are impoured, & further officiat & perform yr. duty & office of Mayor, Clerk of ye Market & Coroner in every respect to ye best of yr knowlegd & capacity, so help yu God."

We have noted how the commercial, the religious, and the political forces acted upon New Netherland—inapt name for a country that stood far above the level of the sea—and how these forces influenced the growth

and prosperity of Albany. But what of the physical forces? What, in nature, was the *raison d'être* of this little inland city? Why should Albany have been of more importance than Montreal, when each city equally marked the extreme limit of the ocean's tides? The answer forms the most interesting chapter of our inquiry. Long before the time of Verrazzano, the Italian who disputed with Hudson the honor of first furrowing the waters of the North River, the Indians had named it "the river of the mountains." Champlain was called "the lake that is the gate of the country." These forest kings knew that the dividing line between the two valleys was an easy portage for their canoes; but it was reserved for the white man to discover that if the ridge should sink one hundred and fifty feet there would be water communication all the way from New York to Montreal, thus making a vast island of the maritime provinces and New England. During

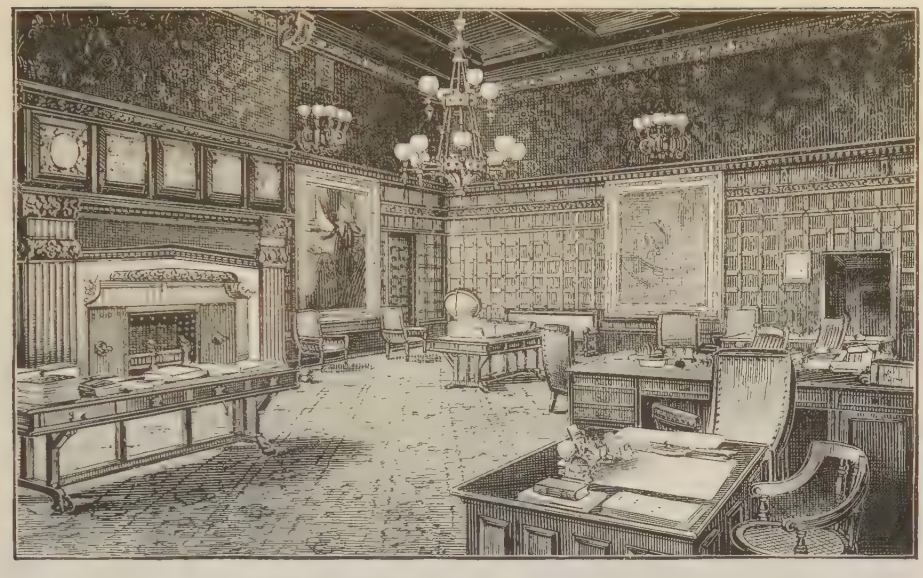
1. EAST ENTRANCE HALL TO NEW CAPITOL.
2. MAIN ENTRANCE HALL TO OLD CAPITOL.
3. GRAND STAIRCASE IN NEW CAPITOL.

the French and Indian wars Lake Champlain was the route for the carrying of artillery; and when invasion came the enemy was obliged to take that route or the more circuitous one by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk River. The Mohawk itself was a strategic point, and the Iroquois were wise when they built their castles along its route. From this valley it was a comparatively easy matter to destroy their enemies in detail, from the Eries on the west to the Delawares on the south. Stream after stream was descended till they held in their power more territory than any conqueror has possessed since the days of the great Cæsar. To-day we may spin along at forty miles an hour over the same route that the Iroquois chose for their errands of conquest—for the turnpike, the canal, and the railroad have only replaced the trails of the red man.

SILVER VASE.

[*Presented to Mayor Peter Schuyler, in 1710, by Queen Anne.*]

Washington discovered the strategic importance of the State of New York long before the battle of Oriskany prevented St. Leger from joining Burgoyne, who came by way of Lake Champlain in order to meet Howe before Albany. If the junction of these forces had not been arrested by Herkimer and Gates, New England would have been cut off from the other colonies, the valley of the Mohawk would have been devastated, and the Revolution would have been a failure. Defeat at Saratoga would have prevented the alliance of France. Victory at Saratoga assured this alliance and secured victory in the end. In the War of 1812 the British once more attempted to make an island of New England; but the battle of Plattsburgh spoiled their schemes for reversing the topography of the country. In fact, it was the very topography of New York that was directly responsible for those warlike events that made Albany the strategic capital of the colonies. Upon its site was the ancient "place of treaty," where gathered all the red men between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The hills bore the beacon-lights that gave warning of an invasion or notice of a projected raid. The importance of this fron-



EXECUTIVE CHAMBER IN NEW STATE CAPITOL, ALBANY.

tier city was acknowledged by all the colonies, no matter to what nationality they belonged; but Albany did not become the actual military capital of the colonies till that memorable Congress of 1754, which federated the British colonies against the French and furnished the germ that developed into the American Union.

The same topography that was responsible for the existence of Albany has also been responsible for the physical appearance of the city and for some of the customs of its inhabitants. The attrition of sand upon the clay bottoms of the several considerable streams that empty into the Hudson River, caused the cutting of clay into ravines at right angles to the river and also the raising of sand-hills at intervals. The filtration of the surface-water through the sand has eaten the clay and destroyed many a good foundation. Another danger, to builders, has always been an exceedingly dry summer; for they fear shrunken clay more than they fear the frost of winter. There are many instances where they have saved their work by an iron water-pipe so laid as to keep the foundations moist in the time of a drought. A still further danger, in building, is the finding of an occasional pocket of quick-sand in the solid clay, in which case nothing but the driving of piles will avail. Hence, when some new crack, an inch or more wide, is discovered in the Capitol Park, the story is revived that Albany is sliding downhill, and that it is only a question of time when

even the Capitol itself will lie in the bed of the Hudson. It has taken Albany over two hundred years to discover the remedy, in the recent abandonment of surface drainage and the building of sewers that are worthy of the name. The quality of the water supply, also, shows a great improvement over the time when the drainage of the city stood in wells and was drawn by the family at the "pent stock," by the rear stoop, or at the pumps on the public highways. Horace Greeley, when he was a journeyman printer, is said to have washed himself at the pump near the foot of State Street. Travelers of one hundred and fifty years ago, speak of the acrid and infusorial water. It was not till within seventy years that the Albanians thought of damming one of the creeks and leading the water through a four-inch bore in logs, laid end to end, to a reservoir on the hillside. And when the logs gave out they imposed upon the old patroon, whose stream they had tapped, and doubled their supply of water by replacing two four-inch log-pipes with one eight-inch iron pipe!

Our notion of Albany, if we are not familiar with the city and its inhabitants, is that of a quaint old town known successively as Aurania, Beverwyck, Fort Orange, Williamstadt, and Albany. As to the inhabitants our ideas, if borrowed from the fascinating pages of *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, are much mixed with the time when Wouter Van Twiller ambled through the streets of Manahatta; when Killian Van Rensselaer sailed proudly by the indignant Wouter, on his way to establish Fort Aurania, just below Albany; when Oloffe, the dreamer, gave to the Indians the significant sign of St. Nicholas, by laying his finger to his nose and winking with one eye; or when Anthony, the trumpeter, as the ambassador of Wouter to demand the instant surrender of Fort Aurania, received from Nicholas Koorn, the wacht-meester, the cabalistic reply, described by applying the thumb to the nose and making an "aerial flourish" with the fingers, a reply that the ambassador faithfully carried to his chief. But we shall modify such early impressions as we study the progress of the settlement during two centuries. The new city was officially bounded on the east by the Hudson River. The southern boundary extended from the northern end of Martin Gerrilson's island for fifteen English miles in a north-westerly direction to a certain kill or creek called Sandkill. The northern line extended from a post erected by Governor Stuyvesant near the Hudson River, fifteen miles to the westward. The western boundary completed the parallelogram by connecting the western extremities of the north and south lines. Along the river a row of rude wharves was soon built. A map of 1696 shows that the fort stood half-way up State Street hill, and that the stockades ran divergently to Steuben Street on the north,

and to Hudson Avenue on the south. When the French and Indian wars brought additional dangers, the line of stockades was extended to Hamilton Street on the south, and to Van Tromp Street on the north—the latter marking the boundary between the city and the colony. A century later —at the close of the Revolution—the old fort had been removed, but all to the westward of Eagle Street was a series of steep bluffs. Even within the memory of the living, lower State and central Pearl Street were lined with fashionable residences. Arch Street bounded the city on the south, and the city had grown scarcely half-way up the hill. To-day it has grown

VIEW OF ALBANY IN THE EARLY PART OF THIS CENTURY.

over the crest and far beyond on the decline to the westward. Thus progress marks the hour, even in conservative old Albany.

As the strategic capital of the colonies, Albany has figured in most stirring scenes; although it has never been captured by an enemy, nor has it ever been in a state of siege. Its first Mayor, Peter Schuyler, took a French fort at La Prairie and, returning, ended his official report with "*soli Deo laus et gloria.*" The same soldier, while Mayor, became Major of the five hundred and fifty-nine men who formed the militia of the city. Then came General Winthrop, of Connecticut, on his way to help retaliate for the massacre at Schenectady. But, thanks to Arent Van Curler, one of the patroon's earliest agents, no Indian ever laid his hand on the inhabi-

tants of Albany. All down the long line of wars, the little stockaded hamlet was the base of military operations; and so great was its importance that Lady Johnson insisted on remaining inside the walls so that she might convey information to the Tories outside. No wonder, then, that Albany has always fostered a military spirit, and that her citizen-soldiery of to-day are not excelled, either in drill or in discipline, by any in the country. The very strategic importance of the place led to the development of its commercial importance; and so the fortunes of war and

RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR MARTIN VAN BUREN.

[*The Old Stevenson House on State Street*, 1780–1841.

peace favored it alike. Here the Indians were always well treated, and the trade in furs grew rapidly. A portage of only twelve miles enabled the Albany trader to take his goods to Montreal and sell them at a double rate. The ingenious plan of Louis XIV. to destroy the trade with the Indians failed, in a great degree, because the French were obliged to buy in Albany and send to the West by way of Montreal. The skipper invariably figured out the cost of transportation with the barrel of rum as the unit of value. The names of many of the commodities of those days would be lost now; for we are puzzled to know what the "ratteens," the "tammies" and the "millinets" of the last century's merchant, represented. Breweries multiplied so fast that every public building was threatened with

a dome like a huge beer-kettle. Other industries grew, because Albany had ceased to be a frontier town. Manufactures of stoves were developed, and in this line and in the lumber trade the city led the world.

Once more we must hold the location of Albany responsible, and this time for some of the greatest inventions that have ever benefited the world. Early in our inquiry we saw that the later methods of travel—the stage and the railroad—followed the trail of the Indian. The Erie Canal, the locks of which overcame the portage between the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk, was of as much benefit to Albany as to the city of New York. The first successful railroad in the country, the "Mohawk and

RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR WM. H. SEWARD.

[*The Old Kane House as it appeared in* 1864, *when taken down.*]

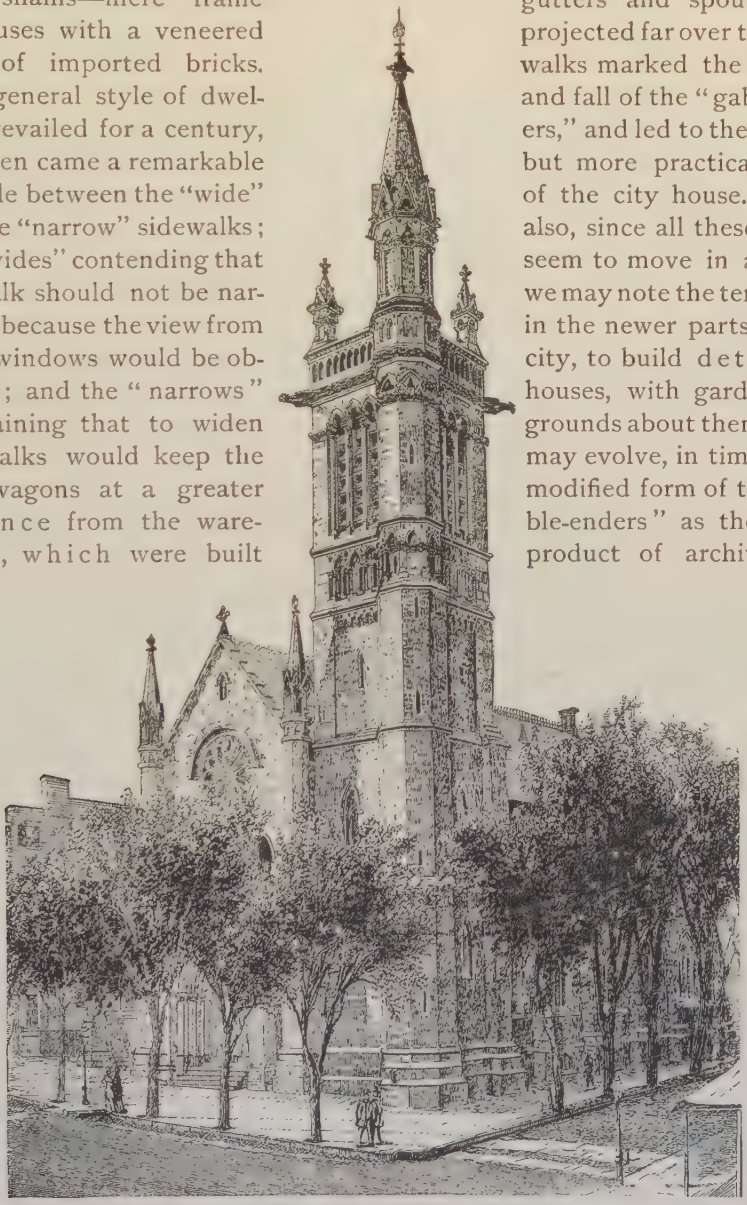
Hudson," ran across the same portage from Albany to Schenectady; but it was obliged to use an inclined plane at either end. The failure of steam traction up the inclines was no lesson, for a like failure marked the attempt fifty years later, to use steam power for hauling stones to the new Capitol. Finally the railroad found an outlet, up the valley of the patroon's creek, and that ended the rivalry of the stage-coach forever. A generation before this, Fulton and Livingston had perfected their steam-boat and it had reached Albany—the scene of most of their study and consultation. In Albany, too, was fought and overcome, for those days at least, the monopoly principle; and Livingston and Fulton were denied the exclusive use of steam on the Hudson. The electric telegraph, also, was developed by Professor Henry, under the care of the Albany Institute, before Professor Morse had advanced it to a stage of usefulness.

Albany has always had a conspicuous appearance as seen from across the river. Edward A. Freeman said: "On the whole the American city that struck me the most was Albany." The ups and downs of the streets as they cross the deep ravines, can best be understood by trying to make a plane surface of a square mile when some points within its area are thirteen feet above tide-water and other parts are as high as two hundred and five feet. So steep are some of the grades that no drive-way has been attempted, and access to the houses is by stairs, as in Quebec. Right here we note one of the chief points that mark the progress of Albany. The year 1885 brought a radical change in the system of pavements; for the Albanians had learned that the old cobble-stones gave a constant succession of small hills for the horse to overcome in addition to the great hill that he was climbing. So they began to replace the cobbles with dimension-blocks of granite, although many a man still shakes his head and fears that the horse cannot manage to keep his feet on such a smooth surface as is now offered to him. Modern engineering has also thrown aside the former practice of laying one curb-stone below the other simply because the street lies at right angles to the slope of the hill. It is said that the constant tread of the Albanians up and down the hills for several generations has so developed their muscles that they are well prepared to throw overboard any stranger who hints that the streets of the lower city were laid out by the cows instead of following the line of stockades—who speaks of the blocks of the upper city as "squares;" or who asserts that the ladies lack grace of motion, owing to the grades that they must overcome. It is certain that, slow as Albany may be in some respects, the streets are now more thoroughly lighted with electricity than those of any other city in America; and that the municipal government is generous enough to allow the use of many of the hills for "bob-sledding" in the winter. But it will probably be a century hence before Albanans cease to name their streets after birds and animals, and come down to the modern idea that streets are for the convenience of the horse. When they once learn this they will cease to have any historical interest in their streets, and will thenceforth know them only by simple numbers.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH.
Built in 1715.

A no less notable instance of the growth of Albany is shown in the gradual change from the old "gable-enders" to houses of modern architecture. The story is told that formerly the two rows of houses were far enough apart; but that they were gradually built nearer like a *fuyck;* hence

the town was called "the fuyck" for many years. The old gable-enders were shams—mere frame log-houses with a veneered front of imported bricks. That general style of dwelling prevailed for a century, and then came a remarkable struggle between the "wide" and the "narrow" sidewalks; the "wides" contending that the walk should not be narrowed because the view from cellar windows would be obscured; and the "narrows" maintaining that to widen the walks would keep the grain-wagons at a greater distance from the warehouses, which were built among the dwellings. The decree of the Common Council against the gutters and spouts that projected far over the sidewalks marked the decline and fall of the "gable-enders," and led to the severe, but more practical, lines of the city house. Here also, since all these things seem to move in a circle, we may note the tendency, in the newer parts of the city, to build detached houses, with garden and grounds about them. This may evolve, in time, some modified form of the "gable-enders" as the latest product of architectural

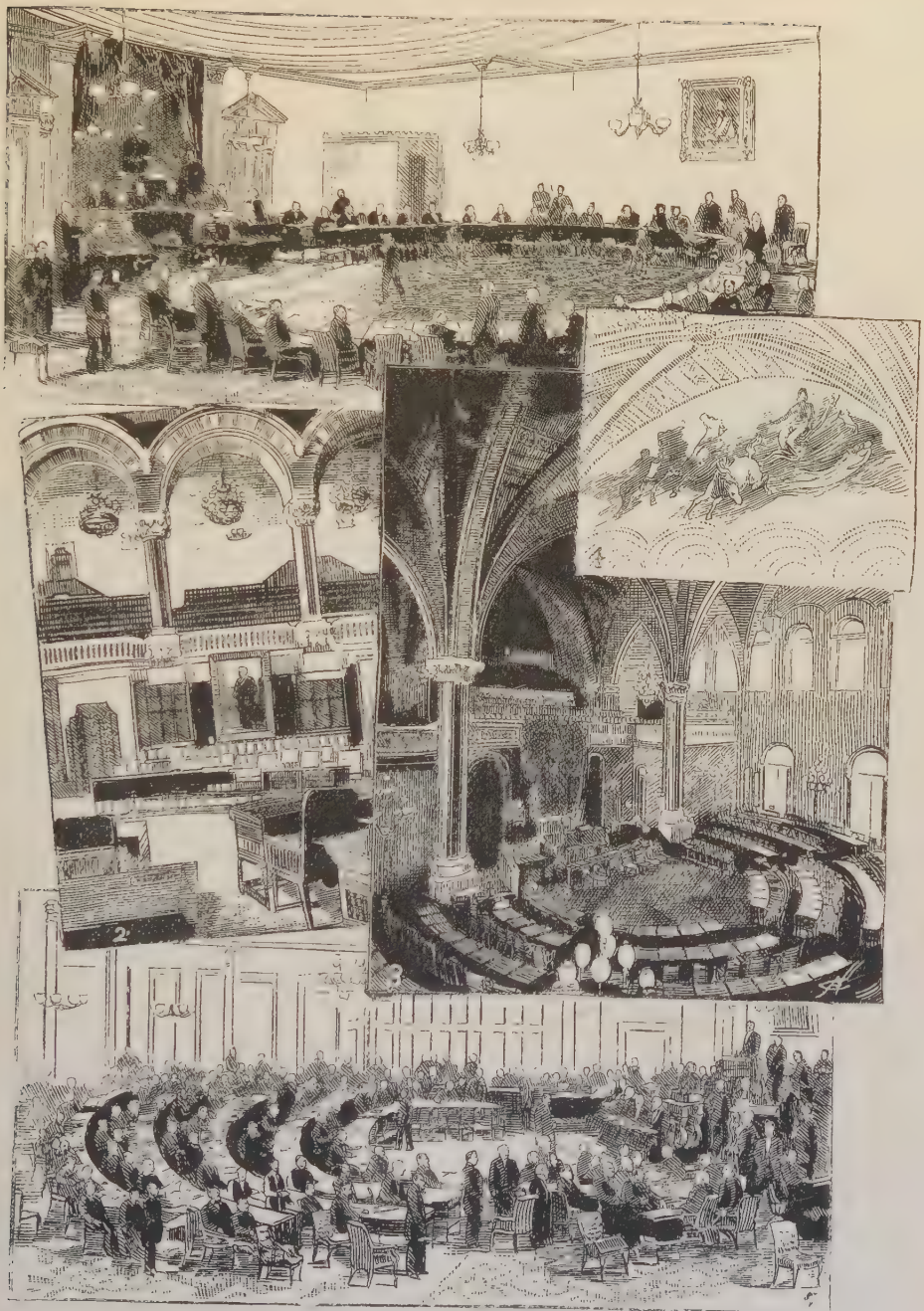


ST. PETER'S CHURCH, OF THE PRESENT.

art. The old houses of a generation ago, with their picturesque effects, are all gone, with the exception of the Van Rensselaer manor-house, the Schuyler mansion, the Pemberton trading-house, and the oldest of all, the Staats-house. A few of the plainer houses are left, like the Philip Van Rensselaer; but the demolition among the more characteristic of the old houses during the last seventy years has brought sadness to the student of history. The destroyed list contains residences that were known by the names of Stevenson, Yates, Livingston, Lydius, Vanderheyden, Wendell, Pruyn, Van Vechten, Fonda, Banyar, McNaughton, and Roseboom. A like change is observable in the public buildings; but even these lasted long enough to show the conservatism of the Albanians. The old capitol was the third building of its character during the two hundred years. One branch of the Old Dutch Church is worshiping in its third edifice within that period; and the other, in its fourth. Thus progress is illustrated.

After New York became a state of the American Union the legislalature was migratory for many years—Albany, Poughkeepsie, Kingston, and New York having about equal division of the honors. Albany was made the permanent capital in 1797, and the old State-House in Broadway was occupied for many years; then the Old Capitol was occupied for seventy years, and finally the New Capitol, in 1879.

Many other noteworthy events have occurred within the limits of Albany. Here Lafayette dwelt for many months when he was a major-general in the Continental Army, although he had not reached the age of twenty-one, and here he received his grandest ovation on his return in later years. Hither came Washington, for a final visit, when at the close of the war he took that memorable journey on horseback across the water-sheds of the Hudson, the Mohawk and the Susquehanna, and returned to Newburgh, prophesying the future greatness of the State. Here was first played the tune of "Yankee Doodle," as a musical sarcasm upon the New England troops who joined the New Yorkers in a common effort against the French. Burgoyne's capture was rendered the more significant by his arrival in Albany, where he expected to have had his Christmas dinner. His Hessians were sent through Albany and far to the southward into Virginia by routes away from the river for fear of a rescue by the enemy. The head and soul of the "War of 1812"—Governor Tompkins—carried on his plans in Albany, and, at a later day, Webster, Clay, and other political giants, were the city's visitors. To Albany were brought the sacred remains of Lord Howe, General Montgomery, President Lincoln, and General Grant. On Saturday, the 22d of July, 1786, the corporation and citizens of Albany celebrated the centennial anniversary of its incorporation



1. SENATE IN SESSION, OLD CAPITOL.—2. SENATE CHAMBER OF THE NEW CAPITOL.—3. ASSEMBLY CHAMBER OF THE NEW CAPITOL.—4. ALLEGORICAL FRESCOE, NEW ASSEMBLY CHAMBER.—5. ASSEMBLY IN SESSION, OLD CAPITOL.

with a procession and banquets, the ringing of bells, and the booming of guns, and now another hundred years has brought us to its bi-centennial anniversary.

We have purposely omitted a roll-call of the prominent clergymen, physicians, lawyers journalists, and business men in general whose names have made Albany famous. Nor have we compared the old Dutch customs with the modern, except in a few salient points. Our task has been to sketch development, rather than detail, and, for that reason, we could not note many incidents that might appeal to local pride. Nothing could be more interesting than the growth of trade and business since Cornelius Van Steenwyck owned large blocks in Albany; no history could be more instructive than the story of religion from the time the Rev. Johannes Megapolensis became the first minister in Albany, and Dominie Polhemus was fighting for his salary, in what is now Brooklyn, while his parishioners complained of prayers that were too short and too attenuated. We must conclude as we began. Nature gave to Albany a pre-eminent place in history. In founding the city and keeping it free from entanglements with the Indians, the Dutch builded better than they knew. The closing of a second hundred years, with grand achievements in the past and extensive improvements in the present, is a fit occasion for doing these founders justice. The Holland methods may have been a trifle slow for to-day, but Dutch conservatism saved the State in many a trying hour. The lessons taught by this people have been thoroughly learned. The hundred years that are to come will prove the success or the failure of popular government. New questions of immense importance already cast their shadows in the horizon. The coming struggles will be watched by no American more keenly than by the citizen of Albany. In all that makes for peace and prosperity he will join every other citizen in the sentiment:

CAPITAL OF PIER.

"And cast in some diviner mold,
May the new cycle shame the old."

Frederic G. Mather.

ANTHONY WAYNE

[PROMINENT MEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD]

Among the Continental generals or prominent commanders in the American Revolutionary War, there were two *born*-soldiers, equally remarkable for their instinctive conception of the requirements and the duties of the profession. The first, Arnold, was very highly estimated by General Armstrong, author of *The Newburgh Letters*. He was famous for his march through the wilds of Maine to the support of Montgomery before Quebec in 1775; for his successful march to the relief of Fort Stanwix in 1777; and as the real hero and victor *in the field*, over Burgoyne, in both the battles commonly known as Stillwater or Saratoga, in the same year. The other and the superior, was Anthony Wayne, best known as the captor of Stony Point in 1779, but worthy of higher notice for his maneuvering against "the great and good" Cornwallis in Virginia, especially at Green Spring in 1781, and in his victory on the Miami in 1794. Wayne was a soldier, and, in the field, he was that and nothing else. All his instincts were military; the breath of his nostrils was war, and he snuffed up the battle afar off, like the war-horse in Job. Like a true and chivalric soldier, he was a gentleman in his instincts, clean, neat, and even prinky; somewhat of a martinet without a real martinet's inflexibility.

Self-constituted judges who cannot see beyond the surface—cannot look into the depths—called him "*Dandy* Wayne," forgetting that in very many cases dandyism or even finical attention to dress, is one of the qualities that enter into the composition of a real hero. In a letter to Washington, upon the subject of a Light Corps, Wayne developed his "insuperable bias in favor of an elegant uniform and soldierly appearance; so much so that I would much rather risk my life and reputation at the head of the same men, in an attack, clothed and appointed as I could wish, merely with bayonets and a single charge of ammunition, than to take them as they appear in common, with sixty rounds of cartridges. It may be a false idea, but I cannot help cherishing it." Hepburn, one of the best officers of Gustavus Adolphus, was so much of a "dandy" that the king rebuked his ultra attention to appearance in clothes and arms so sharply that the Scot was induced to throw up his commission, and although the king, "ate humble pie," and apologized and even condescended to ask Hepburn to assist him with his courage, coolness, and comprehension to avert a disaster

at Nurnberg, Hepburn, while he responded to the royal request, still persisted in leaving the Swedish service, and went where he could dress and plume himself as he pleased. Others called Wayne "Mad Anthony," which was exactly the epithet, *der Tolle*, applied to Helmold Wrangel, who was one of the boldest, ablest, and most enterprising commanders in the Swedish Army, when it was considered the best in the world and the finest school for officers; and also to Duke Christian, of Brunswick, whose superior never led a cavalry charge. Murat was a fool to him. Mad as they elected

ANTHONY WAYNE

Major-General and Third General-in-Chief U. S. A.

to style Duke Christian, he was as marvelous a creator of armies as if he almost possessed the art of evoking them, as Glendower boasted he could call spirits from the vasty deep. Wayne was a soldier; Arnold was anything and everything, from general to jockey; ready to turn his hand to anything that promised to pay; smart enough for every occasion, and successful where it depended entirely upon himself. Both were full of soldierly instincts, but entirely different in sentiment and principle. While they could use inadequate material to advantage at crises, they likewise could soon convert it into adequate, and then they could use every kind of material, or personal, to better advantage than any of their associates. Wayne was the Prince Leopold of Glogau; the Chevert of Prague; the Laudon of Schweidnitz; and, withal, the Davoust of Auerstadt.

He was under a cloud for a short time for his mishap at Paoli, but if any general can find an excuse for permitting his troops to be surprised, Wayne was excusable on that occasion. There may have been other officers in the Continental Army occupying subordinate positions—who might have developed, with opportunity, into illustrious leaders, equal to great professional chiefs; but destiny denied to them the chances or occasions which were necessary for them to develop and exhibit their capacity to plan and to lead.

Wayne had a proper descent for a soldier. His grandfather was a native of Yorkshire, England, whose people have always been noted for manliness and a certain smartness which ranges between praiseworthy astuteness and simple cunning. Early in life he emigrated to Ireland and settled in the County of Wicklow, the next south of Dublin. His business was farming, but he filled civil as well as military offices, and commanded a squadron (company?) of dragoons in the Battle of the Boyne—one of the most notable collisions in the world, which ought to rank in the class of decisive battles, because, *immediately*, it settled the fate of Ireland and the Stuart dynasty, *mediately*, that of England, and *remotely*, that of the whole world. In serving under William III., Wayne must have profited by observing one of the greatest exemplars of our race; to whom Freedom owes more than most men can conceive, and who, as Hallam admits, "honored the British Crown by wearing it." This Captain, or Major Anthony Wayne, emigrated a second time, and in 1722, came out to America, purchased an extensive realty in Chester County, Province of Pennsylvania, and of these lands assigned a portion to each of his four sons. He must have been a man of means and of a judgment fitted for his position. As well as he had done his duty in civil office and as a soldier, he performed it in private life. He gave a good education to his boys, and he left them well settled in life. "His youngest son, Isaac Wayne, father of the American general, was a man of strong mind, great industry, and enterprise. He frequently represented the County of Chester in the Provincial Legislature, and, in the capacity of a commissioned officer, repeatedly distinguished himself in expeditions against the Indians. He was at all times celebrated for his patriotism and universally admired for his integrity. After a long life of usefulness to his country, family, and friends, he died in the year 1774, leaving one son and two daughters."

This only son was Major-General Anthony Wayne, born in the township of East Town, Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1st January, 1745. It is to be feared that he was a wild slip, and he gave a great deal of trouble to his uncle, Gabriel Wayne, to whom his education was committed, who, for

his fighting proclivities and military aspirations, threatened to dismiss him from his school as incorrigible. Fortunately beneath these animal spirits lay a firm basis of good sense. The judicious arguments of his father converted him into a diligent student. He took a great interest in mathematics, a token of a strong mind, and the nephew, whom the uncle threatened to dismiss, in eighteen months had mastered all that the preceptor could teach. From this school, he was transferred to the Philadelphia Academy, and as early as sixteen he was considered fit to go out into the world and grapple with its exigencies. At the date of the Declaration of Independence, Wayne was in the prime of life, between thirty-one and thirty-two. At thirty he was colonel of a regiment of volunteers, which dated from September, 1775. In 1776, his regiment was accepted by Congress, and he received his commission as Continental, that is regular colonel.

The stories of Wayne's boyhood * resemble those told of Napoleon Bonaparte. He engaged his fellow-scholars in games of mimic war and turned their heads with imitations in miniature of military operations. The arguments and influence of a sensible father repressed the ardor of the son, and induced him to study diligently. At the age of eighteen (1763) he returned home from the Philadelphia Academy with an amount of information valuable for the times and their requirements, and at once found himself fitted to become a successful civil engineer, or as it was then termed, a land surveyor. A number of the great and successful men of the Revolutionary times began their careers as surveyors—Washington, the most notable example. In March, 1765, although only just entering upon his twenty-first year, he was selected by the practical Benjamin Franklin to proceed to Nova Scotia, as agent, and survey a large body of land in that province, with the object of its settlement through an association consisting of many wealthy and distinguished persons. His labors continued through the available portions of two years, and resulted most satisfactorily for the interests of his employers.

At Christ Church, Philadelphia, 25th March, 1766, Anthony Wayne married the daughter of Bartholomew Penrose, a merchant of note in

* The best, most interesting and most detailed Life of Major-General Anthony Wayne appeared in *The Casket, Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment*, published by S. C. Atkinson. Philadelphia, in volumes for 1829 and 1830. The numbers containing the biography of General Wayne were collected in a neat volume illustrated with newspaper cuttings, maps and portraits of Wayne and deposited in the Geological Library, Governors' Island, by A. W. Vogdes, U. S. Artillery, whose father, Brigadier-General I. Vogdes, U. S. A., of Pennsylvania, is a great nephew of General Anthony Wayne, and is full of valuable anecdotes in connection with the general's career. The *best portrait*, according to the family subscript "General Anth'y Wayne," was engraved by Edwin, but there was no indication of where it appeared. If the relatives of the general are correct, then none of the generally received pictures give any idea of the man.

Philadelphia, and went to farming in the county (Chester) in which he was born. For the next six or seven years his time was divided between the plow and the theodolite, and with the latter he won quite a local and justified celebrity. During the same period he held a number of the highest county offices, and took an active part in the proceedings which prepared so many minds for revolution. He was one of the provincial deputation, chosen in 1774, to confer on the state of affiairs between the colonies and the mother country, growing constantly more and more alarming, and was also member of the Pennsylvania Convention, held at Philadelphia, on matters in the same connection. He was elected from Chester County as a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1774–5; and in the summer of 1775 he was appointed a member of the Committee of Safety, in which he was associated with Dr. Franklin, John Dickinson, better known, perhaps, for his writings as the "Philadelphia Farmer," and other prominent individuals.

Meanwhile Wayne was studying every book on military matters to which he could gain access, and devoting all his leisure time to drilling every person who had any predeliction for military service. His personal character, his courage, and his energy, backed by his attainments, to which the great majority were utter strangers, procured him the position of Colonel of the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, organized for expected service. As before stated as soon as the drift of public affairs, and the skirmish at Lexington, 19th April, 1775, made war an accomplished fact, Congress accepted his regiment and commissoned him its colonel.

Although not a large man, and little above what is usually considered middle size, Wayne was a striking figure. "His portrait by Charles Peale is by far the best likeness. He had a fine, animated, pleasing countenance, dark hair, dark hazel eyes, expressing intelligence and penetration, and a nose inclined to acquiline. His natural disposition was amiable, his manners refined, his character determined and enterprising, and in his attachments he was ardent and sincere." He took part in the unfortunate Canada campaign of 1776, in which he distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct, and was severely wounded. When the Colonial forces, after abandoning Canada, were concentrated at Ticonderoga, General Schuyler confided the command of this important post and its dependencies to Colonel Wayne. On 21st February, 1777, Congress conferred on him the rank of brigadier-general. He continued in command at Ticonderoga from November, 1776, until May, 1777, when he was ordered to join General Washington in New Jersey. On leaving he was the recipient of an address signed by all the field officers, couched in the most affectionate

and flattering terms. He soon acquired the confidence of Washington and of the troops. This he continued to deserve, and he greatly distinguished himself on various occasions. In command of a division, Wayne took an important part in the battle of the Brandywine, 11th September, 1777. According to critical judgment, Wayne's brigade was one of the most conspicuous for its resolute bearing and effect in this action, and set an example which unfortunately was not imitated by others, whose commanders have claimed for *their* exertions on this field a credit which no one denied to Wayne.

The catastrophe which first brought him conspicuously before the country, is best known as the "Surprise at Paoli's Tavern," styled by the British the "Attack upon the Rebels near the White Horse Tavern" from the "British camp at Trudruffrin." Military experts have established, as a rule, that no officer can justify himself for permitting an enemy to take him by surprise, but there must be an exception to this in the case of Wayne. Sufficient to say Washington had assigned to him the duty of harassing the British rear and attempting to cut off his baggage. There is no doubt but that the Colonial troops were acting under the same disadvantages as those experienced by the Union forces when operating in Virginia and other Southern States during the "Slave-holders' Rebellion." In many instances the feelings of the inhabitants were favorable to the British. The result was they concealed the movements of the Royal forces from Wayne, and served as spies and guides for the latter. Wayne's defense before the court-martial which "acquitted him with honor," is perhaps the best account of the affair extant.

In the battle of Germantown he did all that an officer could do to secure the victory which the Americans claim was at one time within their grasp, and slipped as it were between their fingers, and in covering their retreat used every exertion that prudence and bravery could dictate. It is claimed for General Wayne during the whole of the campaign of 1777, the duty, which was usually performed by three general officers, owing to a combination of circumstances, was performed by him alone.

At Monmouth, where the American regular first developed the fact that the drilled American was equal to the best, had no superior in the world—at Monmouth, where the Continental troops received their "baptism of blood and of fire," WAYNE was the HERO.

It has become the fashion with a certain class of writers, with an assurance equaling that of a mythical Jomini, to make out that the young French Marquis de La Fayette was a war genius of the highest order, and a perfect match in generalship for the best officer the British had in America,

"the good and great," the gallant, generous, *genial* (in the German sense) Cornwallis. It has always been the writer's opinion that Washington's regard for the boy-general, La Fayette, while it may, in a measure, have been founded in friendship, had its real base in policy, and that when the commander-in-chief detached our native brigadier, Anthony Wayne, with his famous Light Brigade, to act under the comparatively inexperienced young foreign major-general, he intended Wayne to serve as a balance-wheel to La Fayette, as Thomas served as a balance-wheel to every superior in rank until Nashville demonstrated that the balance-wheel was, in fact, about the whole machine. What Traun in the previous century had been to the Austrian archdukes, Charles and Francis in their operations against the great Frederic; Blumenthal to the Crown Prince of Prussia, and what numerous great generals were to their superiors in aristocratical eminence, however inferior in all the grandeur of mind as applied to the carrying on of war, Wayne was to La Fayette. It is the writer's idea that Wayne was sent to dry-nurse the French marquis, and all that the latter accomplished to the purpose, in Virginia in 1781, was due to the former, Pennsylvania's ablest representative in the field during America's first War for Independence.

It is not only curious, but instructive, to find that war, like water, follows inevitable courses, and that decisive or influential battles have been fought repeatedly and inevitably on the same fields. This is admitted. When the late contest developed into the assurance of a great war, one of our most distinguished generals, a near friend, wrote: "Send me Tarleton's *Campaigns and Maps* and all the works relating to the Revolutionary War you can get, for I am satisfied that our marches and movements and fighting will have to follow the same lines as in the preceding century." The event showed the perfect correctness of this officer's foresight. It was not wonderful, but he had profited by what he had studied and seen, by which few are willing to benefit, or at least are able to do. The grounds and fields of the Cornwallis-La Fayette-Wayne operations were wet again and again with blood shed in fratricidal engagements in the Revolution as they were in the "Great American Conflict." Yorktown, besieged by the Americans and French in 1781, was again by the Union Army in 1861. Williamsburg was the scene, 5th May, 1862, of the first stand-up fight between the two (Union and rebel) armies of the Potomac (one originally the army of northeastern Virginia and the other afterwards of northern Virginia), witnessed similar scenes in 1781, as well as Green Spring, the spot rendered famous by the hardihood of Wayne.*

* While remarking on localities in this part of the Peninsula, one, most remarkable, is *Cold*

Cornwallis was in Virginia master of the situation, having made a march in 1781, something like that of Sherman in 1865, northward through the Carolinas. The entire subjugation of Virginia was a part of the British plan of operations for 1781. While expecting to be reinforced, Clinton became so alarmed about his own position in New York where the allies intended to "leave him *severely alone*," he actually howled to Cornwallis on the James, for troops to make himself secure, when he was incurring not even the slightest chance of danger on the Hudson. After he had allowed these troops to depart, Cornwallis found himself constrained to take another entirely different course. Feeling that he was not strong enough to remain any longer at Williamsburg he determined to cross the river James and fall back to Portsmouth. The retreat of Cornwallis placed no feather in the cap of the Americans, of Lafayette, or of any one else. "Light Horse Harry" Lee, in his history, is very just to the English Marquis. He admits that Cornwallis "*yielded to assurances* [those of Sir Henry Clinton] *too solemn to be slighted*," and incurred ruin by "adhering to his instructions." Carrying out his design, Cornwallis encamped so as to cover a ford which led to Jamestown Island and the same evening the Queen's Rangers crossed into the Island. The two following days were consumed in getting the baggage across. The day after Cornwallis evacuated Williamsburg, La Fayette also changed position. Having crossed the Chickahominy, he pushed forward his best troops within nine miles of the British camp, in hopes of being able to attack the enemy's rear-guard when left to itself and after the other and principal forces had passed over into Jamestown Island. Cornwallis saw through this project, and camped almost the whole of his army on advantageous ground, concentrating his troops as

Harbor. Quite a controversy has arisen as to the meaning or origin of this name. It is not only English but German. For instance, *Kalte Herberge,* or Cold-Shelter, or Inn, was quite a noted hostelry on the road from Freiburg to Hunningen, as early as the first settlement of Virginia. (Keysler, IV. App'x, 12.) It would seem to mean a public-house, which afforded shelter for man and beast, but where the former were expected to bring food with them and find lodging and shelter but not entertainment.

It may be as well to mention for those who have never examined a map of this portion of Virginia, that the road from Williamsburg to the Ford (?) through or Ferry over a narrow channel of the James River, to Jamestown Island, strikes the water at Church Point, about six miles southwest of Williamsburg, according to the Map of Virginia (sheet No. 9), entered according to Act of Congress, the 14th day of April, 1826, by John Tyler, Governor of the State of Virginia. Cobham is the village on the south side of the James, where the road to Portsmouth appears again upon the map. For Jamestown Island, Green Spring (Plantation), and other points mentioned in this article, see pages 445, 446, 447, volume 2, *Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution.* Jamestown, the first English settlement in the United States, was made on this island in 1608. Nothing now remains but a few ruins.

much as possible, meanwhile throwing over, into the Island, several detachments and disposing them so as to make it appear that their number was large. Deceived by every report which he received, La Fayette believed that the largest portion of the British had crossed during the night. Accordingly, 6th July, he sent forward his riflemen and militia to attack the English outposts and hold their attention whilst with his regulars he advanced, intending to cut off the British rear-guard. Cornwallis did everything to confirm La Fayette in his delusion. The detachments of English light troops were withdrawn and the pickets which had not been thrown out far, were driven in without difficulty. Just before sundown, La Fayette came to the front determined to make a reconnaissance with his own eyes. Cornwallis *had every reason to believe* that he had set a trap which would catch his man and he would have done so if it had not been for Wayne. When he advanced to nip LaFayette, and drove back the first line of Americans, he came upon Wayne with a select body, estimated by different writers at from five to eight hundred, a picked body. Wayne knew that to retreat precipitately was to court destruction; so, he determined to make audacity supply the place of force. Instead of falling back he struck out and back with such effect that he checked Cornwallis, just as Pleasonton with his cavalry and artillery stopped Stonewall Jackson, for the moment, 2d May, on our right, at Chancellorsville, when Howard's Corps had been run out and sent kiting. Wayne behaved so splendidly, that Cornwallis concluded that Wayne must have ample supports at hand, and that a trap might be sprung on him such as he thought he had set so skillfully and infallibly for LaFayette. Gallant as he was, he did not deem it advisable to press the matter further. Wayne extricated himself skillfully and, in the course of the night, Cornwallis crossed his army over to Jamestown Island and thence continued his march to Portsmouth.* Perhaps this was the handsomest thing Wayne ever did and it is from such achievements that "A soldier knows a soldier, a man knows a man." In the fall of Cornwallis—not his fault but the disgrace of Clinton—Wayne

* Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. Simcoe, of the famous Loyalist Partisan Corps, known as the "Queen's Rangers," in his Military Journal, at page 239, tells the story a little differently:

"On the 4th July the army marched to Jamestown, for the purpose of crossing the river at that place, and proceeding to Portsmouth: the Queen's Rangers crossed the river that evening, and took post to cover the baggage, which was passing over as expeditiously as possible. *On the evening of the 6th*, as Earl Cornwallis had predicted, M. de la Fayette attacked his army, *mistaking it for the rear guard only: the affair was almost confined to the 80th and 76th regiments*, under the command of Lt.-Col. Dundas, whose good conduct and gallantry was conspicuously displayed on that occasion. M. de la Fayette was *convinced of his error*, by being instantly repulsed, and losing what cannon he had brought with him. The army passed over, marched on the 9th toward Portsmouth."

did not play his usual prominent part throughout. On the very day on which the French troops landed, Wayne was severely wounded in the thigh by the accidental shot of a frightened American sentry. Still he worked in at the end and influenced the surrender. From Virginia, Wayne with his Pennsylvania troops was ordered south to Greene and joined the latter about the 1st January, 1782; and was then despatched into Georgia. In five weeks after he entered that colony, or State, the British had been pressed back into Savannah. On the night of the 24th February, Wayne defeated an attempt to surprise his troops made by 500 picked chiefs and warriors of the brave Creek Nation. A general action ensued and the Indians and their supporters were totally defeated. On the 11th July, 1782, the British evacuated Savannah, and Wayne took possession of the city. Thence he was summoned to the assistance of Greene who, situated critically in South Carolina, needed help. Toward the close of November, Wayne's immediate command was augmented by the Light Infantry and the Legionary Corps.

Thus stiffened, he passed the Ashley River and pressed back the British into Charleston. On the 14th of December, 1782, the British having left the city in accordance with a convention, Wayne, with his troops, had the honor of taking peaceable possession of the place. This was the closing act of his brilliant active participation in the Revolutionary War.

In July, 1783, having finished his duties in the Southern country, Wayne turned to Philadelphia, suffering from the effects of an ugly fever contracted in that malarious region in which he had been serving. On the 10th of October, 1783, he was made major-general U.S.A. by brevet. From 1783 to 1792, his attention was directed to his personal affairs which had become greatly disordered by his absence in the field and in various honorable civil positions. On the 13th of April, 1792, Washington nominated Wayne as commander-in-chief of the United States Army, and after his confirmation he was called out West into the present State of Ohio, to restore the honor of the American arms lost by years of unsuccessful hostility against the Indians in that region, and to determine that this rich country should become the peaceable possession of the whites and no longer be oppressed by the inroads and depredations of the savage. In this he perfectly succeeded.

In the same way that our Revolutionary history, as written for and accepted by the people, is little better than a myth, the same remark will apply to the popular judgment of a great many of the military operations immediately subsequent. Few are aware that there was a Josiah Harmar, from Pennsylvania, although only a lieutenant-colonel (commanding a regi-

ment of infantry), and brigadier-general by brevet, who was general-in-chief of the United States Army, succeeding Washington. He is best known for his defeats on the Miami River in western Ohio, and one near Chillicothe, 19th and 22d of October, 1790. Although thus unfavorably known, the blame of his failure is far more due to the inefficiency of the Administration and untrustworthiness of the militia than to Harmar. He was one of the many victims of the miserable system followed by our government in relying for emergencies upon a militia which in a vast majority of cases, have led to the sacrifice of better men by cowardice and insubordination. The failures of Harmar and St. Clair were rather those of a pernicious system than of those commanders, but still the remedy lay with the commander as Wayne demonstrated in 1793, and Thomas in 1864, or lies in a bold refusal to submit to such a system without the opportunity of at least attempting to better it before making an attempt at application. Scarcely any one censures Harmar for what he was most censurable, his emulating the course of Sullivan in 1779, and destroying the extensive orchards planted and fostered by the Indians, a desolation which the Turks, obedient to their dogmas, do not inflict. "While emulous of renown, General Harmar disgraced himself, as General Sullivan had done in New York, by cutting down or girdling the fine orchards with which the settlements were surrounded."

Harmar after this failure proceeded to Washington and resigned his command. Arthur St. Clair succeeded him as general-in-chief, and with the inheritance of his position, to his predecessors' ill luck. Even as Sullivan's invasion of the Indian country in 1779, all its vaunted success, did not arrest the constant occurrence of Indian reprisals, but rather increased their fury, so in the same way Harmar's destructions were followed by the most desperate efforts of the savages—efforts in a great measure occasioned by Harmar's calculated destruction of their food. These St. Clair was sent to repress. When he started out, Washington solemnly warned him against a surprise, for our first President had been with Braddock, and knew the horrible effects, even upon the most steady troops, of an Indian surprise. On the 4th of November, 1791, St. Clair, sent to punish the Indians, was terribly punished himself. In the engagement near the sources of the Maumee of the Lakes, about an equal number of whites and Indians met. Of the 1400 effectives under St. Clair, 632 were killed, and 234 were wounded. Other honest investigators augment the number of the whites and their casualties, and doubt the accepted exaggeration of the Indian force, which, according to some accounts, were not over a third of the whites. It is very hard to have to throw a stone at one against whom so

many rocks have been hurled, but when an officer accepts a responsibility, and he finds the means furnished totally inadequate to the service and result expected of him, there are only two alternatives; *either* to resign or expect to bear all the blame, and accept it as deserved. One of the greatest of prime ministers, when an officer was recommended to him for a command always asked first, "Is he lucky?" Perhaps the best criterion whereby to form a judgment of honest St. Clair (who by the way was not an American, but a Scotchman, a foreigner like so many of the Revolutionary generals and leaders who engineered in the Revolution), in regard to his course at Ticonderoga in 1777, is the management of his campaign against the Indians in 1791. No one can doubt his devotion and integrity, but, in both cases, against the British and the Indians, his capacity was unequal, and his characteristics unsuitable to the occasion; and it is in meeting the occasion lies the test of men. Our great, among the greatest, if not our very greatest, George H. Thomas, hero of Mill Spring, Stone River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Nashville, held to the opinion that when an officer of real reputation became satisfied that while he was inadequately furnished with means he was yet impelled by his government to do that which his experience demonstrated, was actually, or equal to, an impossibility according to all human means of judging, he owed it to himself to resign. The action of Thomas before Nashville clearly demonstrated the correctness of his views.

In spite of the unreasonable and ungenerous goading of superiors and the administration, Thomas would not fight until he felt he was ready to fight. He would not obey graceless and senseless orders. What was the result? He took his own way, and when he felt that he was prepared then, and not before, he struck a deadly blow.

After St. Clair's catastrophe the Indians continued their hostilities with terrible vigor and effect for nearly three years more. Wayne succeeded St. Clair, who held the position for exactly one year, as general-in-chief, in March, 1792. In the fall of 1793 Wayne was sent against the Indians. He did not plunge blindly forward into a trap, but, on the principle of Thomas before Nashville, spent the whole ensuing summer in preparing his troops for the service they had to perform—in getting a perfect ready.* The

* Against savages or demi-savages or desperate irregulars it is often necessary to improvise tactics. Thus the Duke of Cumberland, comprehending why his predecessors had so often suffered defeat at the hands of the Highlanders, made his dispositions for Culloden on an entirely new and different principle. General Sir Edward Cust says (1. 2. 101, § 4): "The Duke of Cumberland, on approaching to the attack, formed his army with great skill in three lines, disposed in excellent order for resisting the fierce attack of the rebels. Two pieces of cannon were placed

result was that when Wayne encountered the Indians in greater numbers than had ever assembled before on any one field—two thousand strong, it is stated—in the battle of the Maumee Rapids, at the "fallen timbers," he inflicted upon them a complete defeat, which may rank as the best thing of the kind on this continent. Wayne's numbers are not given, but, whatever strength he had, his list of casualties was comparatively insignificant, realizing the judgment of the Governor of Messina, that "a victory is twice itself when the achiever brings home full numbers." This solved the Indian problem in that quarter, and rounded off to perfectness—capped with solidifying finish, like the expensive stone at the apex of the Washington Monument—his exemplary career, for Wayne died 15th December, 1796, sixteen days less than fifty-two years of age, "in the full vigor of life, in the noon-tide of glory, and in the midst of usefulness."

between every two regiments of the first line. *The second rank was instructed to reserve its fire; and, in oder to obviate the effect of the Highland target, the soldiers were each instructed to direct their thrust against the man who fronted his right-hand comrade, rather than upon him who was directly before him, so that should the Highlanders, according to their custom, throw away their muskets and take to their broadswords they might be checked*, and then be galled by an unexpected fire of musketry, which should be immediately followed by the bayonet."

Whenever the Indians have attempted to blend their peculiar tactics with those of the whites, when opposed to brave and able commanders, they have suffered fearfully, showing the wisdom of Skoboleff's strictures, "always to fight the enemy with a weapon in which he is deficient." Indian victories belong to the class of "Ambushes and Surprises," like Dade's Massacre in Florida, on 28th December, 1835, while the American Indian is just as open to surprises from inattention to outpost and sentry duty, in fact from causes due to want of instruction and discipline. Their force, like that of the Highlanders of Montrose and of Dundee, lay in their courage and activity, like that of all undisciplined nervous races, a mode of fighting only successful when opposed to officers who, with unsteady troops, stolidly await attack, as did Mackay at Kallicrankie, or who depend on martinetism, like Braddock on the Mononghahela. Harrison's victory at the Thames was patterned on Wayne's Waterloo over the same allies on the Miamis. Miles displayed a like ability against Sitting Bull. Again, wherever Indians have tried to make a stand behind permanent or temporary defenses, they have come terribly to grief. When left to themselves they seem incapable of applying anything like the rules of engineering to their works, paying no regard to the simplest arrangements for taking an assailant in flank. Take, for instance, the famous capture of the Pequod stockade citadel by the Eastern Colonists in 1637, the complete success of the French Governor-Generals of Canada in 1665 and 1693, and Jackson's victories over the Creeks and Cherokees and Seminoles. Every defeat sustained by the whites at the hands of the Indians that might be termed a battle or engagement—this remark does not, of course, include surprises—has been due to neglect of the ordinary rules of common sense on the part of the leaders of the whites. The Indians have their peculiar tactics. These have to be studied and understood in the same way that the hunter must learn the habits and habitat of the prey that he seeks for food, interest, or pleasure. Wherever the Indians have undertaken to make a stand in positions fortified however strongly, according to their ideas, and the whites have been in anything like proportionate force, and led by determined leaders, the Indians have always suffered more severely than in the most bloody of field fights. Custer's catastrophe is one of the most notable exceptions to this rule.

General Wayne was gifted with true soldierly inspiration, and yet he possessed, in addition, another most important quality for a subordinate: he was essentially obedient, and his deference to Washington was without bounds. It was this feeling, this confidence, that led to his remark: "that if your Excellency will plan it I will undertake to storm hell." This language, strong as it appears, was not the expression of a man deficient in respect for religion, but simply an assurance of the extreme influence with which Washington was capable of inspiring some of his trusted and trustworthy lieutenants. Napoleon said of the brutal, but bold and capable Vandamme, who came to grief at Culm, in 1813, that if he gave an order to storm hell, his Dutch general was the man he would select to make the attempt. It was in the same spirit that Platoff, Hetman of the Cossacks, responded with alacrity to the proposition to march his devoted troopers against the British possessions in India. The idea excited no surprise in the mind of the successor of Mazeppa, and he asked no explanations, simply remarking that if the Tzar directed him to storm hell, he would obey. In the cases of Vandamme and Platoff it was the blind obedience of irresponsible instruments; with Wayne it was an honest faith in the perfect wisdom of Washington. Perhaps there was not another well-known officer in the Continental Army that had such an intelligent, affectionate, unquestioning respect for the commander-in-chief. With those who judge without due examination and comparison of facts, without capacity to comprehend and exhaustively to digest cause, and result, and motives, Wayne was regarded as *rash*. It is all-sufficient answer to their judgment, Washington qualified him as "prudent."

It has been remarked in this sketch that the popular, high reputation of Wayne is based on his storming and capture of Stony Point. His fame should rest on far higher grounds. In that assault he was highly favored by circumstances. A professor who has written considerably on different portions of the Revolutionary War, has taken great exception to my opinions in regard to Stony Point, and considers the intervention of the negro guide, Pompey, as mythical. I consider it strictly true, and that it had a very great and fortunate influence upon the result. Again, the success was due, in a large degree, to the remissness, inexperience, and overconfidence of the British commandant—in fact, of all those to whom the defense was confided, or were supposed to be watching over its security. Moreover, Wayne had a much larger number of excellent troops than is usually credited to him. The credit due to him cannot, however, be lessened by the numbers or the circumstances of this case. None of these criticisms detract from the credit of Wayne. He had a perfect right to take

them into his calculations. He made his preparations, and he solved his problem. There is no discount to his enviable success as far as his intent and execution is concerned. Wayne's capture of Stony Point was in the spirit of Russell's storm of the Rebel Bridge Head on the Rappahannock, 7th November, 1863, and of the Union *coup d'emblée*, at Fort McAllister, 13th December, 1864. Wayne's "counter" at Green Spring,* again, was in the spirit of Warren's brilliant stroke at Bristow Station, 14th October, 1863. Schlange's self-sacrifice to save Baner, at Newburg, in 1639, belongs to the same class of devotion and determination of which "Military Ends and Moral Means" furnishes illustrious examples. The charge of the combined 2d and 3d corps, Army of the Potomac, at the Spottsylvania death angle, ranges up in the category of Wayne's Stony Point. His greatness—for he was great in his sphere and on his plane—rests upon the even tenor of his service. He never fell below the latter. Turenne, acquired great reputation by his management of the mutiny, defection and desertion of the Weymarian troops, who, treated unjustly by the French Government, decided to abandon its service and return to that of the Swedes, under whose flag they were originally organized and won much renown. Turenne undoubtedly exhibited tact; he used cajolery and courage. When he at-

* Captain Ewald, of the Hessian Jager Corps, an officer as remarkable for ability as courage, who served in America with great distinction, afterwards wrote a book entitled *Instructions in Respect to War*. In alluding to an encounter very much like that between Dundas (British) and Wayne at Green Spring, Ewald held and acted on the principle proper on such occasions,—always to attack the enemy without hesitation. In his *Belehrungen* he enjoins: "If an officer by night stumble on the enemy, let him give a volley and charge with the bayonet, without troubling himself as to the strength of his opponent. By these proceedings the latter, since he cannot see the strength of his assailant, is confounded, and the chief in command wins the whole time for making his dispositions.

On the 4th of July [1781], Cornwallis evacuated Williamsburg, for the purpose of pursuing his retreat to Portsmouth, his place of destination. On the morning of the 5th, Lafayette put his troops in motion, in order to effect his contemplated maneuver against the rear guard of his opponent, and, on the evening of that day, encamped within eight or nine miles of his Lordship. On the morning of the 6th the advanced corps under General Wayne moved toward the enemy. Under a conviction from intelligence received that the greater part of the British army had passed over into the Island of Jamestown during the preceding night, the Marquis also moved forward at the head of the main army, with the view of carrying his object into full effect; whilst General Wayne, with part of the advanced corps, in the afternoon commenced driving in the outposts of the enemy; but he soon discovered that in place of the rear guard, nearly the whole of the British army was drawn up to oppose him, and within a short distance of his front. Says Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*: "A retreat was now impossible, and *the boldest had become the safest measure*. Under this impression he advanced rapidly, and with his small detachment, not exceeding eight hundred men, made a gallant charge on the British line. A warm action ensued, which was kept up with great spirit for several minutes, when Lafayette, who had now come up, ordered him to retreat and form in line with the light infantry, who were drawn up about half a mile in his rear."

tempted to apply force he only partially succeeded in arresting a portion of the absconding forces. Wayne showed common sense and calm bravery, and he was completely successful. And here let it be remarked that Becker, a German historian, who was very careful in his presentation of facts, stated that the majority of the Pennsylvania mutineers were foreigners, and their ringleader a British deserter.

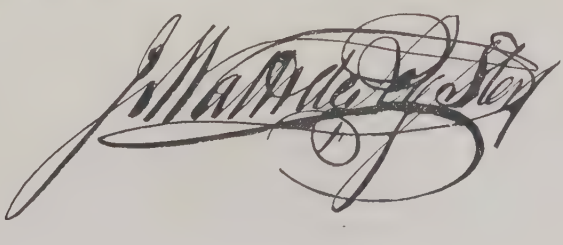
Americans who pride themselves so much on the issue of the Revolution are very little aware how much of the triumph was secured by "Military (men and) Ends and Moral Means," remote, mediate, and immediate, *foreign, not native*. However, the consideration of those influences does not lie within the scope of the present sketch. If any expert takes interest and devotes time to investigate the career of Wayne, he will arrive at the conclusion that our general rose higher and higher with every succeeding opportunity until his glory culminated, not so much in his victory over the Western Indians, as in his wise preparations and personal courage which made that victory certain.

It is related that when the British had the upper hand in Pennsylvania, a British detachment visited the Wayne homestead in hopes of capturing the general. In searching the house the officer in command pulled open a closet door and started back on finding himself confronted by a Continental uniform of Wayne, which hung on a peg. "Do even the general's clothes alarm thee?" observed a lady of the family who was standing by, watching the proceedings of the search. This anecdote amounts to little except to show that Wayne's reputation must have been more than unusually high, or else it would never have entered into the mind of the speaker to imagine that the apparition of Wayne's uniform would have any weight on the mind of a soldier.

In conclusion, in an examination of the military character of Wayne there is no necessity of indulging in the slightest exaggeration to establish his claim for enrollment in the highest class of military ability. He was a common-sense, practical general, a "duty man," very much like another Pennsylvanian, Major-General, A. A. Humphreys, developed by "the Slaveholders' Rebellion." Both possessed the best intelligence, the highest intrepidity, the finest sense of honor, and the completest devotion to duty. He displayed the noblest qualities on the most varied fields. He was an adroit politician and consummate master of the art of influencing men. He stands second in capacity to no general of the Revolution. He was more audacious than Greene, with all the electrifying force of Arnold on the battle-field; a clearer head under fire than the first, and a cooler leader under every circumstance than the latter. This is saying all that is neces-

sary to establish his reputation. Moreover, he had as much judgment as Schuyler. Nothing more need be added. He was tried in every way and never found wanting. Pitted against the best regular troops and officers on the battle-field, he was admirable; their equal in determination and dash. Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Green Spring proved this. Opposed to the most dangerous mutiny, he evinced an equanimity and moral force which superseded the necessity of material vigor. Against the courageous Indians of the West, the famous Thayandenga under Brant, flushed with victory over two generals, his predecessors, his triumph was like that of Thomas at Nashville, decisive. In his attitude of patriotic determination, backed by a fearless courage, he subsequently awed the British authorities after his victory, 20th August, 1794, and won a bloodless success which entitles him to the highest praise.

Popular opinion, almost always based on ignorance and rarely the offspring of knowledge, has never done justice to Wayne. He may have lacked some of the qualities that distinguished Washington, and some of the opportunities which favored Greene, and certain notable traits which rendered Schuyler so remarkable, but, averaging forces, he was a better soldier than either. As a politician or administrator he never entered the lists. His sphere of action was the military, pure and simple. In that he never failed. He never fell short of the occasion. He was always equal to the requirements of the time. As a soldier, few so prominently forward have such a perfect record. Scrutinize his whole career, and it cannot be denied that the United States has not as yet possessed a soldier who, under existing circumstances—mark this—under the circumstances of his station and the time, who has played the part assigned to him with more ability. On a grander stage, in a more important roll, he may have come short of the requirements of both, but on the boards he was called upon to act, no deficiency could be detected, and from what he was called upon to do, and from what he did, he must be judged. From this point of view the verdict must incontestably be that Wayne was most remarkable as a soldier, greatly distinguished as a general, and worthy of all respect as a citizen.



THE DISINTEGRATION OF CANADA

Our Canadian neighbors adjoining the Eastern border have been and are at present afflicted with serious family jars. Troubles provincial and difficulties municipal have contributed to set French and English by the ears, the great plague-smitten city of Montreal being the principal seat of the unhappy strife. Much excitement prevails in the ranks of the disputants, while mutual recrimination and defiance combine with revived race antipathies to embitter life and damage the material interests of all alike. No doubt there is room for honest differences of opinion between French Canadians and British on various questions of a provincial or municipal character, and such are not seldom expressed in temperate, sensible language; but there is a set of budding lawyers, of lofty ambition, as well as a crowd of selfish politicians who make it their business to foment national strife and exaggerate reasonable differences on all occasions, in order to promote their own contemptible ends. Frenchmen, moreover, of any education, are easily moulded into politicians, fluent, demonstrative, and excitable, while the British, though cooler and self-confident enough, are not slow to make known a "grievance," or to resent with a liberal measure of growls, a deliberate insult.

Such needy and "stagey" politicians supply suitable material for the common herd of patriots ever ready to take fire not simply when French interests, but when French whims and prejudices, even, are concerned. The mention of the benefits of British rule and French indebtedness thereto which the opposite disputants occasionally indulge in, to tease and humble "Johnny Crapaud," invariably proves both the red flag and the goad productive of the most rabid excitement. Whether he feels it all is another question. At any rate, he certainly succeeds to perfection in simulating intense indignation, while striving to alarm his opponents with the dreadful possibilities likely to flow from his offended pride. "Have we not opened our hospitable gates to your British emigrants, driven out by poverty from your own land, cared for your sick and helped you in your struggle for a living?" are questions not seldom flung in the faces of the "Johnny Bulls," whose ingratitude naturally supplies in this connection a fertile theme of the hottest denunciation.

Of the nationality controversy, its ideas and snappish tone, the fol-

lowing extract from an editorial in the *Montreal Herald*, with the subjoined reply from a French paper of the same city, *Le Monde*, supplies an interesting specimen. The former demands as it rushes to the attack—"Is this a British province?" The question is thus answered by itself—"If it is not, it is time it was. From the expressions that reach the public from time to time, many might be led to suppose that it was not. We hear so much about treaty rights, about *La Belle France*, about the tricolor, about everything that seems to link the province of Quebec with old France, that it might almost be taken for granted that a large portion of the population had forgotten that there were British interests to be considered here. But if treaty rights have been respected, if they have been enjoyed to the full, it has been because Great Britain has kept her word to the very letter, and because British colonists have seen the honor of their mother-country maintained. If the inhabitants of Quebec enjoy political peace and material prosperity, these are largely due to the beneficent political institutions which have been granted by Great Britain." To which *Le Monde* replies: "... No; it is a French province which the destiny of war has placed under the protection of the English. The sovereign of Great Britain has a right to our loyalty, which she possesses, but we retain the privilege of remaining French, and even if it displeases our enemies we will continue to be French. .... The French Canadians do not owe the liberty they enjoy to the English. Our liberties were acquired by the price of our blood, and we have shared them with those who to-day desire to confiscate them to their own advantage. The *Herald* is mistaken if it thinks we are alarmed at the specter of annexation. Whether we be English, American, or Canadian citizens, we will always remain French. Let those whom this displeases do as they think proper." There is a serious as well as a ludicrous side to this quarrel. After a century's possession of the province by England, with vigorous, systematic, and continuous efforts, at great expense, to colonize its wastes and Anglicize its Gallic inhabitants, we witness the most striking evidences of failure supplied by a people, many of whom pride themselves on being more French than ever, more attached to the language, ideas, and country of their ancestors, But there are French Canadians, and French Canadians. Some of them unquestionably have been and are being impregnated with British ideas to an extent creditable to their liberality and good sense. Contact with imperial officials for three generations, as well as with leading Englishmen in the cities and towns, and a knowledge of what has happened in France and England, politically and socially, since the French Revolution, have made impressions on the more intelligent Canadians,

friendly to British rule and free institutions, such as prevail under the Union Jack and American Eagle.

Nor can it be doubted that a powerful factor in the expansion of the Canadian mind, and in the liberalizing of Canadian feelings of late years, is an extensive intercourse with the United States, to which thousands of French as well as British Canadians annually repair. Among the results of this communication, which appears likely to extend with time, must be set down a better feeling toward the United States, and a substantial respect for the hospitality, wealth, and energy of its people. Indeed, any old prejudice against them, not to speak of hatred, seems a thing of the past.

On the other hand, whatever sentimental theories or policies may be affected by the admission, the fact that a large proportion of the French do not like the British and their ways, stands out nakedly. The conquerors and "new comers" meet them in business and in politics as rivals, and this friction touches the pockets and ruffles the vanity of a people, as sensitive in these respects as their compatriots of *La Belle France* across the ocean. If this section be blind to the undeniable benefits of British rule, genius and enterprise, the English are not slow to remind them of it, nor to arrogate to themselves a very liberal share of the credit connected with the prosperity of the province. They also feel offended at that alleged blindness and ingratitude which refuses to them, the ameliorators, a larger amount of influence in social and political affairs.

Now, the question naturally arises—have the British any reason for their complaint of declining influence, and French aggression in civil affairs? Events of recent years, I must confess, favor an affirmative answer. As long ago as the period preceding Confederation, it was predicted by statesmen and others that the establishment of separate provincial governments would develop local prejudices and leave race and other minorities at the mercy of the local majorities; and that whatever satisfaction the Upper Canada (now the Ontario) majority might derive from the change, the British minority of Lower Canada (Quebec) would, ere many years, have good reason to regret it. Recent events have justified their foresight. Contemporaneously with the rapid disappearance of the English population in Quebec city and other parts of the province, we have seen, of late years, a gradual and astonishing growth of the French, especially in the direction of the Eastern townships. This growth has been greatly aided by the repatriation scheme started, shortly after Confederation, and so highly favored by the Roman Catholic clergy, in order to coax back their flocks from the United States, and prevent further migration thereto,

which might, to their patriotic and religious fancies, be attended with the loss, to the outgoers, of their language and religion! Colonization roads and the throwing open of indifferent and moderately good crown lands are among the means employed to effect those objects, toward which considerable progress has been attained. The British feel they have grown weaker numerically and otherwise, while the French show no little elation over their corresponding gains.

Meantime, however sore the feeling of any race minority, and however apprehensive as to possible aggression or injustice, in future, by the majority, the kindred and sympathizing majority of no other province can help it; each province, which means each majority, is entirely independent of all the rest in regard to local and municipal affairs. Nor is there any prospect of a change in this respect more agreeable to any provincial minority; for the Ontario Liberal party, which is powerful at Ottawa, in the Federal House, and is supreme at Toronto, where it has ruled the last dozen years, is resolutely opposed to the slightest interference with provincial authority by the General Government. The specter of possible French rule is as terrible to the imagination of the English-speaking Liberals of Ontario and Quebec as it was before Confederation when it possessed much vigor and devotion to its interests. One-fourth of the members of the Parliament at Ottawa is French Canadian. This element is, generally speaking, three-fourths Conservative, under excellent discipline, highly sensitive to its own interests, and fully alive to the practical value of party loyalty. It has not been weakened, much less paralyzed by the larger union of the provinces, its strength, on the contrary, being relatively greater to-day in the Dominion than fifteen years ago. Nor, so long as the majority holds together, as during the last thirty-five years, is the race likely to lose weight in even Dominion affairs, while, with its present and constantly augmenting advantages, in Quebec, it cannot fail to aggrandize itself.

The English are becoming more and more discouraged and unsettled as the years go by. "What have we to expect from this steadily increasing, rather jealous and not friendly majority?" is a question commonly put by the former, who never were in a worse humor for being Gallicized or trampled upon. They naturally, also, with that practical habit characteristic of the race, criticize the fruits of French rule in Quebec province, after the following fashion: "What have they done with all their opportunities and advantages since Confederation, when they started on equal terms with Ontario, in the race of local self-government and development? Have they not been woefully beaten in almost every department of material progress? Has not Ontario a far superior school

system, better public and municipal roads, with a much greater extent of them; and, has she not spent infinitely more on public improvements, such as opening up and settling wild lands in the remotest sections, subsidizing colonization northern railways, and so forth, while liberally maintaining an excellent array of charitable institutions for the defective and afflicted? Has not all this and more been done simultaneously with a material increase of her surplus, which now amounts to several millions? While our province, the oldest and by long odds, the first in the race a couple or three generations ago, can hardly maintain the population with which it entered Confederation, Ontario has doubled its population in thirty years, boasting at present over 200,000 souls!" "Quebec, besides," it is often added—"got through her surplus of ten or twelve years ago, having the last few years been living from hand to mouth." Doutless the $3,000,000 lately granted her for the North Shore Railway, between Quebec and Montreal, made over to the Canadian Pacific Railway, will fill some hideous gaps, and tide off a little longer the era of deficits that all thoughtful Britons and many shrewd Frenchmen themselves, expect ere many years; but this resource exhausted, and the general Federal and local taxation constantly augmenting, there will be no alternative by and by but a cry for a rearrangement of the financial terms of the Union, or further borrowing in disguise.

Can not Quebec settle her waste places, open up and develop her northern regions and utilize her timber and other resources like Ontario? some may ask. Not for a long time to any material extent, I fear must be the answer. Whatever the cause, nowadays Frenchmen do not in large numbers penetrate and clear up the remote wilderness, converting its vast expanse into smiling farms. They lack the perseverance, and self-denial conspicuous in former days, which virtues have been abundantly displayed by the pioneers of Ontario and the British emigrants who have, within the last two or three decades, transformed hundreds of miles of its remote and difficult forests, forbidding hills, and gloomy swamps, into the fairest scenes of civilization. The habits of the French Canadians have wonderfully changed, thousands now abandoning the snug houses and old cleared farms of fathers and grandfathers for the lighter work of the New England and Canadian factories and workshops, or scattering through the British agricultural districts or lumbering on timber limits.

But if there be an evil genius of the French, its utmost cunning could not have been more effectually employed to discredit their intelligence and damage their interests than have those results been effected by their insane and obstinate resistance to vaccination. It has taken six months' ravages

of the plague, only less appalling and destructive than the cholera in Spain, to teach the French Canadian majority of the Montreal City Council the value of this world-renowned protection, so that they might order their employés to make use of it; and all this painful period, with its thousands of deaths, and tens of thousands of racked and disfigured victims has even yet failed to convince multitudes, in the commercial metropolis, of the benefits of an operation long ago hailed as one of the greatest blessings granted to humanity. Even at this late date, the combined influence of the British and all other races, of the Roman Catholic clergy, enormous as is their power in social and religious matters, leaves many unimpressed and ready to encounter suffering and death, rather than face the imaginary evils connected with this almost absolute preventive of small-pox.

When such a system of political mismanagement and civic maladministration is considered, what wonder that the British element experiences a feeling of disgust and discouragement, or that in casting about for a remedy, the most radical or revolutionary are not repellant? The French, it is naturally contended by their British fellow-citizens, having had everything their own way both in the provincial and municipal spheres for nearly twenty years, have made a sad mess of it, bungling and sacrificing the interests of all alike; and a resolve to make a struggle of some kind for a better *régime*, for one according the British more influence and respect in the general co-partnership, quietly but rapidly takes form.

Any survey of Canadian affairs, however brief, would be seriously defective without a glance at the financial situation, upon which very recent official statements cast interesting light. The present ruling party at Ottawa, which has held office since 1878, and has a large interest in making the best possible case for itself, is compelled to admit a deficit of $2,357,470 for the year ended 30th of June, last—the first large adverse balance witnessed for many years. The cause is not so much a decline in the revenue, as a sudden and unusual increase of the expenditure, apart from the cost of the Half-breed uprising. The growth of the expenditure exceeded for the twelve months, $4,000,000. The total expenditure was $35,327,935, the income being $32,970,465. The Financial Minister, Sir L. Tilley, now resigned, expected a surplus of $1,383,361, and the warmest ministerial advocates admit a deficit of $657,470, after manipulating the figures of ordinary and extraordinary outlay in the most favorable way for their side. The debt has increased from $93,000,000 in 1867, the year of confederation, to $292,000,000, while the population has grown only 1,000,000. The taxation in 1868 was but $11,700,660, and is now, according to Sir R. Cartwright, an ex-Finance Minister of the Dominion, and other authorities, speaking

from public documents, $27,000,000. A deficit of two to three millions in the revenue is expected the current year, 1885–6. This gentleman has striven, with some success, at different public meetings, to deepen the serious impression produced by those financial statements throughout Canada, by comparing her financial condition with that of the United States. He asserts that Canadians are to-day in as unfortunate a condition relatively, as to debt and taxes, as were the people of this Republic at the end of the Civil War, which, of course, makes the actual condition of the latter infinitely superior. The Dominion debt has increased from $30 per head to $70, while the debt of the United States has been reduced from $80 to $28. Taxation in Canada has risen from about $3 per head to over $6, while it has been cut down in the Republic from $14 to some $3.50 per capita; and the Canadian population in the United States has swelled from 700,000, five years ago, to considerably over a million to-day. The value of real estate in Ontario, the richest and most prosperous province, fell $30,000,000 last year, though there was some increase of stock and implements. To make the picture more complete I may state that Ontario has a surplus of between $4,000,000 and $5,000,000, while Quebec has lamented a deficit for several years, her actual debt reaching, according to Treasurer Robertson's last financial statement, over $8,700,000!

Another material element of trouble to our Canadian neighbors has been the Riel affair. Not to deal with minor points or sectional prejudice, there was the fact of solid, long standing Half-breed grievances, for the removal of which Riel's aid was invoked, on the one side, to be offset, on the other, by the consideration of his ingratitude to the government, having previously accepted a bribe from the Dominion authorities to leave Canada, and mischievous course in promoting an uprising of half-civilized and savage elements capable of the greatest harm to the white settlers and the whole Dominion. The Metis leader's vanity and patriotic sentiments may have been moved by the appeals of his former *confréres* and compatriots, but it is nevertheless a fact that he offered for $35,000 to sacrifice those who trusted him implicitly. Yet many liberal-minded and patriotic citizens of Canada, while stoutly disapproving of his whole course, could not support his execution, having doubts as to his sanity, under circumstances of excitement.

Unquestionably Riel's execution has produced a profound impression throughout the country, particularly upon the French Canadians, who have latterly made his fate a race or national question. This is the more remarkable, too, that the great majority of them being Conservatives, supporters of the present government, at Ottawa, agreed with the British

in condemning the revolt, and co-operated with them in its suppression. It was only since Riel's trial and sentence that a sincere sympathy with him developed, and an intense dislike to the idea of his execution. This somewhat questionable, if not inconsistent, attitude naturally evoked an opposite feeling with the British, especially with the Orange party, hitherto ardent supporters of Sir John Macdonald, the Premier, complicating the question, and rendering his position extremely difficult. On either hand useful and faithful friends of the government demanded an opposite course, though both only a short time before working vigorously for the same object—the suppression of the Half-breeds and Indians. At present the French Canadians, of both political parties, in all the cities and towns, as well as throughout the country districts, appear mostly of one mind in denouncing the government, and particularly their own special representatives, Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Caron, and Mr. Chapleau, for the hanging of Riel, and the feeling has every appearance of lasting a long time, at any rate beyond the period of the next elections. The large defection of French Canadian supporters of the government, over twenty members, on this account alone, but imperfectly exemplifies the popular indignation, which has found characteristic though inadequate expression in the burning of those gentlemen, and Sir John Macdonald, in effigy, and in the assignment of the honors of the patriot and the martyr to Riel's memory.

The British element naturally considering the injury to the country produced by the late uprising—the loss of over one hundred lives, material destruction of property and waste of over $4,000,000—resent such demonstrations as absurd and unpatriotic in every sense. Thus another source of contention between French and English is added to the already formidable list, bidding fair to render their relations still more unprofitable and perilous. The political effects of the present controversy and excitement in Quebec and Ontario, not to speak of the North-west, are likely to be far-reaching as well as lasting, the fate of the actual administration and, particularly, of its French members being most probably involved. In all those events, with their consequent existing and prospective troubles, we have presented another startling illustration of the serious difficulty of founding, by the great lakes and the shores of the St. Lawrence, out of the various, rival, jealous, and discordant races, a homogeneous, contented, and prosperous nation.

A most significant feature of this trouble and one full of suggestiveness to the people of this Republic, is the habit of any aggrieved province party, Liberal or Tory, in the Dominion, but particularly in Quebec or Ontario,

of promptly and earnestly casting its eyes toward the American Union, for that relief and future protection from injustice deemed difficult of attainment at home. Such straws appear so frequently as to leave no doubt whatever as to how the wind blows of late years. To the threat that annexation may be resorted to, *Le Monde*, representing Tory Federal ministers, coolly replies, "We fear not the specter of annexation." So even the old French Tory party is reconciled to that absorption by the voracious American Republic, with its appalling power of assimilation, formerly so terrible to it and its ablest leader, the late Sir George Cartier! Even English flirting with this idea would have been thought dreadfully disloyal and improbable some years ago, but a revolution would have been considered requisite to so transform the French Tories. The idea of wholesale political change is becoming familiar to the inhabitants of the other provinces too. We have seen reform leaders in the Federal Parliament, like Hon. Edward Blake, declaring themselves, eloquently, in favor of Imperial Federation, and his colleague, Sir Richard Cartwright, eulogizing Canadian Independence, to the great gratification of large and intelligent Ontario audiences. So the world of Canadian politicians of all parties does move, despite attempts to confine it within old sentimental ligatures, and maintain it indefinitely a satellite of England! When even a French Canadian province, with a population hitherto so conservative and monarchical in sentiment, can so quickly and quietly veer round to a mood of indifference on the subject of annexation, or, perhaps, of half inclination to such a change, what may not be asserted and expected of the British population in all the provinces? All must be aware that the French would be more profoundly affected by annexation than the British—affected in their nearest and dearest interests. But in all this vast change of sentiment, this rapid drift of friendly feeling toward the United States, have we not a compliment to its true greatness and a guarantee of its glorious future excelling in honor, as well as in inspiration, anything within the compass of human genius or the resources of mortal speech!

Prosper Bender

Boston, Massachusetts.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION, 1788

The debates in the Convention of South Carolina, are said to have been distinguished by the ability with which ratification was advocated and opposed; but no report of them is extant. A fragment remains; from that, from the vote upon the question, and from the debate in the Legislature, upon the motion for the call of a convention, some knowledge may be acquired of those who favored, and those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution, and some conception of the reasoning, upon which their action was based. What, in later years, was termed "the slave power," the professions, and the commercial class, as a general rule, were passionate adorers of the Constitution, the yeomanry of the upper parishes, were obdurate skeptics. As in other States, favor and disfavor seem to have been largely local.

In the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, upon the motion for the call of a State Convention, after the Constitution had been read, Charles Pinckney, a delegate to the Federal Convention, opened the debate, by enumerating the causes which led to that Convention, and by stating that when it met, the first question in the view of almost every member was, "Shall the old plan be amended, or a new one devised?" Conscious that the Confederation, though possessing the outlines of a good government, was, strictly speaking, a league, destitute of the elements of permanency and coercive operation, the Convention felt the necessity of establishing a government, which, instead of requiring the intervention of thirteen legislatures between demand and compliance, operated upon the people in the first instance. Upon that point, the members did not differ, however much they differed upon the question of power. Upon the distribution of influence, in a system possessing extensive national authorities, the compromise between the larger and the smaller States, though originally opposed by Mr. Pinckney, seemed far from injudicious. The judiciary under wise management would be the key-stone of the arch, for in peace, more depended upon the integrity and energy of the judiciary, than upon any other branch of the government. The Executive was not constructed upon a principle as firm and permanent as he could wish, but as much so, as the genius and temper of the people would permit. As commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces, he could neither raise, nor support them by his au-

thority, and his negative upon laws could be overridden. He could not make a treaty, nor appoint to office, without the concurrence of a Senate, in which the States had each an equal voice. In a Union so extensive as this would be, composed of so many State governments, inhabited by a people characterized as our citizens are, by an impatience of any act which looks like an infringement of their rights; an invasion of them by the Federal head, appeared the most remote of all public dangers. To what limits a republic of States may extend, how far it may be capable of uniting the liberty of a small commonwealth, with the safety of a peaceful empire whether among the co-ordinate powers, dissensions and jealousies may not arise, which for the want of a common superior, will proceed to fatal extremities, were questions upon which the example of any nation, did not authorize decision. It was an experiment admittedly, but an experiment which could be made upon a scale so extensive, and under circumstances so promising, as to be the fairest in favor of human nature; and its firm establishment, better calculated to answer the great ends of public happiness, than any, ever yet devised. In his address to the Convention, Pinckney gave wider scope to his reasoning: "The first knowledge necessary to be acquired, is that of a people for whom a system is to be formed, for unless acquainted with their situation, their habits, opinions, and resources, it would be impossible to frame a government upon adequate or practicable principles. None of the distinctions of rank which exist in Europe, do, or in all probability ever will, exist in the Union. The only distinction which may take place is that of wealth. Riches, no doubt, will have their influence; and when suffered to increase to large amounts in a few hands, may become dangerous, particularly when from the cheapness of labor, and the scarcity of money, a great proportion of the people are poor. That danger is very little to be apprehended for two reasons—the destruction of the right of primogeniture, and the nearly equal division of landed property, in the Eastern and Northern States. Few have large bodies, and few who have not small tracts. The greater part of the people are employed in cultivating their own lands, the rest in handicraft and commerce. Plain tables, clothing, and furniture, prevail in their houses, and expensive appearances are avoided. Among the landed interest, few are rich, and few are very poor, nor, while the States are capable of supporting so many more inhabitants than they contain at present, while so vast a territory on our frontier, remains uncultivated and unexplored, while the means of subsistence are so much within every man's power, are those dangerous distinctions of fortune, prevalent in other countries, to be expected. The people of the Union may be classed as follows: commercial men, who will be of

consequence, or not, in the political scale, as commerce may be an object of the attention of the government. Presuming that proper sentiments upon that subject will ultimately prevail, it does not appear that the commercial line will ever have much influence in the politics of the Union. Foreign trade is one of those enemies to be extremely guarded against, more so than any other, as none will have a more unfavorable operation; it is the root of the present distress, the source from which future national calamities will grow, unless great care is taken to prevent it. Divided as we are from the Old World, we should have nothing to do with its politics, and as little as possible with its commerce; it can never improve, but must inevitably corrupt us. Another class, is that of professional men, who from their education and pursuits, must, and will have considerable influence, while government retains the republican principle, and its affairs are regulated in assemblies of the people. The third class, with which may be connected the mechanical interest, is the landed interest; the owners and cultivators of the soil, the men attached to the truest interest of their country, from those motives that always bind and secure the affections of a nation. Here rests, and it is to be hoped will always continue to rest, all the authority of the government. Fortunately for their harmony, these classes are connected with, and dependent on each other; from which mutual dependence, mediocrity of fortune is the leading feature in our national character. Another distinguishing feature of the Union is its division into individual States, differing in extent of territory, manners, products, and population. Those acquainted with the Eastern States, the reasons of their migration, and their pursuits, habits, and principles, know that they are essentially different from those of the Middle, and Southern States; that they retain all those opinions respecting government and religion, which first induced their ancestors to cross the Atlantic; and that they are perhaps more purely republican in habits and sentiments, than any other part of the Union. The inhabitants of New York, and the eastern part of New Jersey, originally Dutch settlements, seem to have altered less than might have been expected in the course of a century; indeed, the greater part of New York may still be considered a Dutch settlement, the people in the interior generally using the Dutch language in their families, and having little varied from their ancient customs. Pennsylvania and Delaware are nearly one-half inhabited by Quakers, whose passive principles upon the governmental questions, and rigid opinions upon the personal, render them extremely different from the citizens of the Eastern, and Southern States. Maryland was originally a Roman Catholic colony, a great number of its

inhabitants, among whom, some of the most wealthy and cultivated, still profess that faith. A striking difference must always exist between the Independents of the East, the Calvinists and Quakers of the Middle States, and the Roman Catholics of Maryland; but that is not to be compared with the difference between the inhabitants of the Northern, and Southern States; by Southern and Northern, meaning Maryland, and the States south of her, and by Northern, the others. Nature has drawn as strong marks of distinction in the habits and manners of the people, as in their climates and productions. The Southern citizen beholds, with a kind of surprise, the simple manners of the East, and is often induced to entertain undeserved opinions of the apparent purity of the Quakers; while they, in turn, seem concerned, at what they term the extravagance and dissipation of their Southern brethren, and reprobate, as an unpardonable moral, and political evil, the dominion held over a part of the human race." Premising that systems, and laws have a powerful effect upon manners, and that all the States had adhered to the republican principle, though differing as to the best mode of preserving it, he passed in review the Constitutions of the several States, giving the palm to New York. Turning to antiquity, he claimed that from its history, instruction could not be drawn, because little of it was accurately known, and that little, showed that representation, the fundamental of a republic, had not been practiced. In the modern world there had been, in no sense of the word, a confederated republic; and he analyzed the systems which bore some resemblance to the one proposed, and distinguished their non-conformity. He then examined the three simple systems of goverment—monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy—exhibited their advantages and disadvantages, and claimed that the Constitution embodied all the good, and eliminated all the bad, of each. Moreover, if a republic did not exclude dissensions and tumults, they must be less dangerous in large confederated states, than in small societies.

To return to the debate in the Legislature. Judge Pendleton said, that "Ministers in England might be impeached for advising illegal measures. How could the Senate be punished, before what tribunal arraigned, and if the President were impeached for making a bad treaty, must he not be sheltered by the consent of the Senate." General C. C. Pinckney answered: "That question unveils one of the greatest difficulties in framing the Constitution. The treaty-making power must be placed somewhere, and might be placed in three depositories; to each there were objections, therefore that least liable to objection, was selected. As the Senate was not a permanent body, Senators might be tried by succeeding Senators." Mr. Lowndes sug-

gested "that as treaties became the law of the land, the President and two-thirds of the Senate, were absolute." Mr. Pringle drew a distinction between the power to make laws through treaties, and a general legislative power. Mr. Lowndes continued: "If this Constitution is adopted, the sun of the Southern States will set, never to rise. Exclusive of Rhode Island, six of the Eastern States formed a majority in the House. Is it consonant with reason, with wisdom, or with policy, to suppose, that in a Legislature where a majority has different interests from a minority, that the minority has the smallest chance of gaining adequate advantages? Our delegates, undoubtedly, did all in their power to procure a proportionate share in this new government, but the little they had gained, proved what may be expected in the future. The interest of the Northern States will so predominate as to divest this State of any pretensions to the title of a republic. What cause was there of jealousy for the importation of negroes? That trade can be justified on the principles of religion, humanity, and justice; for to translate a set of human beings from a bad country to a better was fulfilling every part of those principles." Mr. Rutledge answered: "We have our full share of the House, fears of the Northern interest at all times prevailing, are unfounded, for several of the Northern States are already full of people, and the migrations to the South are great. We shall, in a few years, rise high in our representation, whilst their States will keep their present position."

General Pinckney, in answer to Mr. Lowndes, who had reiterated that all the advantages which captivated gentlemen, were small, in proportion to the evils to be apprehended from a majority, governed by ideas and prejudices differing extremely from theirs, spoke more fully: "Every member who attended the Convention was, from the beginning, sensible of the necessity of giving greater powers to the federal government. As we found it necessary to give it very extensive powers over the persons and estates of citizens, we thought it right to draw one branch of the Legislature, immediately from the people, and that both wealth and members should be considered in representation. We were at a loss for some time for a rule to ascertain the proportionate wealth of the States. At last we thought, that the productive labor of the inhabitants, was the best rule. In conformity to this rule, joined to a spirit of concession, we determined that representatives should be apportioned among the several States, by adding to the whole number of free persons, three-fifths of the slaves. We thus obtained a representation for our property, and I did not expect we conceded too much to the Eastern States, when they allowed us a representation for a species of property, which they have not among them. The

numbers in the different States, according to the most accurate accounts we could obtain, were:

New Hampshire	102,000
Massachusetts	360,000
Rhode Island	58,000
Connecticut	202,000
New York	233,000
New Jersey	130,000
Pennsylvania	360,000
Delaware	37,000
Maryland, including ⅗ 80,000 negroes	218,000
Virginia, including ⅗ 280,000 negroes	420,000
North Carolina, including ⅗ 60,000 negroes	200,000
South Carolina, including ⅗ 80,000 negroes	150,000
Georgia, including ⅗ 20,000 negroes	90,000

South Carolina has one-thirteenth of the representatives, all she is entitled to, and all she has in the Confederation. As the Eastern States are full of people, and the migration is South and South-westwardly, it is not probable that the representation of the South will be inadequate. The Southern States have been termed the weak States; they are so weak that they could not form a Union by themselves, that would effectually protect them. Without a Union with the other States, South Carolina would soon fall. Is any one such a Quixote as to suppose that this State could maintain her independence alone, or in connection with the other Southern States? Let an invading power send a naval force into the Chesapeake, to keep Virginia in alarm, and attack South Carolina, with such a naval and military force as Sir Henry Clinton brought here in 1780, and though they might not soon conquer us, they would certainly do us infinite mischief, and if they considerably increased their numbers, we should probably fall. From the nature of our climate, and the fewness of our inhabitants, undoubtedly the weaker, should we not endeavor to form a close union with the Eastern States, which are strong? Ought we not to endeavor to increase that species of strength which will render them of most service to us in peace, and in war, their navy? By doing this, we render it their particular interest to afford us every assistance in their power, as every wound we receive, will eventually affect them. Their country is full of inhabitants, and so impracticable to an invader by their numerous stone walls, and a variety of other circumstances, that they need not apprehend danger from attack. They can enjoy their independence without our assistance. If our government is to be founded on equal compact, what inducement can they possibly have to be united with us, if

we do not grant them some privileges with regard to their shipping? Suppose they were to unite with us without having those privileges, can we flatter ourselves that such union would be lasting? Interest and policy concurred in prevailing upon us to submit the regulation of commerce to the General Government. But justice and humanity require it likewise. Who have been the greatest sufferers in the Union by our obtaining our independence? The Eastern States. They have lost everything but their country and freedom. As to the restriction upon the African trade after 1808, your delegates had to contend with the religious and political prejudices of the Eastern and Middle States, and the interested and inconsistent opinion of Virginia. So long as there is an acre of swamp-land uncultivated in South Carolina, I favor the importation of negroes. Our climate, and the flat, swampy situation of our country, obliges us to cultivate our lands with them. Without them, the State would be a desert. Those members of the Convention who opposed an unlimited importation, alleged that slaves increased the weakness of any State which admitted them; that they were a dangerous species of property, which an invading enemy could easily turn against ourselves, and the neighboring States, and that as we were allowed a representation for them, our influence in the government would be increased, in proportion, as we were less able to defend ourselves. Show us some period, said the members from the Eastern States, when it may be in our power, if we please, to put a stop to the importation of this weakness, and we will endeavor for your convenience, to restrain the religious and political prejudices of our people upon this subject. The Middle States and Virginia made no such proposition, they were for immediate and total prohibition. A committee of the States was appointed to accommodate this matter, and after a great deal of difficulty, it was settled on the footing recited in the Constitution. By this settlement we have secured an unlimited transportation of negroes for twenty years. Nor is it declared that it shall then stop; it may be continued. We have a security that the General Government can never emancipate them, for no such authority is granted, and it is admitted on all hands that the General Government has no powers but what are expressly granted by the Constitution, and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several States. We have obtained a right to recover our slaves in whatever part of America they may take refuge, which is a right we had not before. We have made the best terms for the security of that species of property it was in our power to make, and upon the whole they are not bad." Mr. Lowndes persisted: "The Confederation recognized the status of the States as fixed by themselves, in the treaty of peace with

Great Britain. That recognition did not appear in the proposed plan, and the possibilities of danger from that omission, overbalanced any advantages."

Mr. Barnewell characterized the supposed inevitable antagonism of the Eastern States as a prejudice. "There were no facts to support it. When the arm of oppression lay heavy upon us, were they not the first to arouse: when the sword of civil discord was drawn, were they not the first in the field; when war deluged their plains with blood, did they demand Southern troops to the defence of the North; when war floated to the South, did they withhold their assistance? When we stood with the spirit, but the weakness of youth, they supported us with the vigor and prudence of age. When our country was subdued, when our citizens submitted to superior power, those States showed their attachment. I see here no man, who does not know that the shackles of the South, were broken asunder by the arms of the North. We are indeed in a minority, but there must be a majority somewhere. Either North or South must be in that relation to each other. That this Constitution is not the best possible to be framed, is undeniable, but it is the best our situation admits of." Mr. Edward Rutledge, compared the governmental powers in the old and new Constitutions: "They differed very little, except in the essential point of giving a power to government of enforcing its obligations. Surely no man could object to that. So far from not preferring the Northern States by a Navigation Act, policy dictated to us to increase their strength by every means in our power. In the day of danger, we should have no resource but in the naval strength of our Northern friends. We must hold our country by courtesy, unless we have a navy, and can never become a great nation, till powerful upon the waters."

General Pinckney dated independence from "that declaration which babes should be taught to lisp in their cradles, youth to recite as an indispensable lesson, young men to regard as their compact of freedom, and the old to repeat with ejaculations of gratitude, for the blessings it would bestow on their posterity. The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several States, were never thought of by the patriots who framed it. The several States are not even mentioned by name in any part of it, as if it were intended to impress this maxim on Americans that our freedom and independence arose from our Union, and that without it, we could be neither free nor independent. Let us consider all attempts to weaken the Union, by maintaining that each State is separately and individually independent, as a species of political heresy, which can never benefit us, but may bring on us the most serious distresses."

Mr. Lowndes was "pained to appear pertinacious, but as his constituents were in favor of the Constitution, and therefore he should not sit in the Convention, he relied upon the indulgence of the House for the performance of his duty to his State, by whose decision, he, as a good citizen, must cheerfully abide. The arguments adduced, he must consider specious, Supposing we considered ourselves so aggrieved as to insist on redress what was the probability of relief? In revolving a misfortune, some little gleams of comfort, resulted from a hope of being able to resort to an impartial tribunal. Would that be found in Congress? As to imigration from the Eastern to the Southern States, our country from its excessive heats is so uncomfortable, that our acquaintance is rather shunned, than solicited."

Mr. Lincoln "had listened with eager attention to all the arguments in favor of the Constitution, and the more he heard, the more he was convinced of its evil tendency. You contended ten years for liberty. What is liberty? The power of governing yourself. If you adopt this Constitution, do you have that power? no; you give it to men who live a thousand miles from you. What security have you for a Republican form of Government, when it depends upon the will and pleasure of a few men, with an army, a navy, and a rich treasury at their back, to alter and change it at their will?"

The motion for a Convention passed unanimously. Of the opposition in that Convention, a solitary memorial is extant.

Patrick Dollard, claimed that "his people, the people of Prince Frederick Parish, were brave, honest, and industrious, and that they had been conspicious in the late bloody struggle. Nearly to a man they are opposed to this Constitution. Willing to vest ample and sufficient powers in Congress, they will not agree to make over to them, or to any set of men, their birthright. They are highly alarmed at the long and rapid strides taken in this Constitution toward despotism. They say it is big with political evils, and pregnant with a great variety of woes to the people of the Southern States, and especially to South Carolina; that it is particularly calculated for a despotic aristocracy, and carries with it the appearance of a phrase much in use in despotic reigns, the favorite of Archbishop Laud—'non-resistance.'"

The Constitution was adopted by a vote of one hundred and forty-nine to seventy-three.

A. W. Olason

HISTORIC ASPECTS OF SABLE ISLAND

Lying right in the track of that vast international commerce which all the year round whitens the broad Atlantic with its sails, or clouds it with its smoke, and spreading its entangling shallows far out on either hand like the tentacles of some primeval polypus, Sable Island, with its frequent fogs, its oft-recurring gales, and terrible disasters, has for three centuries past been held in deservedly evil reputation by those who do business upon the great waters. Joseph Howe, the poet-orator of Nova Scotia, apostrophizes it in these harsh terms :

> " Dark Isle of Mourning !
> Aptly art thou named."

Dr. Taché in his delightful monograph, to which I here have pleasure in making my acknowledgments, calls it the ossuary of the Atlantic, and compares it to " the valley which was full of dry bones " that Ezekiel beheld when the hand of the Lord was upon him, while among the seafarers it is popularly known as the Graveyard of the North Atlantic.

In truth, the history of Sable Island is a very somber one, befitting the bare, bleak appearance of the place as one approaches either from the ocean spaces of the East, or the forest-clad shores of the West. Its geographical situation is about ninety miles due east from the northern end of Nova Scotia, between the forty-third degree of north latitude, and the fifty-ninth of west longitude. Shaped somewhat like a crescent with the concave side turned northward, and rising at its greatest elevation less than ninety feet from sea-level, it makes but little show above the surface of the waves. Its present length is not more than twenty-three miles, and breadth about one mile, although an admiralty survey made in 1808, reported the former as being thirty miles, and the latter two and a half. A lake some ten or twelve miles long occupies the center of the island.

Sable Island possesses few natural attractions. There are no contrasts of color, so grateful to the eye of those who have grown weary of limitless sea and sky. Even the sunshine of a midsummer day fails pitifully in casting any glamour over its grim homeliness, while a midwinter storm invests it with an accumulation of terrors beyond measure appalling. And yet, despite this apparent insignificance, so much might be written about the unceasing resistless migration of its sands eastward, the startling changes which have taken place in its size and shape within the present

century, the curious phases and alternations of animal life its shores have witnessed, and the puzzling problems for botanists and zoologists there presented, that only the surpassing interest of its human history, and the fear lest in the space allotted me, I may hardly do justice to that, gives me resolution to pass these matters by untouched.

For the very first appearance of Sable Island in history, we must go back through many centuries to that misty medieval period when the hardy Danes delighted to voyage forth upon daring quests whose Iliad is the Icelandic saga. According to this trustworthy chronicle, wherein such wondrous adventures by field and flood find record, one Biorn Heriulfsen, in the year 986, purposing no more ambitious adventure than a slant across from Greenland to Iceland, was taken possession of by adverse winds, and driven far to the south and west, thereby unwillingly and unwittingly becoming the first European to set eyes upon the New World. Having passed Helluland (now Newfoundland), and Markland (Nova Scotia), he came in sight of a barren sandy region, which from the account he gives of it could have been no other than Sable Island. Unfortunately for his future fame he either lacked the courage, or could not spare the time, to proceed a little farther westward, for had he done so, to him, and not to Christopher Columbus, would have fallen the imperishable glory of discovering America. Even as it is, Professor Rafn has shown—and his conclusions are generally accepted—that what is now called Massachusetts and Rhode Island was settled by the Scandinavians late in the tenth century; so that the opportunity Heriulfsen thus neglected must have been improved not many years later by some kinsman of hardier spirit.

Between Biorn Heriulfsen and the next recorded visitor there is a long hiatus, during which the island probably slumbered in undisturbed solitude, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese, who were then vigorously pursuing the Newfoundland fisheries, which had been discovered for them by John Cabot, must have found it out anew, as on a chart prepared by Pedro Reinal, dated 1505, the island is laid down as "Santa Crus." They were shrewd fellows, those Portuguese, for, observing the abundance of coarse, succulent grass flourishing throughout the center of the island, and the plenitude of water supplied by the lake, they conceived the admirable plan of stocking the place with cattle, and thus providing a fresh-meat market conveniently near their fishing-grounds. The scheme succeeded to perfection, and, ere long, herds of cattle and droves of swine gave life and noise to this hitherto dead and silent region. These laudable efforts, moreover, were involuntarily supplemented, some years later, by the Baron de Lery, who, being fired with enterprise by the

accounts which reached the French court of the Eldorado beyond the Western ocean, exhausted his entire resources in the equipment of an expedition designed to plant a colony there that should be the germ of a new nation. Accordingly, in 1538 he fitted out a fleet of small vessels, loaded them deep with men, cattle, grain, and other essentials, and set sail for America. But the fates were not propitious. One storm followed closely upon another, and the expedition was thereby so delayed that it did not reach its destination until late in the autumn. There was no time to prepare for the winter, and no other alternative than to return. But before so doing the baron lightened his vessel by depositing the cattle upon Sable Island. Among them, no doubt, were several horses, from which have sprung the herds of shaggy, sharp-boned ponies which still scamper wild over the sand-dunes, and whose origin is otherwise inexplicable.

The next recorded event opens out for us the ever-lengthening roll of maritime disaster whose dread total can never be estimated until the sea gives up her dead. Hundreds of ships and thousands of lives are *known* to have found an untimely grave at Sable Island. But how shall be reckoned up the number of those who

"Unknelled, uncoffined, and *unknown*"

have there passed into oblivion?

In the year 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "the pious and accomplished gallant" of good Queen Bess, and half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, who founded Virginia and introduced the art of smoking into England, went out upon a voyage of exploration with five ships equipped in the best manner of those days, and guided by experienced pilots. Associated with him in this enterprise were a *savant* of high renown, name unknown, but stated to have been "a Saxon refiner and discoverer of inestimable riches," a Hungarian poet, Stephanus Parmenius, who "for piety and zeal for good attempts adventured in this action minding to record in the Latin tongue the things worthy of remembrance, to the honor of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent style of this orator and rare poet of our time;" and also Captain Richard Brown, one of the most renowned mariners of the time, "a virtuous, honest, and discreet gentleman, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedy appeared;" for refusing to leave his ship, "he mounted upon the highest deck, where he attended imminent danger and unavoidable, how long I leave to God, who withdraweth not His comfort from His servants at such times."

Sir Humphrey had a prosperous voyage to Newfoundland, of which country he took possession in the name of his queen, and having remained

there some time, bethought himself of visiting Sable Island and restocking his depleted larder before taking up the long voyage back across the Atlantic. The story of what followed was told by Edward Hays, captain of the sole surviving vessel, and I cannot do better than transcribe it as it has been preserved for us by Hakluyt in his *Voyages*, my quotations, with those already given, being taken from a bewildering black-letter edition bearing date in 1583:

"Sabla lieth to the seaward of Cape Breton, about 45°, whither we were determined to go upon intelligence we had of a Portingall during our abode in S^t^. Johns, who was also himself present when the Portingalls about thirty years past did put into the same Island both neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied. The distance between Cape Race and Cape Breton is 100 leagues in which navigation we spent 8 days. Having the wind many times indifferent good, but could never obtain sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindered by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers that hardly any of us escaped. Where nevertheless we lost our "Admiral" (the name of one of the ships), with all the men and provisions.

"Contrary to the mind of expert Master Cox on Wednesday, 27^th^ August we bore up toward the land, those in the doomed ship continually sounding trumpets and guns, while strange voices from the deep scared the helmsman from his post on board the Frigate.

"Thursday the 28^th^ the wind arose and blew vehemently from the South and East, bringing withal rain and thick mist that we could not see a cable length before us. And betimes we were run and foulded amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found flats and deeps every three or four ships lengths. Immediately tokens were given to the "Admiral" to cast about to seaward which being the greater ship was performost upon the beach. Keeping so ill a watch they knew not the danger before they felt the same too late to recover, for presently the "Admiral" struck aground, and had soon her stern and hinder parts beaten in pieces. The remaining two vessels escaped by casting about E. S. E., bearing to the South for their lives, even in the wind's eye. Sounding one while 7 fathoms, then 5, then 4 fathoms and less, again deeper, then immediately 4, then 3 fathoms, the sea going mightily and high;"—as accurate a description of beating over the north-east bar as if it had been done only yesterday.

Thus the disaster-darkened record begins with a holocaust of one hundred men, with whom went down the man of science, the man of letters, and most rare poet of our time, and the man of honor, daring death rather than desert his post, and all told, as Dr. Bernard Gilpin remarks in his

entertaining little pamphlet, in that racy style only an eye-witness could use, and with an unaffected strain of old-fashioned piety that comes back to us over the wide interval of years like the flavor of some rare old wine.

As for Sir Humphrey himself he did but escape one danger to fall straightway into another, for a few days after he was caught in a fearful gale on the Grand Banks, and his sole remaining consort carried home the sorrowful news that the heroic admiral hailed them during the raging storm, "that Heaven was as near by sea as by land," and shortly after, standing at the helm, sorely wounded in his foot, and Bible in hand, went down beneath the relentless waves.

Fifteen years elapse in barrenness of incident, and then comes one of those stories which though sober fact surpass in strangeness the wildest flights of the romancer. Champlain, Les-carbot, le Père Le Clerc, and Charlevoix, have each preserved an independent account of the matter, and they tally so closely as to leave not the narrowest cranny into which "destructive criticism" may fasten its insidious tendrils. In January, 1598, Henry IV. of France by letters patent granted to the Marquis de la Roche almost absolute powers over "the islands and countries of Canada, Sable Island, Newfoundland, and the adjacent regions" to the end that the poor benighted savages inhabiting those lands might be brought to a knowledge of the true God, all selfish ideas of national aggrandizement being of course piously absent from the royal mind. This Marquis de la Roche was no ordinary personage. He had been Governor of Morlaix, and President of the Nantes States, and in his youth had served as page before Catherine de Médicis. Yet his expedition was so modest, not to say cheap, in its proportion and equipment as to seem quite unworthy its ambitious mission, or the vice-regal rank of its commander. One vessel constituted the fleet, and it so small, that, according to a contemporary chronicle, you could wash your hands in the water without leaving the deck, while forty out of the sixty men comprising the marquis' army of occupation and evangelization, were convicts chosen from the royal prisons. It is just around this quarantine of convicts that the whole interest gathers, for as the little vessel drew near the New World, the marquis foreseeing danger in landing his flock of jail-birds without first having made some provision for their safe-keeping, bethought himself of leaving them upon Sable Island until he had selected the site of his colony, and brought things somewhat into shape. Accordingly, to quote Les-carbot, "*ayant là déchargé ses gens et bagage*," he proceeded composedly on his way. But alas for the vanity of human planning! The gray hummocks of Les Sablons had scarce sunk below the horizon ere a tempest burst upon his ship

which rested not until it had blown the marquis clear back to France again, and no sooner had he landed than an enraged creditor cast him into prison, where he languished in utter inability to do anything for the men he had so undesignedly deserted.

And how fared it with them during the five long years they were left to themselves upon this isle of desolation? At first it would seem as if on being thus released from all restraint they fought with one another like entrapped rats, for Les-carbot tells that "*ces gens se mutinerent, et se coupèrent la gorge l'un à l'autre.*" Then as the horror of their situation fully dawned upon them, and they realized that only by harmonious co-operation could any life be preserved, better counsels prevailed, and systematic efforts were put forth to secure a maintenance. From the wreck of a Spanish ship they built themselves huts, the ocean furnished them with fire-wood, the wild cattle with meat, the seals with clothing, and with some seeds and farming implements happily included among the "*bagage*" mentioned by Les-carbot, they carried on agricultural operations in a sheltered valley by the lake-side whose tradition remains to this day by the locality being known as the French Gardens. Moreover the chase of the black fox, which then abounded, and of the great morse or walrus, enabled them to lay up goodly stores of precious pelts and ivory against the ever-hoped-for day of their redemption.

Despite these alleviations in the rigor of their fate, however, the utter absence of the most necessary comforts, and their own evil deeds so reduced their numbers that when, in 1603, the king sent a vessel to bring them back, only eleven out of the original forty were found alive. Clad in their self-made seal-skin garments, broken, haggard, and unkempt, they were presented before Henry IV., and their harrowing tale so touched the royal heart that they each received a full pardon for their crimes, and a *solatium* of fifty golden crowns. The strangest part of the story remains yet to be told. Undeterred by an experience that was surely sufficient to appall the stoutest hearted, these Rip Van Winkles of the sea, whose names may still be found on record in the *Registres d'Audience du Parliament de Rouen*, returned to their place of exile, and drove a thriving trade in furs and ivory with their mother-country for many years, until one by one they passed away.

About a twelvemonth after the convicts' rescue, the expedition of the Sieur de Monts, which had in view the founding of Port Royal (now Annapolis, Nova Scotia), narrowly escaped a disastrous ending among the sands of Sable Island, and we read in Champlain's "Voyages" that on the first of May they had knowledge of "l'Ile de Sable," and ran great risk of

being cast ashore there. That, however, was only a might-have-been. Worthy Master John Rose, of Boston, whose experience may be found recorded in Winthrop's *Journal*, did not fare by any means so well thirty years later, inasmuch as he had knowledge of Sable Island at the cost of his good ship the *Mary Ann Jane*. He did not remain long in exile, for being a handy man with tools he built himself a pinnace out of the débris of his vessel, and thereby succeeded in making his escape. On his return to Boston he gave such glowing accounts of the island's animal wealth, special emphasis being laid upon "more than 800 wild cattle, and a great many foxes, many of which were black," that public enterprise was stimulated to the extent of a company being formed to put his discovery to good account. This company went to work so energetically that the Acadian authorities, to whom the island now belonged, had to issue a proclamation against any more cattle being killed. But the proclamation being unaccompanied by any show of force proved no more effectual than estimable Dame Partington's endeavors to push back the Atlantic Ocean, and not long after its issuance the cattle totally disappeared, leaving the wild horses in undisputed possession of the pastures.

To Winthrop, whose *Journal* has been already quoted, we are indebted for another item of the island's history not elsewhere recorded. He has an entry to the effect that in 1635, the English having returned thither to pursue the chase of the walrus and fox were much surprised, and no less chagrined, to find already in possession some sixteen Frenchmen who had evidently been there all winter and had built a little fort. These men were probably employés of the de Razilly brothers, to whom Sable Island had been granted in that off-hand manner which distinguished the French monarchs of that time, and they had made good use of their opportunities, as their accumulations of hides and pelts betokened. On the death of Commander de Razilly, which took place in 1637, the French must have abandoned the place, for Winthrop further notes that the New Englanders had the field all to themselves from 1639 to 1642, and we may form some idea of the value of this monopoly from his statement that their last expedition yielded over £1,500, or more than $7,000.

From that time until the beginning of the nineteenth century very little is known concerning Sable Island, save that each year added a darker tinge to its somber reputation as a naval cemetery. More dreadful, however, than the unconscious fury of the storm was the deliberate wickedness of the demons in human form who now made this peculiarly favorable spot their haunt and hunting ground. Wreckers, pirates, and vagabonds of like infamous stamp were attracted thither by the unceasing succession of

wrecks, and the absence of all restraint, and they plied their infernal trade so vigorously that the terror of their name spread far and wide. The discretion of dead men to tell no tales can always be trusted, and so when some rich wreck rejoiced the hearts of these wretches they made it their care to dispatch all those ill-starred castaways whom even the raging surf had spared. For a time all went merrily with them, and many an adventurer who left his home "under sealed orders" returned in a suspiciously short time with well-lined pockets. Rare jewels, costly silks, and other articles of what Magwitch would professionally designate as "portable property," not guiltless of a sinister connection with Sable Island, found their way surreptitiously into the shops of Halifax and Boston, while blood-chilling tales of horrid deeds done where there was no heart to pity and no hand to save, became current on the main-land.

But the most successful of scoundrels eventually reach the end of their tether, however supinely the atrocities may be endured for a season. The Nova Scotian government, too long culpably indifferent, was at length goaded into action by the loss of the transport *Princess Amelia*, and the gun-brig *Harriet* in quick succession. At the suggestion of Sir John Wentworth an appropriation was made in 1803 for the settlement of guardians upon the island. Then a proclamation was issued that all persons found residing there without a government license would be removed, and punished with at least six years' imprisonment, and this proclamation, unlike the one about the cattle, being backed up by a show of force, the wreckers deemed it expedient to remove themselves without standing upon the order of their going.

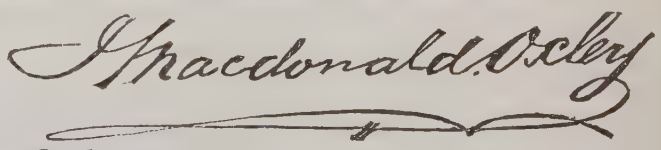
With their departure the romance of Sable Island's history ends. From the year 1803 the Imperial and Nova Scotian authorities maintained a settlement there called the Humane Establishment, and under its régime the only breaks in the peaceful monotony of insular existence have been the never-failing wrecks whereof no less than one hundred and sixty are already noted in the Superintendent's register. On the union of the Canadian Provinces the island came under the charge of the Federal Government, and since then every year has witnessed steady improvement in the equipment of the Establishment. Better buildings have been constructed, the number of guardians increased, regular communication by steamer with the main-land provided, two fine light-houses erected, one on either end of the island, at a cost of $100,000, two life-boats of the most improved pattern placed there, in the use of which the crews are drilled every week, and, finally, a complete system of telephone connection fitted up between the stations, so that when the telegraph cable to the

main-land now seriously contemplated, is laid, Sable Island will have no superior as a life-saving station in the world.

The sea in its fury is no respecter of persons. All nations are alike to it, and since the guiding motto of the Humane Establishment in its philanthropic work should be "*nihil humanum a me alienum est*," the paramount importance of the island's neutrality being sacredly respected in event of war is at once apparent. I am glad therefore to have before me a precedent which affords the pleasing assurance that so far at least as one great nation is concerned there is no ground for apprehension. During the war of 1812, and while that lamentable struggle was at its height, the Government of the United States issued strict orders to all their war-ships and privateers not to molest or detain in any wise whatsoever vessels going to or coming from Sable Island on business with the Establishment.

In thus reviewing the historic aspects of Sable Island I have rigidly confined myself to those phases of its storied past the authenticity of which cannot be disputed. As may be easily conceived the scope for fantastic conjecture and ghostly legend afforded by a spot so rich in unique incident and pregnant relic is simply boundless. And the field has not been left untilled. Weird and thrilling tales, fit themes for the pen of a Poe or a Robert Louis Stevenson, may be harvested in plenty. Some of these are true perchance, but more, no doubt, still linger in the misty confines of the "o'er true." And the latter, surrounded with a historic halo, appeal with strange force to the imagination if not to the reason.

How much credence shall we give to the Legend of the Pale Lady with the Bloody Finger; of the silent solitary Regicide here seeking expiation for his crime; of the heroic priest who volunteered to share the fate of de la Roche's convicts, and fell a victim to the rigors of his self-sought banishment; of King Louis' courtier exiled hither that the insatiable debauchee might add his beautiful wife to the imperial harem? Grim legends are they all, yet each well worth the telling. But not here or now, for they are at best only the mere shadows of history, and it is time to part company with Sable Island as circled round with wrecks, sown thick and deep with known and unknown dead, haunted by uneasy spirits, and lashed by every gale that sweeps across the ocean spaces, it lifts its low gray hummocks above the heaving waters of the North Atlantic.



Marine Department, Ottawa, Canada.

THE NEW MEXICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1862

A STIRRING CHAPTER OF OUR LATE CIVIL WAR

Whatever might be the law and fact in the case, it was very hard, twenty-five years ago, to consider California as actually one of the United States and in just as good standing as Massachusetts or Pennsylvania. It was rather like an outlying colony. More than three weeks were required for the journey from New York, by Aspinwall and Panama, to San Francisco; and the perils and hardships of the overland trip from the Missouri were such as to daunt all but the most experienced and stout-hearted. Its residents spoke habitually of "the States" as do the British colonists in Ceylon or New Zealand of "home." Included in its population was a large and influential Southern element; and, at the breaking out of the Civil War, there might well have been grave apprehension at Washington as to its position. Of course, as it turned out, the State fell into the Union line, and her sons did their country noble service; but, during the first year of the conflict and while Southern influences were active on the Pacific coast, the Confederates at Richmond cast many wistful glances in that direction. They had possession, complete and final, of Texas. North-west of this mammoth State, as a glance at the map will show the reader, are New Mexico and Arizona; north of the former, Colorado, which was not many months old in the summer of 1861. One may say of New Mexico and Arizona, as Sir Humphry Davy said of the sea, that they would be chosen "for dominion, rather than for a residence." General Sherman once remarked that he would advocate a new war with Mexico to make her take them back; and it is hardly to be supposed that they, of themselves, offered the Richmond government a prize worth winning. Through them, on the other hand, lay the road from Texas to California; and in New Mexico were several forts and supply depots, notably Fort Union.

In a brief monograph on affairs in New Mexico, prepared some years ago, when it was very difficult to obtain correct detailed information, I took the ground that the real end and aim on the part of the Confederates, in the campaign of which I am now writing, were nothing more nor less than the capture of California; and I had the pleasure of seeing my position confirmed by the highest military authority in the country. Additional evidence on this point has since come to light. The campaign of itself was picturesque and interesting in a high degree; but the checking

and final expulsion of the invading force were far more important, in view of the ultimate object of the movement, than if its commander had sought only the possession of sterile and desolate regions, destitute of many of the necessaries of life, and harried by hostile Indians.

On June 11, 1861, Colonel Loring, of the Mounted Riflemen, who had been in command of the Department of New Mexico, and who had previously resigned, took his departure from Santa Fé, leaving in charge Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel E. R. S. Canby, a gallant and devoted soldier, of whose brave deeds it is impossible to speak in too high praise. Loring, with other officers, made his way as speedily as possible to the Confederate lines. Among these others was Henry H. Sibley, late Major First Dragoons, who wrote to Colonel Loring, on June 12, 1861, from El Paso: "We are at last under the glorious banner of the Confederate States of America." . . . "I regret now more than ever the sickly sentimentality (I can call it by no other name) by which I was overruled in my desire to bring my whole command with me. I am satisfied of the disaffection of the best of the rank and file in New Mexico." How grievously he was mistaken he was not long in learning.

Just where Mexico, Texas, and New Mexico meet, and in Texas, just across the Rio Grande from El Paso del Norte, Mexico, was Fort Bliss, occupied in July by a Confederate force under Lieutenant-Colonel John R. Baylor, of the Second Regiment Mounted Rifles, C. S. A. This officer entered New Mexico and occupied Mesilla on July 25. This town is on the Rio Grande, and near it was Fort Fillmore, where was stationed Major Isaac Lynde, Seventh Infantry, commanding the Southern Military District of New Mexico. Colonel Canby's feelings can be imagined when he learned that this officer, having failed to dislodge Baylor from Mesilla, had subsequently, in the face of the indignant protest of his officers, surrendered his whole command of some 700 men.

Colonel Baylor lost no time about occupying the land, on paper at least. On August 1st he issued a proclamation, signed by him as *Governor* and Lieutenant-Colonel, etc., etc., in which he took possession of the Territory "in the name and behalf of the Confederate States of America;" and on the 14th he wrote from Fort Bliss to General Van Dorn, C.S.A. (commanding the Confederate Department of Texas), as follows: "The vast mineral resources of Arizona" (he had ordained in his proclamation that this should comprise the portion of New Mexico lying south of Lat. 34°), "*in addition to its affording an outlet to the Pacific coast*" (italics are added), "make its acquisition a matter of some importance to our government, and now that I have taken possession of the Territory, I trust a

force sufficient to occupy and hold it will be sent by the government under some competent man."

Colonel Canby did his best to prepare for further invasion, which he had every reason to expect. He called upon the Governor of New Mexico for volunteers, and great efforts were made to raise and equip them. On August 16, he wrote to the assistant adjutant-general Western Department, St. Louis:

"The people of the Territory, with few exceptions, I believe, are loyal, but they are apathetic in disposition, and will adopt any measures that may be necessary for the defense of their Territory with great tardiness, looking with greater concern to their private, and often petty interests, and delaying or defeating the objects of the government by their personal or political quarrels. I question very much whether a sufficient force for the defense of the Territory can be raised within its limits, and I place no reliance upon any volunteer force that can be raised, unless strongly supported by regular troops." On September 8, he said: "I have the honor to report that the defensive works at Fort Craig are nearly completed;" and again, on September 22, "About 650 volunteers have been mustered into the service since my last report." On the 8th of December he reported to Washington: "The Confederate force in the Mesilla Valley is about 800 men of their regular troops, and from 200 to 300 men organized from the floating population of the Mesilla."

Poor Colonel Canby was terribly embarrassed by the want of military supplies and money. On August 10, he wrote to General Fremont, at St. Louis: "I have heretofore called the General-in-Chief's attention to the destitute condition of this department in military resources and supplies of every kind. There is not artillery enough in the department to arm a single post properly, and the supply of ammunition, except for small arms, is exceedingly limited. Remounts for cavalry horses and draught animals for the quartermaster's department cannot be procured in the department, and the estimates made upon the quartermaster-general have not yet been answered.

"No information has yet been received with regard to the annual supply of ordnance stores required for the use of the troops in the department. If it is the intention of the government to retain this department, I urgently recommend that the supplies necessary for the efficiency of the troops (regulars or volunteers), and especially those already estimated for, should be furnished as soon as practicable." On November 18, he said: "The military operations in this department have for several months past been greatly embarrassed, and are now almost entirely paralyzed, by the

want of funds in the pay department. Many of the regular troops have not been paid for more than twelve months, and the volunteers not at all." Speaking of a loan, he added: "I have personally pledged myself for the interest." Again, on January 13, 1862, he wrote: "The last mail from the East brought information from private sources that the paymaster who was understood to be on his way to this country with funds for the payment of the troops has been detained at Fort Leavenworth, and that no funds would be sent out until spring. Whether this report be true or not, the effect of its circulation through the country at this time will be exceedingly unfortunate."

Meantime the Confederates had been busy. On July 8, 1861, H. H. Sibley, late Major U. S. A. (a letter from whom is herein-before quoted) appeared as Brigadier-General C. S. A., and was ordered from Richmond to proceed without delay to Texas, and organize an expedition for driving the Federal troops from New Mexico, his "recent service . . . and knowledge of the country and its people," having, in Jefferson Davis's opinion, peculiarly fitted him for that duty. The authorities at Richmond seem to have been specially inspired by a letter from "Chief-Justice M. H. McWillie, La Mesilla, Arizona," dated June 30, 1861. He said: "Now, might it not be well, secretly of course, and at an early moment, to fit out an expedition to New Mexico? . . . The stores, supplies, and munitions of war within New Mexico and Arizona are immense, and I am decidedly of opinion that the game is worth the ammunition. . . . The expedition I suggest would relieve Texas, open communication to the Pacific, and break the line of operations . . . designed to circumvallate the South." He added the following pleasing hint: "One regiment of Cherokees or Choctaws, well mounted, would inspire more wholesome terror in the Mexican population than an army of Americans."

Sibley met with much delay in organizing his forces in Texas; and his *avant-coureur*, Baylor, became uneasy about his foot-hold in New Mexico, and feared he might be compelled to retreat.

On November 16, 1861, the order was given at San Antonio, Texas, for the "Sibley Brigade" to take up the line of march for El Paso. This order was signed by "A. M. Jackson, assistant adjutant-general Army of New Mexico." He had been Secretary of the Territory, and it was Colonel Canby's opinion that the proposed invasion was arranged by him. Sibley reached El Paso after the middle of December, 1861 and, on the 20th, issued a proclamation taking possession of New Mexico. In it he said: "To my old comrades in arms, still in the ranks of the usurpers of their government and liberties, I appeal in the name of former friendship.

Drop at once the arms which degrade you into the tools of tyrants, renounce their service, and array yourself under the colors of justice and freedom. I am empowered to receive you into the service of the Confederate States, the officers upon their commissions, the men upon their enlistments."

This was on a par with other strenuous efforts made to induce the unpaid, ill-clothed and half-starved Union forces to desert their flag. To the lasting honor of these brave and loyal men, exposed to terrible temptations and deserted by their government, let it be recorded that only one man out of twelve hundred deserted, and it was not certain that he joined the Confederates.

Early in 1862, Colonel Canby established his head-quarters at Fort Craig on the Rio Grande, some distance north of Mesilla; and on February 14, he reported to Washington that the Confederates were moving slowly up the river and were within twenty miles of the post. This force embraced Reily's and Green's regiments, five companies of Steele's and five of Baylor's regiments, and Teel's and Riley's batteries. To oppose it, Canby had five companies of the Fifth, three of the Seventh and three of the Tenth Infantry; two companies of the First, and five of the Third Cavalry; McRae's battery (manned by Companies G of the Second and I of the Third Cavalry), and a company of Colorado volunteers. Of New Mexican troops he had the First Regiment of Volunteers (commanded by Christopher or "Kit" Carson), seven companies of the Second, seven of the Third, one of the Fourth, two of the Fifth, a Spy Company and about 1,000 unorganized militia. In recording the numbers engaged in the battle which ensued, a historian encounters the usual discrepancies in official accounts. Canby gave his actual aggregate at 3,810 and said that Sibley had a nominal aggregate of nearly 3,000, reduced by sickness and detachments to about 2,600. Sibley reported that the force opposed to him was not less than 5,000, with a reserve of 3,000 at the fort (!) and that he himself had but 1,750. Accepting this figure for his own men, there is no doubt that this force of 1,750, composed of brave and hardy Texas rangers, was a very formidable one. In Colonel Canby's report he stated that he had "no confidence in the militia, and but little in the volunteers," and events showed that he was quite right. The only troops which were anything but a source of weakness and danger to him were his regulars (about 900) and a few of the volunteers. He endeavored to bring on an action where the New Mexican troops "would not be obliged to maneuver in the presence or under the fire of the enemy." The latter, however, made no attempt to assault the fort (which stands on the west bank of the

Rio Grande), but, with the evident intention of turning the position, crossed to the east side about seven miles below. On the 20th, they marched up a ravine, and a skirmish ensued between them and a force thrown across the river from the fort. In this skirmish the Second Regiment of Volunteers was thrown into such confusion that it could not be rallied; and, as night was coming on, Canby ordered a recrossing of the river. Next morning (21st), at about eight o'clock, the Confederates made for a ford, seven miles up the river, and Canby sent a force on the west bank to occupy and hold this ford. The force was under the command of Major B. S. Roberts, Third Cavalry, acting as Colonel of Volunteers—a gallant and efficient officer. He took up his position and finally succeeded in driving the enemy from all points near this ford. Colonel Roberts then crossed and drove him still further back. At a quarter before three o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Canby came on the field. The Confederates had taken a position behind the sand-hills, and he determined to make an effort to force the left of their line by advancing the right and center, turning on the left as a pivot. While his arrangements were in progress, Lieutenant Hall's two twenty-four pounders were attacked by the enemy's cavalry, and a detachment was made to protect them. At about this time a most formidable charge was made by about one thousand Texans on Captain McRae's battery. The men were maddened by thirst, and fought desperately. They trusted almost entirely to shot-guns, revolvers and bowie knives. An equally desperate resistance was made by Captain McRae, but in vain. His supports, undoubtedly, behaved badly, and he was killed, as was Lieutenant Mishler, Fifth Infantry. In his report, Canby said: "Pure in character, upright in conduct, and of a loyalty that was deaf to the seductions of family and friends, Captain McRae died, as he had lived, an example of the best and highest qualities that man can possess."

The Union forces crossed the river and returned to the fort, while the Confederates marched northward. Leaving the sick at Socorro, thirty miles north of Fort Craig, Sibley pushed on to Albuquerque. Thence he sent a detachment to occupy Santa Fé, and next decided to attack Fort Union, where there was, on June 30, as per official inventory, property valued at $271,147.55. This had been, of course, his most important objective point from the first; and the most striking and picturesque features of the brief campaign in the Territory are found in connection with the manner in which, and the men by whom, he was met.

The Territory of Colorado was formed in February, 1861, and in May there came to govern it William Gilpin, a man strong and remarkable in

many ways. He was an old soldier (having been major of the famed regiment of Doniphan, which made the wonderful march across the plains and through Old Mexico in 1846-7) and a veteran explorer. He accomplished wonders in crushing a Secessionist movement in Denver, and in raising troops. Canby applied to him for aid in the summer of 1861; and he wrote in reply to an appeal on July 6th that he had ordered two companies to report at Fort Garland. He added: "The election just concluded exhibits an overwhelming popular majority in favor of the administration. It also reveals a strong malignant element essential to be controlled." On October 26th he wrote again, as follows: "The malignant secession element of this Territory has numbered 7,500. It has been ably and secretly organized from November last, and requires extreme and extraordinary measures to meet and control its onslaught. . . . Be well assured that I neglect no resource within my reach or attainable by energy to provide for the safety of this Territory, and produce a force capable of cooperating cordially in the operations in New Mexico, with which I am familiar."

He kept his word; and what the energy and patriotism of himself and his brave soldiers did for their country's cause will soon appear.

Great alarm was caused by the news of the battle of Valverde (opposite Fort Craig), and Sibley's advance. On the 28th of February, the acting inspector-general wrote from Santa Fé to General Halleck at St. Louis:

"You will probably learn from the telegraph, from rumor and from other sources that we have had a most desperate and bloody struggle with the Texans, and that, notwithstanding the great loss upon their part, we have lost one light battery and retreated to Fort Craig. Colonel Canby did everything which man could do to retake his battery and thus save the day. He beseeched and begged, ordered and imperatively commanded, troops to save his guns, and a deaf ear met alike his supplications and commands. . . . The enemy is now above Colonel Canby, on the Rio Grande, and, of course, has cut him off from all communication with his supplies. It is needless to say that this country is in a critical condition. The militia have all run away, and the New Mexican volunteers are deserting in large numbers. No dependence whatever can be placed on the natives; they are worse than worthless; they are really aids of the enemy, who catch them, take their arms, and tell them to go home. . . . A force of Colorado volunteers is already on the way to assist us, and they may possibly arrive in time to save us from immediate danger."

This force was the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers. Its colonel was John P. Slough, a lawyer and "War Democrat." The lieutenant-

colonel, Samuel F. Tappan, was from Manchester-by-the-Sea, Masschusetts. Major John M. Chivington had been the presiding elder of the Methodist church in Denver, and Governor Gilpin meant him for chaplain; but he preferred fighting.

I have met, in later years, some of the company officers of this remarkable regiment, who impressed me very much by their eminent qualities. Among these qualities was that of modesty, and this, while a virtue of the first order, interferes with their value to an inquisitive scribe. I did once succeed, however, in securing a copy of extracts from a MS. journal of one of them (Major Jacob Downing), and from that and other sources I have learned much of the doings of Colonel Slough's command. They marched from Denver February 22d, through snow nearly a foot deep, and oppressed by "snow-storms and wind-storms, accompanied by sand and pebbles." In one day they actually made sixty-seven miles, and March 11 saw them at Fort Union, then under command of a gallant regular officer, Major Gabriel R. Paul, now living in Washington.

Governor Gilpin had been summoned to Washington, and it was the acting-governor, Lewis Weld, who, on February 14, wrote to Colonel Canby informing him of the approach of these valuable reinforcements. "You will find this regiment, I hope," said he, "a most efficient one, and of great support to you. It has had, of course, no experience in the field, but I trust that their enthusiasm and patriotic bravery will make amends, and more than that, for their lack of active service in the past."

Meantime, as the Confederates marched northward, the Federal stores at Albuquerque had been destroyed or removed by the quartermaster, and Santa Fé had been evacuated under the orders of Major Donaldson, commanding that district. On March 10, this officer reported his arrival under the guns of Fort Union, with a train of 120 wagons (contents valued at $250,000) and a few soldiers. Major Paul, to his annoyance and disappointment, found, on Colonel Slough's arrival, that the latter "ranked" him and would act independently. Nevertheless, he turned his regular troops over to Slough; and, against his wishes, the gallant colonel left the Fort on Saturday, March 22, and marched to Bernal Springs, forty-five miles distant, arriving on the 25th. He had with him 1,342 men, of whom about 300 were regulars.

The "old Santa Fé trail," along a large part of which the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad now runs, is compelled to make a very great detour on its way from Las Vegas to its terminus. Santa Fé lies—"so near and yet so far"—not very distant, and a little north of west, yet the trail runs a little east of south to Bernal Peak; then west, then north-

west to the old Pecos Church; thence by devious ways to the ancient City of the Holy Faith. The road is seventy-five miles long, and I myself, on top of a six-horse Southern Overland mail stage, was about fifteen consecutive hours in traversing it, a few years ago. West of Pecos Church, the trail enters Apache Cañon, a grim defile flanked by perpendicular walls of rock, and one of the most remarkable passes in the world. Approaching it from the west, was, on March 25, the Confederate force under Colonel W. R. Scurry, Fourth Texas Cavalry, bound for Fort Union. I once ventured to say that he "knew well the road thither through Apache Cañon—just as the Persian Hydarnes, in B. C. 480, doubtless knew the road to some Grecian Fort Union through the Pass of Thermopylæ." After six years' reflection, and with official records now before me, I still think this a very fair statement.

Just where the cañon widens, near the eastern end, stood the ranch of one Alexandre Vallé. I had the pleasure of knowing this worthy Franco-American, before his late lamented decease, and listened to words of wisdom from his lips, couched in extremely imperfect English. Candor compels me to state that his was not an imposing, nor a wholly neat, personality, and that his description of affairs in 1862 was overloaded with laments that "Government *nevaire* pay him for ze vhisky" that the troops appropriated; but he came much nearer to the truth than some more cleanly and better equipped people whom I met and questioned in that vicinity. For some occult reason he never was called by his real name in New Mexico, but always by that of "Pigeon;" and the name of "Pigeon's Ranch" has passed into local history. Scurry's advance had reached it on the morning of the 26th, and had a lively skirmish with a force of 210 cavalry and 180 infantry under Major (late Presiding Elder) Chivington, who had marched from camp the afternoon before. The late Elder belonged to the church militant. "*'E poot 'is 'ead down,*" said M. Vallé to me, "*and foight loike mahd bull.*" This preliminary engagement seems to have been a drawn battle. Chivington reported a loss of 5 killed and 14 wounded. The loss of the enemy, he said, was, from their own accounts, 32 killed, 43 wounded, and 71 taken prisoners. The reports of both Sibley and Scurry gave no figures of losses.

Scurry's command, in full, was in camp some miles west of Pigeon's Ranch on the 27th, and formed in line of battle on the morning of the 28th. Slough, with his whole force, had broken camp on the afternoon of the 27th, and, the next morning, he prepared for action. It is clear that he did not know how near Scurry was. With Slough, by good fortune, was a brave and skilful New Mexican officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel

Chaves, an old companion and friend of Governor Gilpin. In Major Donaldson's report of the march from Santa Fé to Fort Union, he said: "Some volunteers also accompanied me, under Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Chaves, but all of them, except the lieutenant-colonel and some officers, deserted on the march." Chaves, however, was a host in himself; and the splendid services which he rendered the Union cause, and the "Pet Lambs" of his old friend, Governor Gilpin, ought to have earned him lasting fame. He offered to lead a force to the rear of the enemy; and Slough detached one under Chivington, consisting of about 120 regulars and 370 volunteers (nearly half his command). At 9.30 A.M., they started, and Chaves led them up a steep ascent and then along a terribly difficult path, eight miles on a trail and eight more (as Chivington put it) "without road." Then he stopped and pointing over the bluff, down which led a rough path, said laconically,

"You are *on top of dem!*"

There were the rear-guard of the enemy and their supply-train of sixty-four wagons. In command of Chivington's first battalion was that splendid officer, Captain W. H. Lewis, Fifth Infantry (who lost his life in a miserable skirmish with the Cheyennes in 1878); and with him was Captain A. B. Carey, Thirteenth Infantry (now Major and Paymaster). The commander of the other battalion was Captain Wynkoop, of the Colorado Volunteers (now an honored citizen of Santa Fé). Chivington "viewed the landscape o'er," and then took his seat on a log.

"I fear an ambush," said he. "What do you say, Captain Lewis?"

"Well, major, we came here to fight," said Lewis.

"What do you say, Captain Carey?"

"I agree with Captain Lewis."

"And you, Captain Wynkoop?"

"I agree with Captains Lewis and Carey."

Chivington hesitated no longer, but gave orders for the attack. He told Captain Lewis, who was to command, that if he saw the party ambushed, he would sound the recall; and, as they started in single file down the steep and narrow path, Lewis remarked, *sotto voce*, to Carey, that they would never hear that signal. The charge upon the guard was made at the double-quick, and was wholly successful. The 64 wagons, 200 mules, and everything in the shape of supplies, ammunition, and even medical stores, were destroyed; a gun was captured and spiked by Captain Lewis in person; and two officers and a number of men were taken prisoners. Chivington reported that "Captain Lewis had the most dangerous duty assigned him, which he performed with unfaltering heroism."

Meantime, Slough, with only about 700 men, had encountered the main body of the enemy. In his report he stated that, "having met the enemy where he was not expected, the action was defensive from its beginning to its end."

No one who has not seen Apache Cañon with his bodily eyes can conceive what this action must have been. With the exception of less than 200 regulars, the members of the command were uninstructed in the arts of war. Slough had with him, as acting assistant adjutant-general, Captain Gurden Chapin, Seventh Infantry; and with his force were two 12-pounder howitzers and two 6-pounder guns (without caissons), under Captain John F. Ritter, Fifteenth Infantry; also four 12-pounder (mountain) howitzers, under Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain Ira W. Claflin, Sixth Cavalry. These two *pro tem.* artillerists are said by my diarist to have been "as brave men as ever wore uniform." There is no doubt that Slough's greatly reduced column of only 700 men was forced back, but M. Vallé said the men fairly raged when given the order to take position to the rear. After some five hour's fighting, a flag of truce came from Scurry. The latter described his men as "extremely exhausted;" and after burying his dead aud caring for his wounded, he marched to Santa Fé. Slough, as his orders from Colonel Canby were "to protect Fort Union at all hazards and leave nothing to chance," took up a position at Bernal Springs. The gallant colonel had reason to be proud of his success in his first battle, and of the officers and men under him. His loss was 1 officer (Lieutenant Baker, Colorado Volunteers), and 28 men killed; 2 officers and 40 men wounded; 15 men taken prisoners. "The enthusiasm and patriotic bravery" of his Colorado men had, in conjunction with the valor of the regulars, nobly aided their country's cause. The skill and zeal of Chaves, and the intrepidity and energy of Lewis, Carey, Wynkoop and their men, had gained complete success for the clever and picturesque strategic movement under Chivington. The Confederate advance was checked, Fort Union was saved, and the chance of invading California had "gone glimmering down the vale of things that were."

Scurry acknowledged the loss of 4 officers and 32 men killed and 60 wounded; and Governor Connelly, of New Mexico, in a dispatch to Secretary Seward, said that the number of his killed, wounded, and missing did not fall short of 400; also that among the prisoners captured from him were three captains and eight lieutenants. When Scurry retreated to Santa Fé, he had not ten rounds of ammunition per man.

Meantime Colonel Canby, having heard of the skirmish of the 26th March, determined to leave Fort Craig, garrisoned by volunteers under

Kit Carson, and effect a junction with the troops at the north. He marched on April 1st, with 860 regulars and 350 volunteers, and on the 8th, made a demonstration on Albuquerque, in which Major Duncan, Third Cavalry, was seriously wounded. During the night of the 9th and the succeeding day he marched to San Antonio, where, on the 11th idem, he was in communication with Colonel Paul. The latter officer, on April 6th, had marched from Fort Union, in command of the troops, effected concentration at Bernal Springs and, on the 9th, proceeded toward Santa Fé. At San José a flag of truce met him, borne by Major Jackson and another officer; of whom, said Governor Connelly's report, he "disposed in a very short conference." Only a few hours later he learned that the enemy had evacuated Santa Fé and were marching hurriedly to Albuquerque, leaving all their wounded behind. On the 12th he wrote from Gallisteo to the delighted governor at Las Vegas:

"It affords me great pleasure to inform you that Santa Fé is now in our possession, and your Excellency will hazard nothing by returning to the seat of government and resuming the duties of your office whenever it may suit your convenience. . . . Your Excellency will be glad to know that the Union troops on entering Santa Fé were received with public demonstrations of joy."

On the 13th the junction was made at Tijeras. In the mean time Colonel Canby had received information that the enemy had left Albuquerque and was moving down the river. During the night of the 14th the Union forces marched thirty-six miles to Peralta. There the Confederates were found in a position which was "the strongest (except Fort Union) in New Mexico." On the 15th an engagement took place, and the bosque in front and rear of the town was occupied by the Federals. A howitzer, a train of supplies and a number of men were captured by them. There was also an artillery duel; but during the next night, while Colonel Canby was giving his tired men a brief rest, the enemy crossed the river and fled, leaving his sick and wounded behind, "without attendance, without medicines, and almost without food." Colonel Roberts, under date of April 23d, reported to Washington that they were "leaving in a state of demoralization and suffering that has few examples in war. The long line of their retreat over Jornada "(the terrible Jornada del Muerto)" and wastes of country without water . . . will . . . aggravate the ordinary sufferings of a disorganized army under defeat. The broken-down condition of all our animals, the want of cavalry, and deficiencies of all our supplies will make a successful pursuit equally impracticable."

On the 18th of May Canby, now Brigadier-General of Volunteers, was

able to report that the Confederates were scattered along the Rio Grande from Doña Aña to El Paso. Military critics, writing or talking at a safe distance, have held that all should have been taken prisoners. The fact is that Canby had no desire to capture men whom he could not feed. On the 12th of May he reported to Washington that some of his own men were reduced to a ration of twelve ounces of flour. My diarist describes the Colorado troops as in camp "living on rotten bacon and wormy crackers, surrounded by tarantulas, scorpions, centipedes, and rattlesnakes, until the scurvy nearly destroyed those who had escaped the perils of war." A "breezy" journalist, whose delightful account of these times I had the pleasure of reading, summed the situation up in the following words: "There being no grub in New Mexico in a general way, there certainly was none now, since armies had been sustained by her during the winter."

The campaign in New Mexico was rapidly approaching its end. A splendid column from California, under command of General James H. Carleton, was coming. "My men," he wrote to General Canby, "are the finest material I have ever seen." This praise will not seem too high when it is known that in the driest season in thirty years they crossed the Colorado and Gila deserts, bringing with them, under Captain J. B. Shinn and Lieutenant Franklin Harwood, Third United States Artillery, the first battery ever thus moved. General Canby sent a column to open communication with this most welcome advance, which reached the Rio Grande on July 4. On the 6th the last of the Confederates, under Colonel Steele, beat a hasty retreat, and New Mexico and Arizona knew them no more. On September 18 General Canby having been ordered to Washington, turned his command over to General Carleton and bade his men farewell. His brevet as brigadier-general in the regular army "for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Valverde," was granted only on March 13, 1865; and on April 11, 1873, he was murdered by the Modoc Indians in Oregon.

On May 4th, General Sibley wrote to Richmond, from Fort Bliss, Texas. He said, among other things, "It is proper that I should express the conviction, determined by some experience, that, except for its political geographical position, the Territory of New Mexico is not worth a quarter of the blood and treasure expended in its conquest." As a reason for not compelling his men to serve longer in that region, he said that they had "manifested a dogged, irreconcilable detestation of the country and the people." There is something delightfully *naïf* about this statement.

I cannot but think this curious and interesting campaign well worthy of record. But for the valor of the men who fought on the Union side in

New Mexico, the history of the war would have read far differently from what it does; and Governor Gilpin, living in a green old age in his pretty Denver home, may well claim that his Pet Lambs "broke the far left wing of the Rebellion." It is easy to explain why more has not been known about it. The contemporary events nearer Washington were such as to engross all attention at the time. Fort Henry was taken on February 6th, Roanoke Island on the 8th, and Donelson on the 16th. The *Monitor* encountered the *Merrimac* on March 9th, and Shiloh was fought on April 6th and 7th. Not only then, but fifteen years later, Santa Fé was to people East of the Missouri a mere geographical expression. Up to within a short time, information about the events in that region has been most difficult to obtain. I went myself to Colorado and New Mexico in 1879. I examined the scene of the battle of Apache Cañon twice, and I devoted much time to inquiries from those who took part in the campaign; even then I obtained grains of truth in bushels of trivialities and falsehoods. Canby, Roberts, Lewis, and Slough were dead, and the only living officer concerned in the campaign from whom I have been so fortunate as to obtain, verbally, valuable details, is Major A. B. Carey of the Paymaster's Department, now serving in California. Without access, therefore, to valuable official documents, I could not have ventured to tell the story in this shape; but as it is, it may form a brief quota of that stirring history which it should be the pride of a country to preserve and cherish.

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC UNDER HOOKER

The Army of the Potomac was in a serious condition when General Hooker assumed command on the 26th of January, 1863.

Born at Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1815, he was appointed a cadet in the United States Military Academy at West Point, in 1833; was graduated and appointed second lieutenant of the first artillery on July 1, 1837; was promoted to first lieutenant in November, 1838; served against the Seminole Indians in Florida; was adjutant of the Military Academy in 1841; and adjutant of the First Artillery from September, 1841, to May, 1846. He had been distinguished in the Mexican War, served as aide-de-camp to Brigadier-General Thomas L. Hamer, who commanded the division of volunteers after Major-General William Orlando Butler was wounded at Monterey, and received the brevets of captain, major, and lieutenant-colonel "for gallant and meritorious conduct" at the battles of Monterey, the National Bridge, and Chapultepec. March 3, 1847, he was designated as assistant adjutant-general, with the brevet rank of captain, and upon promotion in his regiment, October 29, 1849, relinquished his rank in the line and was commissioned assistant adjutant-general, as of the former date. He resigned as captain and assistant adjutant-general, February 21, 1853. Such, in brief, was General Hooker's military career in "the old army." At the outbreak of the Civil War he was a resident of California. Tendering his services to the President, he was appointed brigadier-general of Volunteers, May 17, 1861.

Immediately prior to assuming command of the Army of the Potomac, Hooker had commanded the Center Grand Division. By the terms of his promotion, Major-General Sumner, commanding the Right, and Major-General Franklin, commanding the Left Grand Divisions—both his seniors in rank—were relieved from duty. Major-General Meade, commanding the Third Division—Pennsylvania Reserves—First Corps, who had greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Fredericksburg, succeeded Hooker in the Center Grand Division, Major-General Couch was appointed to the Right, and Major-General Wm. Farrar Smith to the Left Grand Division. The Grand Reserve Division, consisting of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, was commanded by Major-General Sigel.

The army was encamped on the north bank of the Rappahannock—which separated it from the Army of Northern Virginia—opposite Fredericksburg. Its position upon the Stafford Hills was considered almost im-

pregnable. Its base of supplies was Acquia Creek, on the Potomac, whence transportation was by rail, the distance between that place and Falmouth being about twelve miles. The army was disheartened. The mortality was great. Men died of diseases caused by homesickness. Not an hour of the day passed in any of the camps but that the notes of the funeral dirge were heard, as escorts of comrades followed the heroes of death to their temporary resting-places. Desertions were at the rate of two hundred a day. Parents, wives, brothers, sisters and sweethearts, were so anxious to relieve relatives and loved ones from a service that had become irksome, and in the success of which they had lost faith, that express cars were loaded with packages of citizen's clothing put up in every possible way to deceive as to contents, to aid in desertion. Even the mails were used for that purpose. The demoralization was not alone the result of defeat, but of a lack of confidence between officers and men. The President had issued his immortal Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862, and a large proportion of the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, were opposed to the policy of the government.

Of sangiune temperament, attractive appearance, commanding presence, and great personal magnetism, General Hooker had been one of the most successful corps commanders—always ready for a fight—and had earned the soubriquet of "Fighting Joe." The mere reading of the order to the troops at parade, by which he entered upon his command, had a beneficial effect. His was no easy task. He had criticised his superiors, and was aware of the enmity of Halleck, then General-in-Chief. The President had a very high opinion of him, and when McClellan was relieved had thought of appointing him to this special command; but the persistent opposition of Halleck led to the appointment of Burnside. Hooker had displayed exceptional gallantry at Williamsburg and Charles City Cross Roads, in the Peninsular campaign—at the latter place holding with his division, against superior numbers, a point, which if yielded would have resulted in irreparable disaster. At Antietam he had opened the battle and borne the brunt of the hard fighting, assaulting Stonewall Jackson's corps in its chosen position—the "cornfield," in front of the little church. In the corn the men of Jackson stood—almost as numerous as the stalks—when Hooker opened upon them with his artillery, cutting them down as corn is cut at harvest time. With the First Corps he pressed Jackson's men back, slowly but deliberately, leaving the field strewn with the horrors of war—never stopping, until he was borne, wounded, from the field. Mr. Lincoln visited Antietam immediately after the battle, and when viewing the "cornfield," where the engagement occurred, conceived a great ad-

miration for Hooker, and was impressed with the belief that he ought to be at the head of the Army of the Potomac.

On the 20th of September, 1862, McClellan wrote Hooker, from Sharpsburg: "Had you not been wounded when you were, I believe the result of the battle would have been the entire destruction of the Rebel Army—for I know, with you at its head, your corps would have kept on until it gained the main road. As a slight expression of what I think you merit, I have requested that the brigadier-general's commission (in the regular army) rendered vacant by Mansfield's death,* may be given to you. I will this evening write a private note to the President on the subject, and am glad to assure you that so far as I can learn it is the universal feeling of the army, that you are the most deserving of it."

President Lincoln, however, was not without his doubts as to Hooker's ability to establish and maintain the discipline necessary to success at that time; and the day after his promotion wrote him the following confidential letter—made public only a few months before Hooker's death, in 1879.

"Executive Mansion, Washington, January 26, 1863.

Major-General Hooker:

General:

I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skillful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all its commanders.

I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it.

And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln."

* Brigadier-General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, United States Army, Major-General of Volunteers, died September 18, 1862, of wounds received in the battle of Antietam, Maryland, while gallantly commanding the Twelfth Corps.

To prevent desertion, cause the return of absentees, and make the army as comfortable as possible, was Hooker's first effort. Clemency and intimidation were both used. Leave of absence and furloughs were so granted that all in the course of the winter might visit their homes, or go where they pleased, for ten or fifteen days.* A return was to be made from each regiment, battery or detachment, showing the number of officers and men absent from duty, from any cause whatsoever.

It was found that 2,935 commissioned officers and 82,188 non-commissioned officers and privates, on the army rolls, were not present, many in hospitals, on leave, furlough, or detached duty—the majority, no doubt, deserters; although in this vast number must have been included all who had deserted from the regiments composing the army since they were severally organized. On the day Hooker took command, he sent the following despatch to the adjutant-general of the army: "It will be a great happiness to me to have Brigadier-General Stone ordered to report to me as chief of staff"—a sincere tribute to the ability and loyalty of a true soldier. This request not being approved, he selected General Daniel Butterfield.†

* General Orders, No. 3, January 30, 1863, provided that one brigade commander, one field officer and two line officers of a regiment, and two enlisted men for every hundred on duty, might be absent, "on leave," at one time, for a period not exceeding ten days, except to residents of the following named States, when it might be given for fifteen days, viz.: Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont; Ohio, Michigan, and the States west of these last named.

† Hooker's staff officers were: Major-General Daniel Butterfield, Chief of Staff; Brigadier-General Seth Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel, A. G. Department, U. S. A., Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Dickinson, U. S. V., Assistant Adjutant-General; Brigadier-General James A. Hardie, Major A. G. Department, U. S. A., Judge Advocate-General; Brigadier-General Henry J. Hunt, Major, Fifth U. S. Artillery, Chief of Artillery; Brigadier-General M. R. Patrick, Provost Marshal General; Colonel Rufus Ingalls, Major, Quarter-master's Department, U. S. A., Chief Quarter-master; Lieutenant-Colonel F. Meyers, Captain, Quarter-master's Department, U. S. A., Deputy Chief Quarter-master; Colonel H. F. Clarke, Major, Subsistence Department, U. S. A., Chief Commissary; Major Jonathan Letterman, Surgeon, U. S. A., Medical Director; Captain Samuel T. Cushing, Subsistence Department, U. S. A., Chief Signal Officer; Captain D. W. Flagler, Ordnance Department, U. S. A., Chief Ordnance Officer; Major William H. Lawrence, Aide-de-Camp; Captain William L. Candler, Aide-de-Camp; Captain Alexander Moore, Aide-de-Camp; Captain Harry Russell, Aide-de-Camp. General Orders No. 2, January 29, 1863. To these were afterward added: Brigadier-General G. K. Warren, Captain, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Chief Topographical Engineer; Colonel Edmund Schriver, Lieutenant-Colonel, Eleventh U. S. Infantry, Inspector General; Lieutenant-Colonel N. H. Davis, Major, Inspector General's Department, U. S. A., Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant-Colonel E. R. Platt, Captain, Second U. S. Artillery, Judge Advocate-General; Major S. F. Barstow, Assistant Adjutant General; Colonel G. H. Sharpe, 120th N. Y. Volunteers, Deputy Provost Marshal General; Captain Ulric Dahlgren, Aide-de-Camp; Captain Charles E. Cadwalader, Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry, Acting Aide-de-Camp. General Orders No. 32, March 30, 1863.

At the time General Butterfield was designated chief-of-staff he was commanding the Fifth Corps; and General Sykes—major 14th United States Infantry—commander of the Second Division, regulars, one of the most reliable of officers, was left in command of that corps until the reorganization of the army. Under the circumstances it was thought best to send the Ninth Corps to some other field of action, and January 31, the General-in-chief wrote Hooker:

"The Ninth Army Corps, now under your command, will be sent to Fort Monroe to report to Major-General Dix. On your recommendation the Pennsylvania Reserves will be exchanged with General Heintzelman for an equal number of Pennsylvania troops."

General Heintzelman was in command of the troops in the immediate vicinity and for the defense of Washington. The nearest approach to instructions received by General Hooker were in these words: "In regard to the operations of your own army, you can best judge when and where it can move to the greatest advantage, keeping in view always the importance of covering Washington and Harper's Ferry, either directly or by so operating as to be able to punish any force of the enemy sent against them."

The Army of the Potomac was not loosed from the leading strings in which it was held by "the importance of covering Washington and Harper's Ferry," until General Grant came East with rank that enabled him to out-general the General-in-chief. Even *he* found it difficult to convince the authorities at Washington that wherever the enemy could be met and defeated, there Washington was most practically protected.

Before the departure of the Ninth Corps, Hooker telegraphed the General-in-chief: "Permit me to recommend that Wm. F. Smith be assigned by the President to command it, and that General Sedgwick be assigned to the command of the Sixth Corps. General Sedgwick is now on duty with the Ninth without assignment." He next day received in answer: "Major-General Burnside is the permanent commander of the Ninth Corps. Make such temporary changes as you may deem proper."

Accordingly the Ninth Corps was ordered to embark for Fort Monroe, February 4th, under command of General Smith—Major, Corps of Engineers, United States Army—and General Sedgwick was ordered to relieve Smith of the command of the Sixth Corps upon receipt of the order. Important changes were made in the staff departments, especially that of the inspector-general which was thoroughly reorganized and most competent officers assigned to it. The troops were kept busy at company, regimental, brigade, and division drills, picket and fatigue duty. Reviews and inspections were frequent. The sanitary condition of the camps was im-

proved, the men being encouraged to beautify and adorn their quarters. Frequent inspections of the tents in which they lived as well as the cook and mess tents were made. Company and other officers were instructed to see that the food of their commands was properly prepared. Brigade bakeries were established and good, wholesome, fresh bread issued daily. Potatoes, onions, and other vegetables were added to the ration. Tobacco, the soldiers' solace, and an occasional ration of whiskey—upon return from severe exposure on picket, fatigue duty, or when considered necessary by surgeons—was issued. The clothing—too often before of shoddy material—was carefully inspected and a better quality furnished. By these means and others, the health of the army was improved.

The organization in grand divisions was annulled by General Orders No. 6, of February 5, in which the commanding general said: "The division of the army into grand divisions impeding rather than facilitating the despatch of its current business, and the character of the service it is liable to be called upon to perform, being adverse to the movement and operations of heavy columns, it is discontinued, and the corps organization is adopted in its stead. They will be commanded as follows: First Corps, Major-General John F. Reynolds, Lieutenant-General Fourteenth United States Infantry; Second Corps, Major-Colonel D. N. Couch; Third Corps, Major-General Daniel E. Sickles; Fifth Corps, Major-General George G. Meade, Major, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; Sixth Corps, Major-General John Sedgwick, Colonel, Fourth United States Cavalry; Eleventh Corps, Major-General Franz Sigel; Twelfth Corps, Major-General Henry W. Slocum."

The Comte de Paris says, in his *History of the Civil War in America*:

"The organization of *grand divisions*, a heavy and useless machinery invented by Burnside, was abolished, and a return was quietly made to that of army corps, which, six in number, contained each from fifteen to twenty-two thousand men;"

and in a foot-note:

"General Orders No. 6, February 5, 1863, Head-quarters Army of the Potomac, gives seven. But this was caused by the withdrawal of the Ninth Corps and the addition of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. The two latter had not been included in the *grand divisions*."

When the Army of Virginia, which had been commanded by General Pope, was merged with that of the Army of the Potomac, and both were consolidated and reorganized by McClellan, the troops of the First Corps, Army of Virginia, General Sigel—with exception of the Independent Brigade under General Milroy—became the Eleventh Corps, Army of the Poto-

mac, under Sigel. The troops of the Second Corps, Army of Virginia, which had been commanded by General Banks, became the Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac. These corps composed the Reserve Division of the Army of the Potomac as commanded by Burnside.

"2. Hereafter the corps will be considered as a unit for the organization of the artillery, and no transfers of batteries will be made from one corps or division to others, except for purposes of equalization, and then only under the authority of the chief of artillery.

"3. The cavalry of the army will be consolidated into one corps under the command of Major-General George Stoneman. The changes in command to be made as early as convenient."

General Stoneman—Major Fourth United States Cavalry—was relieved from command of the Third Corps and appointed to a command for which, as Hooker believed, he was better suited. By direction of Hooker, Adams Express Company was advised, February 7, that packages for soldiers would be brought to the army only when, securely fastened to the outside of the package, was an invoice of contents, with certificate of the agent who received it, that the contents had been examined by him and were truly set forth. Packages containing citizen's clothing* and intoxicating liquors would not be brought to the army for soldiers' use. Packages for officers to be subject to restrictions before imposed.

It is not true that enlisted men were denied many things they should have had, and officers were permitted many things they should not have had. There never was a time, when whisky could be procured by officers that a *temperate*, well-behaved, enlisted man could not obtain the written order of his officer for a bottle or canteenful, at current prices. Had free license been given—or had it not required the signature of an officer to obtain it—there would have been an end of all discipline in the army. There were occasions, during Hooker's administration, when it required much tact for either officer or man to obtain it. Brandy peaches became a popular luxury; and when they gave out, the essence of Jamaica ginger, peppermint, and even gargling oil, were sold, until it became necessary to prohibit sutlers from keeping anything of the kind in stock.

Prior to the reorganization of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, that of the Confederates of northern Virginia was superior to ours; but under the new organization a high state of efficiency and discipline was soon reached, and when the rivers and roads permitted, expeditions were

* It was not intended to class under "citizen's clothing" anything but outer garments, which facilitated desertion. There was no objection made to the sending of under-clothing, mittens, or other little articles of personal comfort, in any manner the sender preferred.

sent to attack the enemy's pickets or outposts, and gather forage from the country in their possession, the object being to encourage and stimulate by successes, however small, a feeling of superiority over our adversaries. Both our cavalry and infantry pickets were kept wide awake from wholesome dread of the well-organized, dashing Confederate cavalry.

Colonel John S. Mosby—the Marion of the late war—a lawyer by profession, having once slept too soundly near some of the Union outposts, was captured and confined in a Northern prison for two months, until about the 1st of August, 1862 he was released.

Anyone at all familiar with Mosby's movements, knows that revenge burned within him until on the 9th of March, he realized his long-coveted opportunity to catch some Union officers of high rank. His command was there yesterday, here to-day, somewhere else to-morrow and the next day, apparently, disbanded, and the men at their homes, hard-working farmers, with strong Union sentiments. Mosby had a way, however, of getting them together in a hurry. Through some of his men, whose homes were in the vicinity of Fairfax Court-house, he had ascertained there were several regiments of Union troops encamped in the vicinity of that village, whose commanding officers, together with Colonel Percy Wyndham, a brigade commander, were living away from their commands, somewhat carelessly, in the village. One of these officers was Colonel Charles B. Stoughton, of the Fourth Vermont Infantry. He had been appointed brigadier-general, November 5, 1862, but, not having been confirmed, his appointment expired, by constitutional limitation, March 4, 1863. Selecting from his command twenty-nine of the most trusty, Mosby started from the vicinity of Aldie, in the Catoctin mountains—his favorite resort—upon this exciting expedition, Monday morning, March 9th ; and riding easily, arrived in the vicinity of the encamped regiments after bed-time. The Comte de Paris tells the story so graphically in his *History of the Civil War in America*, that we quote his words : " Favored by darkness, Mosby, with twenty-nine men, slips between these camps, surprises and gags one guard, penetrates into the village, disposes of his soldiers so that they may seize the principal officers of the enemy, and goes himself to pay a visit to Colonel Stoughton, with whose quarters he was fully acquainted. He had the great pleasure of finding him asleep, and of waking him up in person.

The colonel, indignant at such familiarity, threatens to have the intruder arrested.

' Do you know Mosby ? ' remarks the latter.

' What ! have you captured that wretch ? tell me quickly,' answers the

Federal, who believes that his sleep has been interrupted by the bearer of this good news.

'Not exactly; it is Mosby himself who has captured you, and is going to carry you off.'

And this was done instantly. Wyndham and Johnson, however, were not taken, the latter having hidden himself without clothes under a stack of hay; but many other officers had been captured by surprise, like Stoughton, while Mosby, as fortunate as he was daring, succeeded in getting through the Federal lines unperceived, taking with him thirty-five prisoners." Stoughton was not re-appointed brigadier-general, and resigned as colonel, Fourth Vermont Infantry, February 2, 1864. February 10, Brigadier-General W. H. F. Lee, with his brigade of cavalry, attacked Gloucester Point, on the York River, and on the 25th, appeared opposite the Union ships in the Rappahannock, cannonading them with his light batteries, an exploit before unheard of in modern warfare. And so both armies were kept wide awake by the raids of each other's cavalry.

Our artillery was always superior to that of the Confederates—their best organization—and a very superior one it was—being the Washington Artillery of New Orleans; but our infantry, though it constantly improved in discipline and *morale*, never equaled that of the army of northern Virginia, which, under the able generalship of Robert E. Lee, attained a degree of discipline, steadiness, efficiency, *staying power*, and marching capacity, far superior to that of any other of the Confederate armies; a degree in the opinion of eminent military critics, unsurpassed in ancient or modern warfare.

March 10, the President issued a general proclamation of amnesty to all deserters who rejoined their commands before April 1, construed to protect those who reported to officers on duty out of the field, who were instructed to receive and forward such to their commands. The President relinquished his right to review proceedings of courts-martial to army commanders. Deserters were arrested, sent to the army, speedily tried, condemned and shot. It required but few executions to produce a most salutary effect.

By circular of March 21, 1863, Hooker designated distinctive badges to be worn by each corps. That of the First Corps was the lozenge; of the Second, the trefoil or clover-leaf; of the Third, the diamond; of the Fifth, the Maltese cross; of the Sixth, the Greek cross; of the Eleventh, the crescent; of the Twelfth, the five-pointed star. For the first division of each corps they were of red cloth; the second, of white, and the third, of blue. They were worn upon the top of the cap or left side of the hat;

but soon many officers and men, proud of their organizations, were wearing handsome metal badges on their breasts; evidencing that a prospective cross of "the Legion of Honor," would have been an incentive to even the republican soldier of America. The head-quarters of the army had its distinctive flag. The head-quarters of army corps was a blue swallow-tail with the badge of the corps in center of the field. The head-quarters flag of the divisions of each corps was nearly square, for the First, of white, with red badge in the center; for the Second, of blue, with white badge in the center; for the Third, of white, with blue badge in the center. The flags of brigade head-quarters were triangular in shape, and made of white bunting; that of the First Brigade having the red corps badge in the center; that of the Second Brigade had a blue stripe six inches wide next the lance, and blue corps badge in centre; that of the Third Brigade had a blue border four and one-half inches wide around the flag and the corps badge in blue, in the center. So popular was this measure that it soon extended to the entire army of the United States. It made visible at a glance to which corps, division or brigade any organization or man belonged. It created an *esprit de corps* that could not otherwise have been attained.

General Sigel, commanding the Eleventh Corps, having taken an unlimited leave of absence in March, 1863, was replaced April 2, by General Oliver O. Howard. A telegram from Hooker to the Secretary of War, March 20, reads thus: "Has the resignation of Major-General Sigel been accepted, or is that officer to be removed from command of the Eleventh Corps? I desire to ascertain in order that, if so, Major-General Howard, the highest in rank in this army for advancement to corps commander, may be assigned to it.

General Howard is an officer of uncommon merit, is favorably known to this army, and is fully identified with its history. It is highly important that the commander of the Eleventh Corps should be named and that he should be on duty with it."

The change of commanders caused considerable dissatisfaction among the numerous Germans in the corps, who considered it a blow at their nationality. The difference in their enthusiasm was quite perceptible. It is true the great majority of the men of the Eleventh Corps were Germans, or spoke that language exclusively, although there were large numbers of Americans in it. Early in April desertions had nearly ceased and the Army of the Potomac was in better condition than ever before—inspired with the brightest anticipations. It had confidence in itself and its commander. The sentiment of the rank and file was devotion to the cause in which it desired to be led against the enemy, believing the days of disaster

and defeat had passed and that its banners would certainly lead to victory.

In its condition and prospects the President was deeply interested and spent a number of days with Hooker and in wandering through the camps alone. Wherever he went he created the wildest enthusiasm, always having a hearty shake of the hand and a warm "God bless you!" for the lowest in rank as well as the highest. On Monday, April 6, he reviewed General Stoneman's cavalry, accompanied by a brilliant assemblage of foreign ministers, their military attachés, and ladies and gentlemen from Washington. The passing of over thirteen thousand finely mounted, well equipped horsemen was a magnificent sight—one that has seldom, if before, been seen in this country. Tuesday was spent inspecting the camps of the army as far as possible.

I remember well the President's visit to our camp—that of the First Brigade, Second Division, Fifth Corps—the troops, to whom he made a charming little speech, forming three sides of a square to receive him. The "Regulars," being the *orphans* of the army, beyond the pale of "sanitary commission" and salvation—not even allowed chaplains—highly appreciated his visit and attentions. On Wednesday, the party of distinguished visitors reviewed four corps of infantry, including the Fifth, upon the plains near Falmouth, and in view of the enemy who were out in full force to witness it; not knowing what it augured.

The men appeared at their best, in dress, equipment, and discipline. It was one of the most perfect reviews ever witnessed in the Army of the Potomac. The marching was magnificent, the music grand. The Fifth Corps was under arms from 8 A.M. until 4 P.M.

On Thursday, April 9, the other three corps of infantry were reviewed; the artillery was reviewed with the infantry and cavalry with equally happy results, and President Lincoln returned to Washington, delighted with the great and wonderful improvement in the *morale* of the army; feeling that he had, at last, the right man in the right place. General Hooker had the *right* to be proud of the result of his efforts. In a little over two months he had brought the Army of the Potomac into discipline and efficiency from the very depths of demoralization, despondency, and despair.

O. O. Howard Miles.

THE OUTLOOK FOR 1886

[HISTORICAL JOTTINGS]

We are no longer appalled with gloomy forebodings in relation to the financial future of our country. Spring is opening upon us with a train of agreeable prospects;—not rainbow hues, merely, illusive and evanescent, but rifts of actual, tranquil light, which absorb slowly but surely the clouds of mist, and promise rest and gladness to the whole land. We have safely passed the season of election wrangles, and are upon the verge of an agreeable lull in the political world. No vital issues are at stake unless we except that of the silver dollar. Let us welcome the serenity of the situation and turn our attention to coming events. Let us expend our energies in legitimate channels of industry. The farmer may once more count upon income from soil well tilled. The mechanic may hope to find a ready market for his wares. The merchant may look for fresh activity in every branch of trade. The capitalist may bring forth his hoarded and hidden treasures without fear, and distribute them for a revenue and a blessing. The scholar may indulge in books, and find in the study of the past an incentive for new enterprises, and the wisdom to guide in their successful conduct. The statesman may retire from the strife of parties and concentrate his powers upon the increase of our foreign commerce, the revival of manufacturing interests, the development of Western territories, the improvement of municipal governments, more thorough methods of education, the progress of art and of science, the growth of a national literature, and many another useful theme. We have no longer any excuse for standing about idle. Prosperity for the whole country is in full view, and may easily be reached by honest, intelligent, straightforward and practical industry. Every individual who has anything to do should give attention to the doing of it, and the doing of it well. Those who have nothing to do should immediately find some work within their capabilities, and let their faculties become absorbed in its details and reap their reward in its results. Economy has long been the text for much public and private eloquence, and it deserves the highest consideration. But now even economy should be made subservient to industry. If radical changes are to appear in the machinery of finance, they will be accelerated by heroic effort. The age of miracles has long since passed. Unused and rusty wheels will never start without extraneous forces, and, once in motion, they will not run without oil and human oversight. No matter how promising the outlook, it is individual exertion that is to save the life and preserve the health of the business world. Each one has a part to perform, and then history will repeat itself. We pin our faith to the abiding good sense of the American people, and expect even far better times in the near future than the present abundant signs of promise indicate.

MINOR TOPICS

BURNSIDE RELIEVED

LETTER FROM GENERAL WM. FARRAR SMITH.

Editor Magazine of American History :

The paper in your magazine for January entitled "From Burnside to Hooker," makes mention of my name in such connection that I request you if possible to find space in your columns for this short letter from me, with a brief correspondence between General Burnside and myself which alludes to some matters of interest other than personal.

Referring to the visit of Generals Newton and Cochrane to Washington on the 3d of December, 1862, I cannot now positively state that I did or did not know the purport of their visit.

I do know, however, that after the battle of Fredericksburg there was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with Burnside which was openly expressed. I thought at the time, and still think, it was fanned and industriously disseminated from the Center Grand Division of the Army of the Potomac, and I think the letter of President Lincoln to General Hooker, dated January 26, 1863, points to that fact in no ambiguous terms.

So far as my personal influence and conversation went, they were on the side of Burnside. Not that I did not properly estimate the lamentable deficiencies and vacillating character of General Burnside, but that I knew that if Burnside were relieved Hooker would supersede him. Hooker I knew would start out "to make a spoon," and I had no doubt would end by "spoiling a horn," and I was anxious that the Army of the Potomac should not be the "spoiled horn." The short and inglorious campaign of Chancellorsville justified my fears. During the Mud Campaign I gave to General Burnside my best energies, deeming zealous co-operation the only possible way by which to win success, or if not that, to prevent the destruction of the army. Before the movement began I called the general officers of the 6th Corps together and said to them that the only question before us was that of prompt and zealous obedience to orders emanating from proper authority, and that I should expect the 6th Corps to preserve its high reputation in the coming campaign, which would take the best efforts of all its members.

After the battle of Fredericksburg I went on one occasion to General Burnside with some suggestion. The general happened to be in one of his suspicious moods, and said that every one who came to him with advice had some personal interest

to subserve, and that therefore every night and after everything was quiet at head-quarters he sent for Robert and had a talk with him, feeling sure that then he was talking with one who had only his interests at heart. Robert was an old, devoted colored servant, who had been with Burnside for years, and then presided over the kitchen. I said nothing, but the thought came to me that perhaps Robert had assisted at the *pot pourri* served up to the army on the 13th of December.

From that time I contented myself with my own duties and made no suggestions.

After the orders for the move of the 20th of January had been published, General Franklin informed me that my command would lead the Left Grand Division in crossing the river. I at once went to examine the position selected for the crossing. To my dismay, I found that the place was one which General Lee might well have selected for himself, but had precisely the reverse characteristics from those we required. I made some forcible remarks to Colonel Comstock (still an officer of engineers and deservedly of high reputation), and was informed by him that General Burnside had himself selected the position and had silenced all criticism as to its fitness. Robert again came to my mind, but I spoke no further word on the subject. A short time before the pontoons were to be taken to the river bank General Burnside came to me and said that he was nearly crazy from anxiety and want of sleep, and I made him go into my tent and lie down, and I sat at the door of the tent to insure that he should not be disturbed. After some time he came out and expressed himself as having been refreshed by his nap. While he was resting the rain began to fall and I felt devoutly thankful, for I knew the campaign was ended. I do not think Burnside ever intended to cross without artillery and a bridge, for I have not the slightest recollection of any such intention, nor have I of any insubordination among the generals on that account. At any rate, no such exhibition took place in the Left Grand Division.

On the 23d of January, as General Franklin and myself were passing by General Burnside's head-quarters, on our way to our old camps, the general sent out and asked us to stop and lunch with him. I recollect he had a boned turkey, which some ardent admirer had sent to him from Rhode Island, which was particularly acceptable to General Franklin and myself, who had been for three days on very short commons. During the luncheon Burnside was fitful in his moods—at times gay and talkative, and relapsing into silence and apparent absent-mindedness. Waking up from one of these latter, he said : "You will presently hear of something that will astonish you all !" and this was repeated by him once or twice. Of course we did not ask what it was, but in a few days we found that General Order No. 8 had at that time been signed and was on its way to Washington for confirmation by the President, and in that order General Franklin and myself figured in no pleasant way.

I tried for over two years to get a letter from General Burnside stating his reasons for including me in that order. After the war had closed, I met him in Cincinnati, and the following correspondence was the result.

No. 1.—*Smith to Burnside.*

"Burnet House June 23rd 1865.

General Smith has been waiting a long time on General Burnside for a promised explanation as to the cause of General Smith's name appearing in Genl Order No 8 of '63. General Smith trusts that he is not mistaken in supposing that General Burnside has the leisure now which he was unable to find two years since in this very City.

P S General Smith trusts that this note will meet with prompt attention."

No. 2.—*Burnside to Smith.*

Cin. June 23rd '65

"Maj Genl W F Smith

Genl

Your note of this morning is at hand. In drafting the order to which you refer I relieved from duty with the A P some officers who I believed were incapable of giving that earnest support to an overland Campaign to Richmond which was so necessary to success. I believed that this incapacity resulted from the fact that they had no faith in the success of such a campaign, and had so expressed themselves openly to officers and formally to the Authorities at Washington. I deemed it proper to class you under that head and availed myself of the power then vested in me to order you to report to Adjt Genl for orders.

It may be proper to state that upon reflection and consultation I decided to take your name from the list, as I believed that notwithstanding your committal against the Campaign you would give your coöperation, and had I been allowed to issue Genl Order No 8 your name would not have appeared in it. When you first wrote to me upon this subject I prepared an answer as promised in which I referred to other subjects. For what I conceived to be good reasons I did not send the letter. Your declaration in your first letter that you did not regard me as a friend probably had some influence in keeping me silent ; and this letter is only written with a view to doing you the justice which I hope I am willing to do all men, and is in no sense an answer to the demandatory characteristic of your letter.

I bear you no malice and heartily wish you and yours health, happiness and prosperity but cannot see that my action was wrong however much I may regret having wounded the feelings of one who was valued by me as a friend.

Very truly, &c

A E Burnside."

No. 3.—*Smith to Burnside.*

"Burnet House Cin June 23rd 1865.

General

Your note has been received and I am obliged to you for the explicit charge you make against me in it viz : of being incapable of giving an earnest support to

an overland Campaign to Richmond. You class me under the head of officers who 'had so expressed themselves openly to officers and personally to the Authorities at Washington' and in that you are very gravely in error for I never directly or indirectly expressed to any of the Authorities in Washington my ideas about the plan of 'Campaign to Richmond' save in one letter to the President which you saw and from which I did not understand you to dissent. I do not wish to deny the power you exercised of relieving officers of any rank whatever whom you might have good reasons to deem as standing in the way of your success, but I wish to show you that in my case you did not exercise or attempt to exercise that power for good reasons or in a frank way. You and I had long been intimate friends and I had a right to expect perfect candor.

After the battle of Fredericksburg I was somewhat alone in the efforts made in your defense and I had plenty of occasions to labor in your behalf. I am not wrong I think in saying that during this time the old friendly and confidential relations were maintained between us after that battle. No thought ever occurred to me but to give you the best support in my power whatever might be your plan of Campaign. In your second effort to cross the Rappahannock (I think I am not wrong in saying) my command (the 6th Corps) was the only portion of your entire army that was in its designated place at the appointed time. Did that look like anything else than a disposition to do my best as a soldier, or did it show me incapable of giving you an earnest support. When you were about to give up that effort as fruitless you came to my tent partook of my hospitality and slept upon my bed while I stood sentinel at the door to keep you from being disturbed. If you had then any fault to find with me was it not due to me to tell me of it and to say if necessary that you must relieve me from command; and was it proper to hold that idea and say nothing to me of it and still accept my friendly services?

On my return to my old camp, two days after, I stopped at your Head Quarters and was then feasted by you and still no lisp of want of confidence or any other ground of complaint against me and yet at that very time order No 8 was on its way to Washington stabbing me without your saying so much as "*en garde.*"

I parted from you then with no other feeling in my heart towards you than had been there for nearly twenty years and no suspicion of any change in yours and soon after I heard that you had deliberately attempted to disgrace me in the eyes of the Army and in the country. Could you expect that I would after that consider you as a friend, and did I not have a perfect right to know on what pretense you put my name in that order? I write at this time not that you could now under any circumstances right the wrong you did me, but that I think it is due to myself to put this plain statement before you after the reception of your note.

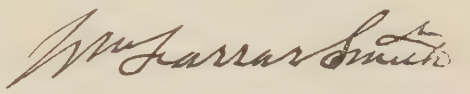
Taking these things into consideration it is rather surprising that you do not bear me malice. I do not know what you mean by the 'demandatory characteristic' of my letter but I can assure you that I have never for one moment aban-

doned the idea of getting from you some explanation of your conduct and of setting it before you in its true light.

This happens to be the first time we have met since on an equal footing."

Wm F Smith

I commend to those who desire to get a clear insight into General Burnside's character, without much labor, a careful reading of his letter.



ANTHONY WAYNE AT GREEN SPRING, 1781

HIS OWN ACCOUNT OF THE ACTION

The following is a letter addressed by General Wayne to Governor Reed and General Irvine, giving an account of the action at Green Spring:

Chicohominy Church 8 miles from Jamestown, 8th July, 1781.

"After a variety of marches and countermarches, frequently offering battle to Lord Cornwallis upon military terms, which he cautiously declined, the Marquis Lafayette received intelligence on the 5th that the enemy had marched from Williamsburg to Jamestown, and were preparing to throw their baggage and troops over that river. This induced the General to make a forward move to this place with the Continental troops, including Major Macpherson's Legion, together with a few Voluntary dragoons under Colonel Mercer and Captain Hill; the vicinity of which to the enemy would put it into his power to strike their rear, should the passage of the James be their principle. On the morning of the 6th, several corroborating advices arrived, removing every doubt upon that head, and nothing but a forced march with the lightest and most advanced part of the troops would probably arrive in time to effect their rear. This induced the Marquis to order the advanced guard, Major Macpherson's, Colonel Mercer's, and Captain Hill's corps, 150 riflemen, with Colonel Stewart's battalion of Pennsylvanians, amounting in the whole to about five hundred men, dragoons and artillery included, to make a forward move under my conduct and endeavor to come up with the enemy.

"Upon our arrival at the Green Spring Farm, a variety of contradictory intelligence rendered it prudent to reconnoitre them with a military eye. Their vast superiority in horse, also, made it expedient to advance the whole of our little corps to drive in their guards and keep their cavalry in check. About this period the Marquis arrived in person, and adopted the manœuvre which, being effected, it was soon discovered that a very considerable part of their army yet remained on this side of the river, ready formed for action, in front of their encampment. This induced the General to send for the remainder of the Continentals, distant five or

six miles in our rear. At 2 o'clock, P.M., a large smoke was raised by the enemy, probably as a signal to their parties to return to camp, and for all such as had crossed the river to repass it.—At three o'clock, the riflemen commenced and kept up a galling fire upon the enemy, which continued until five in the afternoon, when the British began to move forward in columns; upon which Major Galvan, at the head of the advanced guard, attacked them, and, after a spirited though unequal contest, retired upon our left. A detachment of the Light Infantry under Major Willis having arrived also, commenced a severe fire, but were obliged to fall back, which the enemy observing, and beginning to turn our flanks, a manœuvre in which, had they persevered, they must inevitably have penetrated between this corps and the other part of the army; but being joined at this crisis by Colonel Harmar and Major Edwards, with part of the Second and Third Pennsylvania regiments under Colonel Humpton, with one field piece, *it was determined among a choice of difficulties to advance and charge them*, although numbering more than five times our force [as did the intrepid De Kalb at Camden, 1780.] This was done with so much spirit as to produce the desired effect, *i. e.*, checking them in their advance, and diverting them from their *first* manœuvre. But being enveloped by numbers, many brave and worthy officers and soldiers killed or wounded, we found expedient to fall back one half mile to *Green Spring Farm*. Two of our field pieces which were necessarily introduced under Captain Duffee, to keep up the idea of our being in force, were served with equal spirit and effect, until disabled by having many of the men with Captain Crosby wounded, and all the horses killed, at last fell into their hands; the wagons and ammunition were saved. The enemy, sore from the contest, and finding us supported at that place by the remainder of the Light Infantry, were content with barely keeping the field, although opposed but by a handful of men compared with theirs, and which, from the numbers of the enemy and the nature of the ground, were obliged to act in a detached manner, except that part of the Pennsylvania Line that had time to arrive, whose numbers did not exceed five hundred. From the mutual emulation in the officers and men of each corps, I am confident, that had the army been in force, victory would have inclined to our arms. However, every circumstance considered, our small reconnoitring party of horse and foot, who had the hardiness to engage Lord Cornwallis at the head of the whole British army, with the advantage of a powerful cavalry, on their own ground, and in their own camp, are more to be envied than pitied on this occasion, and I trust that, in an equal contest, we shall produce a conviction to the world that we deserve success. Inclosed is a return of the killed, wounded, and missing. Our field officers were generally dismounted, by having their horses either killed or wounded under them. I will not attempt to discriminate between, or pass an eulogium upon, the conduct of any corps, of officers or men. I shall only say, if they have a fault, it is an excess of bravery—which, if a crime, it is of a nature the least to be reprehended in a soldier. I have the honor to be, with much esteem,

A. Wayne."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM WASHINGTON, MRS. WASHINGTON, PICKERING, FAIRFAX, AND PATRICK HENRY

Communicated by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.

Washington to Charles Lee, Esq., Alexandria.

Mount Vernon Sept 20th 1790

Dear Sir; I have duly received your letter of the 12th

About Six hundred dollars may supply my wants between this and my arrival in Philadelphia—at present I have no immediate call.

Mrs Washington and myself during our stay at this place will at all times be glad to see Mrs Lee and yourself, and other friends and acquaintances without ceremony,

I am dear Sir

Your most Obdt Hble Servt

Geo Washington

War Office August 17 1798,

Some shirts and shoes having arrived from Virginia for the use of ye troops of that state, as we understood, and information having been received that multitudes of soldiers were greatly distressed for want of those articles upon the application of the Clothier General concerning them Mr Peters and I advised him to send them to camp, to be issued to the Virginia troops only; & I recollect my giving this reason for my opinion,—That if the Virginia troops were provided for there would be a greater number of the other furnished out of ye common stock,

Tim Pickering.

Dear Sir;

I have wrote by Coll George Mason to Mr Anthony to pay to Mr Bland on your account the sum of £36. 10s. 6d he will deliver the Letter himself; when you write to Mr Bland you may acquaint him thereof. the other incident charge—when I have the pleasure of seeing you I will myself discharge;

Your Friends are here in good Health, we are drinking your & Mrs Lee's Health.

I remain

Yours

Fairfax.

We have begun Haying

To Charles Lee Esqr.

Council Chamber Feby 6th 1786.

Sir, The Act of the last Session of Assembly for better securing the Revenues of Customs being framed for the Express Purpose of Detecting the many frauds which have of late been practiced to the Prejudice of the state, and Directing the Appointment of Searchers, as well as the Equipment of Vessells to prevent the like frauds in the future, I am to request you to give me full information of the manner in which the Business of entering Cargoes and Accounting for Duties is now conducted. In Particular I wish to know in what manner the Value of Goods is fixed? by whom and at what time? In what Particular does it appear the Laws have been most Defective and what Circumstance has been the most Productive of the abuse mentioned in the Law. From your acquaintance with the subject it is Probably in your power to Suggest some method to prevent the Illicit practices Complained of. If any such Occur I shall be Obliged to you to Suggest it to me as soon as Possible.

I am
Sir
Yr
Very Obt Servt
P Henry.

Mount Vernon August the 7th 1784

My Dear Fanny,

Tho' I have never been alone since you left this yet I can say but I have missed your company very much The general is still determined to set out the first of next month over the mountains.

I have not heard anything from my Brother wheather he will be up before the General goes or not. I expect to come to see him sometime in September. I shall not fix the time until I hear from you or him.

Mr Stuart is getting better. your stays and other things came from annapolis the sunday after you left this. I have payed Mrs Charles Stuart the money she payed the mantu maker £3.2.6. I will keep or bring them down as you think you may want them I think miss Ramsay was married before you left this. we have nothing new that I hear off. my little nelly is getting well and Tut is the same claver boy you left him—he sometimes says why dont you send for cousin—you know he never makes himself unhappy about absent friends.

Remember me to all Friends with you, the General had a letter from your pappa by the last post that never mentioned you or any other person—the letter was dated at richmond I should have been glad to have heard where you was.

If you should see my Brother remember me to him and Family my love to your Brothers. my compliments to your pappa in which the General joins me.

I am my dear Fanny
your most affectionate
Martha Washington

NOTES

College-bred presidents—The education of our Presidents is an interesting study. Twelve of the twenty-one before President Cleveland were college graduates, and one of these took a post-graduate course. Williams and Mary College furnished three Presidents, although only two graduated. Thomas Jefferson, at seventeen, entered the Junior class; he was considered very wild during the first year, but as a Senior he became a faithful student. John Tyler, Williams and Mary, 1807, delivered at Commencement a very able oration, on "Female Education." James Monroe entered Freshman, at Williams and Mary when sixteen, but left to join the army after the Declaration of Independence.

Harvard graduated two Presidents: John Adams, in 1755, and John Quincy Adams, who attended the University of Leyden, and, in 1788, entered the Junior class. He was graduated with second honors and delivered an oration on "The Importance of Public Faith to the Well-being of a Community." Princeton sent forth James Madison, who was a very faithful student and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1771. He then took a post graduate course under Dr. Witherspoon. James K. Polk was graduated from the University of North Carolina, with second honors, in 1818, having entered as a Sophomore. Franklin Pierce was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1824. James Buchanan, from Dickinson College (Pennsylvania), in 1809. Ulysses S. Grant, from West Point in 1843, ranking twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine. Rutherford B. Hayes was the valedictorian at Kenyon College (Ohio), in 1842. James A. Garfield graduated at Williams, in 1856, winning the metaphysical honor; and Chester A. Arthur, from Union College, in 1848.

G. M. Pavey

Dr. daniel g. brinton, of Philadelphia, has been announced as laureate of the *Société Américaine de France*, for 1885, and has been awarded the medal of the society, for his works on the Aboriginal languages of America.

Canadian roads in 1825—In the recently published work of Canniff Haight, *Country Life in Canada, Fifty Years Ago*, we read as follows: "In 1825, William L. Mackenzie described the road between York and Kingston, as among the worst that human foot ever trod, and down to the latest day before the railroad era, the travelers in the Canadian stage-coach were lucky, if, when a hill had to be ascended, or a bad spot passed, they had not to alight and trudge ankle-deep through the mud. The rate at which it was possible to travel in stage-coaches depended on the elements. In spring, when the roads were water-choked and rut-gullied, the rate might be reduced to two miles an hour for several miles on the worst sections. The coaches were liable to be imbedded in the mud, and the passengers had to dismount and assist in prying them out by means of rails obtained from the fences."

Samuel meredith was born in the year 1741. He was a major in General Cadwalader's Philadelphia battalion, which assisted General Washington in 1776–77, at Trenton and Princeton;

and after the march to Morristown in 1777 was commissioned a brigadier-general. Gilbert Stuart executed a miniature of Washington for him after the Revolution, in 1795, which was for a long time in possession of the family, and is mentioned in Stuart's biography. Samuel Meredith was also a member of the Continental Congress and the Colonial Legislature of Pennsylvania. He held for a short time the office of Surveyor of the port of Philadelphia. In 1789, Washington appointed him first Treasurer of the United States. Thomas Jefferson wrote Mr. Meredith a letter of regret and recommendation, upon his resignation of the office of Treasurer, in 1801, after twelve years of active service, during a most important and critical period of national history.

Reese Meredith, the father of Samuel, was an Englishman by birth, like Robert Morris and many other American citizens of that day. His silver service was marked with the crest of the Merediths, an old Welsh family of ancient lineage. It was a lion rampant collared and chained. The family in Ireland, called Meredyth, and Lord Athlumney, have the same crest at the present time. The name, I believe, was originally Meredydd. They were related to the Llewellyns of Wales. Others, as Gen. Meredith Read, trace the line back to a very remote origin. Mr. Meredith was president of the Welsh Society for the Promotion of Emigration to America. He has been described as a gentleman of elegant appearance and military bearing, indicative of wealth and culture. George Clymer, his brother-in-law, was largely associated with him in business enterprises. They undertook, in the early part of this century to engross, or purchase for speculation, immense tracts of land in Pennsylvania and other States. Belmont was laid out as the manor tract of the Merediths, in Wayne County, Pennsylvania. This same rage for land speculation ruined Robert Morris; and Samuel Meredith, if not ruined, was greatly disappointed in his plans. The property, if successfully managed, would have yielded a most noble heritage to his descendants. Even in 1800 the estate was valued at over $150,000. But later investments turned out badly. In closing, it is sufficient to say that the subject of this sketch died at his country seat, Belmont, after a painful illness, in February, 1817. The very tract of land in which he and his wife lie buried has passed from possession of the family. Two moldy tombstones barely mark the spot of interment, and time ere long must obliterate every vestige even of these. Thomas Meredith, the only son of the first Treasurer, was a man of splendid abilities. T. M. M.

New York, *December* 25, 1885.

QUERIES

Death of Washington—Wanted—The titles and collations of any funeral sermons, orations, music, or broadsides relating to the death of Washington, not included in Hough's List. P. L. F.

Brooklyn, New York.

Negro soldiers—*Editor Magazine of American History:* Were there any negroes enlisted as soldiers in the Confederate Army during the Civil War?

"Natchze"

BATTLE OF CULLODEN—Can you or any of your readers inform me when news of the Battle of Culloden (which was fought April 11, 1746, o. s.) reached this country, by what vessel, and at what port?

August 14, 1746, was observed here "as a day of general thanksgiving for the glorious and happy victory near Culloden." S. P. M.

NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON, THE SIGNER—Can any of your readers give me answers to the following queries concerning the above? Where dates are asked for *full dates* are required, as I know the *year* in each case:

I. Dates of entry at Yale College, Connecticut, and dates when graduated of Philip, and of his brothers Peter, Van Brugh, John, and William respectively? Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston* only gives the years when graduated, except in the case of William, when he also gives the date of entry as 1737.

II. Date of election as Alderman of the City of New York?

III. Date of election or elections to the New York House of Assembly?

IV. Date when appointed Speaker?

Also any particulars concerning his eldest son Philip P. Livingston, who is said by Holgate to have removed to Jamaica, W. I., and his wife Sarah Johnston? I am particularly anxious to find out dates of birth, marriage, and death of above couple; also date of husband's settlement in Jamaica, W. I.? Had Philip, the Signer, any other children besides those mentioned by Holgate?

E. BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON,
22 Great Street: Helens,
London, E. C., England.

THE answer to the II., III. and IVth of the above queries is as follows: Livingston was elected Alderman of the City of New York in September, 1754, and held the office by successive re-elections until 1763. He was first elected to the New York Assembly in January, 1759. He was appointed Speaker at its last session in 1769. EDITOR

MILITARY BANDS—Were there any military bands in the American or British Armies during the Revolution other than fife and drum corps?

"BLACK WATCH"

ALTOWAN, or Incidents of Life and Adventure in the Rocky Mountains—Who was the writer? The work was edited in 1846 by J. Watson Webb. The author was the second son of one of the most ancient families in Great Britain, whose paternal castle, dating from 1604, seems to have been near "Birnam Wood," but his name was withheld by Webb. In 1832 this nobleman went up the Missouri with the great St. Louis fur-trader, Ashley, to the Yellowstone. Parting there with Ashley, he continued his course to the Pacific escorted by a small band of hired *voyageurs*. Nor did he return to St. Louis till after an absence of three and a half years. Some time afterwards he revisited the great West, where he made many sketches from which paintings were executed by our countryman Miller. Who wrote *Altowan?*

JAMES D. BUTLER
MADISON, WISCONSIN.

GOWNS AND WIGS—Did the judges in New York ever wear gowns and wigs either in colonial times or since?

OSGOODE HALL

THE DONGAN FAMILY—Where can I find a complete genealogy of the Dongan Family, of which Thomas Dongan, the New York Governor, was a member?

MOBILE

GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAR, an aide of Washington and colonel of his dragoons in the War of Independence; I see he has a *tablet* set apart to his memory by the Catholic Historical Society, in the Centennial Grounds of Philadelphia (in the "Temperance Fountain," I think they call it), but I have no data of his biography except a few "*items*," scattering and incomplete. What is known of this noble American soldier?

S. M. BIRD

GALVESTON, TEXAS.

REPLIES

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER IN DUTCH [xv. 94.]—I have read with much interest the article by B., in "Notes," in January number of the Magazine. There is no reason for supposing that the Dutch translation of the Book of Common Prayer was used in any congregation outside of the "Chappel in St. James." The edition which B describes is rare, and Mr. Gulian Verplank, in writing of it to John Romeyn Brodhead, the historian, speaks of the copy secured for the New York State Library as "a great curiosity." In the Library of the Van Cortlandt Manor House is a copy of an older edition, also bearing the *Imprimatur* of the Bishop of London. It is entirely in the Dutch language, with the exception of the "Approbation" and the Preface, and was printed in "London by Jan Hendrik Schuller, 1704." In the edition of 1711, of which B. writes, it will be noticed that the Bishop *reiterates* his approbation. Mr. Brodhead calls the first edition "an unique copy of this priceless gem." A notice of this book may be found in "Secretan's "Life of John Nelson," the devout author of "The Fasts of the Church of England."

C.

"WASHINGTON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN" [xv. 71.]—Mr. Chapman makes the following statement: "Vanbraam seems to have thrown in his lot with the French, and did not afterwards return to Virginia." I am sure Mr. Chapman will be glad to have this corrected, and to know that Washington did not suspect him of disloyalty, as will appear from the following note of R. A. Brock, Esq., the able editor of the *Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. I., p. 51: "He [Van Braam] was retained in captivity until the surrender of Montreal, in September, 1760, when he returned to Virginia. His services were recognized in the allotment by George Washington as Commissioner of Virginia, of 9,000 acres of land in 1771; and July 14, 1777, he was made Major of the 30th Battalion of the 60th Foot, or Royal Americans, then stationed in the West Indies."

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA, *Dec.* 26, 1885.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At its annual meeting, held on Tuesday evening, January 5, 1886, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year : Benjamin H. Field, president ; Hamilton Fish, first vice-president ; John A. Weekes, second vice-president ; William M. Evarts, foreign corresponding secretary ; Edward F. De Lancey, domestic corresponding secretary ; Andrew Warner, recording secretary ; Robert Schell, treasurer ; Jacob B. Moore, librarian.

The annual reports were read, and the Executive Committee announced the publication of volume xiii. of the collections of the Society. The Executive Committee further announced to the Society and the citizens of New York, who are interested in the Society's welfare, that a generous friend had deposited with the Central Trust Company the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of a site and the erection of a much-needed building, suitable for the purposes of the institution—subject to the condition that the further sum of three hundred thousand dollars should be secured therefor within two years from November 30 1885.

This Society is without debts or encumbrance, without mortgages on its buildings or collections, and with a balance in the treasury. It was founded some fourscore years ago, by public-spirited men, and the number, character, and value of its accumulated collections have secured for it an influence, second to that of no other similar institution in the country. Among scholars, the library enjoys the highest character, and while the museum will bear a favorable comparison with those of Europe, where its excellence is well known, the magnitude, historical importance, and great artistic merit of the gallery of art distinguish it as the largest and most valuable of the permanent collections yet exhibited on this continent.

The Committee believe that the notably liberal as well as successful citizens of the metropolis, will emphasize by their substantial aid their approval of the Society's purpose of providing in its new edifice a permanent home of art and learning, which will be an influential agent for the instruction and enjoyment of the public, a favorite resort for the cultivated and refined, and an ornament and honor to the city of New York.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on the evening of November 17, 1885. Hon. E. B. Washburne presided. The librarian, Albert D. Hager, submitted his annual report showing an accession of 2,709 bound books and 4,532 unbound books for the year, which, added to former accessions, make a total 12,024 bound books and 35,388 pamphlets. Of these 1,308 books were purchased with the income from the "Lucretia Pond Fund." The librarian also reported that during the year he had had 795 volumes bound at an expense of $760.15, of which 314 were newspaper files, and a large per centage of the remainder were publications of literary, scientific, and sister societies.

From the treasurer's report it was shown that the entire expenditures for

the year, including salaries, bills for binding books, taxes, etc., were $1,869.86. The balance in the treasury was $725.30.

Hon. Thomas Drummond, in behalf of the family of the late Isaac N. Arnold, presented an oil portrait of Mr. Arnold, late president of the Society, which President Washburne accepted with appropriate remarks.

Mr. E. G. Mason, for the Executive Committee, made report of the two trust funds of the late Jonathan Burr and Miss Lucretia Pond. The former, amounting to $2,000, is safely invested, and there is an income of $120 in the treasury, which will be used to defray the expense of the Society's publication. The Lucretia Pond fund is also safely invested, and at the commencement of the fiscal year there were $971.96 on hand. Amount since received, $810, making $1,781.96. Of this amount $1,400.53 have been expended for books during the year.

Hon. A. H. Burley, one of the trustees of the "Gilpin Fund," made report, showing that the total amount of that fund was $71,279.67. An election of officers for the ensuing year was held, and the following persons were elected: Hon. E. B. Washburne, president; Edward G. Mason, first vice-president; A. C. McClurg, second vice-president; Henry H. Nash, treasurer; Albert D. Hager, secretary and librarian; Mark Skinner and D. K. Pearsons, members of the Executive Committee, to serve till 1889.

Wyoming historical and geological society, Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. The quarterly meeting of this Society was held December 11, 1885—Hon. Edmund L. Dana, president, in the chair Among the donations to the Society was a portrait of the Chevalier de la Luzerne (from whom Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, was named), from Hon. Eckley B. Coxe. A brief paper of historical notes on the Chevalier was read by Mr. A. H. McClintock. A very interesting paper on the early history of Dallas township, was read by the author, Mr. Wm. Penn Ryman.

The maine historical society—Among the valuable papers read at the meeting of this Society, December 23, was one by Mr. Thayer on the Popham Colony, which proved to be a thorough collation and discussion of all the evidence concerning the voyage, the landfall, the settlement, the misfortunes, and the final dispersion of this famous colony. At the evening session, Mr. E. H. Elwell read a paper on the British view of the Ashburton Treaty, showing that the British statesmen, privately, were greatly pleased with the result of the negotiation, believing that they had overreached the American diplomatists.

The president, Mr. Bradbury, spoke of a circumstance which had come under his own observation. By the Ashburton Treaty the contracting governments agreed to indemnify those settlers along the newly defined border whose titles might be invalidated by the provisions of the treaty. When State surveys were made in 1845, the State of Maine promptly gave to the settlers on this side of the border who held their lands under English grants, deeds to secure their titles. This assumption by the

State of debts payable by the United States was afterwards, through Mr. Bradbury's efforts, recognized by Congress, and a bill granting Maine a moderate recompense was passed.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its meeting on the 29th of December, President Gammell in the chair, listened to an able and interesting paper from George C. Mason, Jr., of New York, Secretary of the American Institute of Architects, the subject of which was: "Apprenticeship and the Manual Training System." He said: "As a people, the citizens of the United States are progressive, and possess in a marked degree those qualities which combine to push men forward, out and above humble surroundings, to positions of influence and distinction. The rapidity with which men have frequently risen and accumulated wealth in all conditions in life, is calculated to inspire their youthful followers with a similar ambition; but it also serves to unbalance the minds of the weaker aspirants who fail to realize that behind the halo surrounding successful achievements lies a back-ground of hard, self-sacrificing labor, when as apprentice, journeyman, foreman, and master builder, the wealthy contractor laid the foundation of his success, enabling him, when the opportunity for distinction came, to grasp the chance with a hand trained to execute, and a mind fitted to command the obedience and respect of his assistants. The paths by which the elder mechanics attained their skill and knowledge are now practically obsolete and must be looked upon as forming a chapter in the history of the past.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEWBURGH BAY AND THE HIGHLANDS, held a meeting on the evening of December 9, on which occasion Mr. E. M. Ruttenber read an interesting and exhaustive paper on the military organizations in that section of the State. He said, after mentioning some distinctively New York Continental regiments, that there were others in which the State was largely represented—notably, what were known as the Canadian regiments and Colonel Lamb's and Colonel Stevens' artillery, the former, though recruited under Washington, being composed almost wholly of New York men and so credited. "And it may be added, that whatever the organization, the men in all the Revolutionary regiments of New York were almost wholly drawn from the belt of the Hudson valley, from the Highlands to Lake Champlain—for south of the Highlands the British had possession—although some excellent officers and men, McDougal, Hamilton, Lamb, and others, were drawn from New York city in the early stages of the war. The West, we all know, was sparsely settled and filled with savage British allies. It has been stated, and no doubt with truth, that in the belt of country which I have described in general terms, every male inhabitant capable of bearing arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, was in the field, for long or short periods." The subject being one of general interest the Society may be congratulated on having within call men of such acknowledged ability to aid in the preservation of the history of the region. It is pleasing to learn that so many are interested in these historical researches, the value of which cannot be over-estimated.

BOOK NOTICES

COUNTRY LIFE IN CANADA fifty years ago: Personal Recollections and Reminiscences of a Sexagenarian. By CANNIFF HAIGHT. Crown 8vo, pp. 303. 1885. Hunter, Rose & Co., Toronto, Canada.

This volume is one of surpassing interest. The author has drawn a vivid pen picture of life in the Canadian country, which brings us into the closest relation with the people of half a century ago. We learn of their corn huskings, raisings, and quilting-bees, of their sugar and cider making, of their sheep-washing, pigeon shooting and coon hunting, with moving accidents by flood and field. The book is enlivened by anecdotes, and presented in a style of such felicity that there is not a dull page from cover to cover. At the same time it abounds with priceless information on innumerable subjects. "Carriages," writes Mr. Haight, "were not kept, for the simple reason that the farmers seldom had occasion to use them. He rarely went from home, and when he did he mounted his horse or drove in his lumber-wagon to market or to meeting. He usually had one or two wagon-chairs, as they were called, which would hold two persons very comfortably. These were put in the wagon and a buffalo skin thrown over them, and then the vehicle was equipped for the Sunday drive. There was a light wagon kept for the old people to drive about in, the box of which rested on the axles. The seat, however, was secured to wooden springs, which made it somewhat more comfortable to ride in. Musical instruments were almost unknown except by name. A stray fiddler, as I have said elsewhere, was about the only musician that ever delighted the ear of young or old in those days. I do not know that there was a piano in the Province." The author tells us of the early schools, newspapers, and churches; of banks, insurance, and telegraph companies; and of the progress of roads, stages, and steamboats The work is well illustrated, and a fine portrait of the author forms the frontispiece.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN BROWN. Liberator of Kansas and Martyr of Virginia. Edited by F. B. SANBORN. 16mo, pp. 645. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

To a hardheaded and practical generation of readers, Mr. Sanborn's assertion that his hero "believed himself to be, in fact was divinely inspired," comes with a certain not altogether acceptable suggestion of fanaticism. Indeed it is the only possible ground upon which the most thrilling events in the "grizzly fighter's" career can be justified. Justification, however, is not Mr. Sanborn's principal aim. In a casual way, to be sure, the reader feels that every act of the hero is fully justified in the author's own belief, but it is because he was in the hands of an overruling Providence. It was destiny that saved his life during the deadly border-feuds that made Kansas a free State. It was destiny rather than John Brown that ordered "the Pottawattomie executions," as Mr. Sanborn calls them. The task of editing John Brown's correspondence with such convictions regarding the inspired frame of their author must have been congenial. In themselves the letters are not particularly entertaining, though in many of them there shines out that uncultured literary aptitude which no amount of practice can bestow upon one who has not "the gift." Upon the most conspicuous event in Brown's life—the capture of Harper's Ferry and the subsequent trial and execution—it does not seem to us that much new light is thrown. All the proceedings after the blow was struck became public property in a few hours, and although the telegraphic and press facilities were not so great then as they are now, every succeeding incident up to the time of the execution was fully exploited in the newspapers. There is, however, much that is new concerning the period of concealment in Virginia which preceded the final outbreak. The letters written during this time of peril are full of interest and afford glimpses of the large and tender heart of the stern reformer, which no amount of fine writing could by any means approach. We have tried in vain to fancy the frame of mind in which a "reconstructed rebel" would read this book. We doubt if there are any such who are capable of detecting the true nobility of soul which lay at the foundation of this "Martyr's" character. To Southrons he must always remain the symbolic figure of ultra abolitionism, and, as such, his memory must in the nature of things be execrated. To those of us, however, who have marched into battle to the tune that bears the old hero's name there is a certain sacredness in the association. Fanatic as he was—wrongheaded as he was, he laid down his life gallantly and unhesitatingly in a cause which he believed to be just, and which finally triumphed. Mr. Sanborn's book as it seems to us might have been better arranged so as to lend a more accurate and probably a more picturesque sequence to events, but it must forever remain the final source of information regarding the private life and character of "Ossawatomie Brown."

THE FIRST NAPOLEON. A sketch, Political and Military. By JOHN CODMAN ROPES. 12mo, pp. 347. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

"It was no soldier's ambition that carried the great conqueror from Madrid to Moscow." Such is the text with which the author of the volume before us starts out upon the much traveled literary roads that follow the course of the First Empire. The idea is not altogether a new one. A generation ago admirers of Napoleon alleged that all his armies could be traced through Europe simply by following the lines of greatest intelligence. This phase of the Napoleonic era however has not been so voluminously discussed as its opposite, and Mr. Ropes may fairly lay claim to certain recognition, not as an actual pioneer, but as an enterprising explorer where the trails are not very well worn. The French Revolution, he admits, had a mission, and gave better governments to Western Europe than they had enjoyed before. But he holds that these populations were by no means ready for self-government, and that to confer civil rights upon the peasantry and the bourgeois was in the nature of things impracticable. The bloody history of the Napoleonic wars he thinks was in the nature of an irrepressible conflict between liberty and despotism, with the great leader on the side of liberty. He asserts his belief that Napoleon's aim was "the establishment of a sort of federative Union under the protection of France, of the states lying west of the Elbe, the Tyrol and the Adriatic, which should accept the modern ideas of equality and toleration, and which were thenceforth to be free to mould their institutions in accordance with the views of an enlightened policy accommodated to the growing political capacity of the populations from the direction of Berlin, St. Petersburg or Vienna." To most readers of history the idea is unfamiliar that had Napoleon succeeded he would have gone down to posterity as an apostle of human liberty. In supposing this theory there are, as may be inferred, sundry difficulties to be overcome or circumvented. Mr. Ropes engages these with a clear comprehension of their force, and certainly makes a very good showing for his side of what will soon be a century-old question. The author of this volume is already well known to the reading public as having written "The Army under Pope," one of the best of the Messrs. Scribners' admirable series—"Campaigns of the Civil War." Since Mr. Dorsey Gardner's "Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo," we do not recall any contribution to the literature of this controversy so well worth the attention of general readers as the present volume. It is suggestive, able, clear, and earnest, and as such commands attention on its own merits.

THE DAWNING. A Novel. 16mo, pp. 382. Boston: Lee & Sheppard. 1886.

There is a great deal of dialogue in this anonymous novel, a great deal of reaching forth toward the better state of things, which we all hope for, but which seems so very remote. These novels with a purpose, and that purpose the righting of the wrongs of the laboring classes, mean something. They show, however they may fail in setting the literary world on fire, that the tendency is toward the light. We can recall half a dozen novels with a like theme which have appeared within a twelvemonth, and it is but now that we hear of the largely increased subscription list of a metropolitan journal that has recently made the cause of labor its own. We cannot accord very high praise to *The Dawning* as a literary effort. The author's spirit is willing, but his or her strength seems hardly adequate to the self-imposed task.

THE SILENT SOUTH, together with the Freedman's Case in Equity and the Convict System. By GEORGE W. CABLE. With portrait. 12mo, pp. 180. 1885. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"The greatest social problem before the American people to-day," says Mr. Cable, "is, as it has been for a hundred years, the presence of the negro. No comparable entanglement was ever drawn round itself by any other modern nation with so serene a disregard of its ultimate issue, or with a more distinct national responsibility. The African slave was brought here by cruel force, and with everybody's consent except his own. Everywhere the practice was favored as a measure of common aggrandizement. When a few men and women protested they were mobbed in the public interest with the public consent. There rests, therefore, a moral responsibility on the whole nation never to lose sight of the results of African slavery until they cease to work mischief and injustice." With this comprehensive text the volume opens. Mr. Cable having embodied his two recent essays upon the social and political status of the negro under one general title. He writes with much force, asking the significant question, "Is the freedman a free man?" and giving the terse answer "No." He shows how "slavery first brought war upon the land, and then grafted into the citizenship of one of the most intelligent nations in the world six millions of people from one of the most debased races on the globe." But he does not in either essays invade the domain of social privileges. In discussing "the right to rule," he says: "It is not the right to oppress. It is not the right to decree who may or not earn any status within the reach of his proper powers. In America to rule is to serve."

The convict-lease system in the Southern States, an essay first printed in 1883, occupies

sixty-seven pages, concluding the volume. Mr. Cable's arguments are in many instances unanswerable. The system in its practice defeats its purposes, and is brutally cruel. It has not one redeeming feature. As the author pertinently declares: "Every system is liable to mismanagement, but there are systems under which mismanagement is without excuse and may be impeached and punished. The lease system is itself the most atrocious mismanagement."

McCLELLAN'S LAST SERVICE TO THE REPUBLIC, together with a Tribute to his Memory. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. 12mo, pp. 150. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Three of the papers comprised in this volume originally appeared in the *North American Review*, and then attracted a full share of attention. The fourth, a worthy tribute to the noble character of the deceased soldier, was published in one of the metropolitan journals immediately after General McClellan's death. These papers come before the public with an unusual guarantee of trustworthiness. That they are from the pen of a near personal friend of General McClellan, will detract from their value only in the eyes of his enemies, and the few who still cherish the personal animosities of the last generation. Those who appreciate the native nobility of McClellan's character, whatever may be their opinion of his generalship, will read these essays and the author's tribute to his friend's memory, with a deep interest. That General McClellan was unwarrantably interfered with by Mr. Lincoln and his advisers when in command of the Army of the Potomac, probably few disinterested persons will now deny, and the magnanimity with which, after having been cruelly set aside, he came to the rescue of the army and of the capital, must ever be remembered with gratitude by his countrymen. Anything from the pen of Mr. Curtis is worth reading for its own sake, and his subject in the present instance calls out his best powers as an essayist. It would seem that the fates conspired to keep General McClellan's fame in the background, for his death occurred so soon after that of General Grant, that the one event somewhat cast the other into the shade. The phenomenal success of General Grant's book, too, tends to overshadow other works bearing upon the civil war and the actors in its mighty drama. Nevertheless this tribute to an essentially noble and patriotic soldier deserves a worthy welcome from intelligent readers.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. XIII. For the year 1880. 8vo, pp. 489. Publication Fund Series. New York: Printed for the Society.

Some miscellaneous papers of unusual interest are to be found in this volume. The trials by Court-Martial of Generals Schuyler, Howe, and St. Clair, together with the Journal and Correspondence of the British Commissary, Rainsford, are reproduced as among the most important documents of the War of Independence. Another document, "the Case of William Atwood, 1703," which occupies seventy-eight pages, is almost unknown to our historians, although it contains matter of extraordinary value for the illustration of the history of men and events during a time of great partisan excitement, which had a lasting influence through all the subsequent Colonial period. Then follows the Funeral Sermon on the death of Lord Lovelace in 1709, which is believed to be the only work preserved in print of Rev. Wm. Vesey, first Rector of Trinity Church. The volume is provided with a valuable index.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Third volume. Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1636—1667. William Hand Browne, Editor. Large 8vo, pp. 586. Baltimore, 1885. Maryland Historical Society.

In the preface to this valuable volume we are told that the advice of Bacon's, in his "Essays on Plantations," was carried out in the Proprietary Government of Maryland. Except on those few occasions when the Proprietary was present in person, his authority and rights were represented by a Lieutenant-General or Governor, whose very ample commission gave him full Executive powers in both peace and war, limited only by the law and his official oath. He was appointed by the Proprietary and held office during his pleasure. He was assisted by a Council, in like manner appointed, of which the members were chiefly influential colonists, and their duties were various. Naturally the records were of a miscellaneous character. This mass of documentary material has beem sifted and assorted in a judicious manner, and its value to students of history cannot easily be estimated. A copy of the Charter of Maryland, in Latin, from the Patent Rolls in the Public Record office, London, occupies the opening pages of the volume. The whole work has been very ably executed.

THE MARSHAL FAMILY; or, a Genealogical Chart of the Descendants of John Marshall and Elizabeth Markham, his wife; with Sketches of Individuals and Notices of Families connected with them. With a portrait of

Chief Justice Marshall. By WILLIAM M. PAXTON. 8vo, pp. 425. 1885. Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke & Co.

This work is not confined to the Marshalls. Many of the leading families of Kentucky and Virginia, connected with the Marshalls by marriage, will find interesting charts of their own ancestors. The Author has spent many years collecting the materials and arranging this valuable record. He traces the Marshalls from the myths and legends of past generations down to the birth of the last child. Nearly every date of birth, marriage, or death is recorded; and he has given sketches of many hundreds of the most eminent of this distinguished family. A copious index facilitates reference. The chart is a work of art. About eleven hundred names are arranged as radii issuing from the central and original pair, in six concentric circles, or generations; and every individual is numbered and indexed so as to be conveniently found. The whole Marshall family, except the seventh generation of infants, appear at one view, and any member may trace his ancestry or his posterity with facility and unerring certainty. This chart embraces in itself a whole volume. The portrait of Chief Justice Marshall is exquisitely printed on steel.

SE-QUO-YAH, the American Cadmus and Modern Moses. A complete biography of the greatest of red men. By GEO. E. FOSTER. 12mo, pp. 244. Philadelphia and Milford, New Hampshire. 1885.

Se-quo-yah was the first Indian who ever achieved fame as an inventor. He was born in 1770, and his Cherokee cradle was a piece of dried buffalo hide cut in proper shape, then turned on itself and fastened together with strings. He was reared by his energetic mother, and, as he grew toward manhood, developed great mechanical ingenuity. He became foremost in whatever he undertook, was the best silversmith of his tribe, then a blacksmith, and, finally, it became the mania of his life to make books. He first made pictures to represent words, then signs, and next hit upon a plan for dividing words into syllables. The chiefs of the nation called him crazy, but he persevered until he had invented an alphabet for the Cherokees. Then he taught the bright young men of his tribe to read and write, and learning soon became popular, the braves even giving up their hunting and fishing, to a certain extent, in order to indulge in letter writing as an amusement. The author of this volume traces all these remarkable events in detail with painstaking care, and tells the reader of the founding and progress of newspapers, and how the Cherokees became not only a grateful but a law-abiding people. The book is interesting from the first page to the last, and is a most acceptable contribution to the historic literature of America.

TRANSACTIONS AND REPORTS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. Edited by ROBERT W. FURNAS. 8vo, pp. 233. 1885. Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Co.

The first publication of this Society has much more than local interest. It presents an account of the formation and organization of an historic institution in a city which had its birth but recently, even within the memory of most of us, and chronicles the incidents and events attending the early settlement of the whole region. A series of biographical sketches of such men as Governor Francis Burt, Hon. Phineas W. Hitchcock, Bishop Robert H. Clarkson, Dr. Enos Lowe, Rev. William McCandlish, Rev. Alvin G. White, Hon. John Taffe, and Elder J. M. Young, will prove exceedingly valuable data in all the future. President Furnas, in his annual address of 1880, truly says, "the study of history deserves serious attention, if only for a knowledge of transactions, and inquiry into the eras when each happened;" and, further, "that we make as well study history." The object of this organization—to collect whatever is worthy of preservation in an historical sense, and to encourage historical research—will result in far riper and better fruit from having thus early been recognized as of the first importance.

RELIGIOUS TESTS in Provincial Pennsylvania. By CHARLES J. STILLÉ. Square 8vo, pp. 53. Pamphlet.

This elegantly printed little work embodies a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the 9th of November, 1885. It is an able exposition of the topic defined by its title. The author shows, by a brief review of the situation, that throughout the colonies, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the man who did not conform to the established religion of the colony, whether it was Congregationalism in New England or the Episcopal form elsewhere, was not in the same position in regard to the enjoyment of either civil or religious rights as he who did conform. If he were a Roman Catholic he was everywhere wholly disfranchised. As for William Penn's "Holy Experiment," we are told how it failed, "not from a lack of faith on the part of the projector, but from lack of money."

HYPERÆSTHESIA. A Novel. By MARY CRUGER. 16mo, pp. 400. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1885.

A great many people will need to be told what the above long word means. We shall

not enlighten them by a direct definition. If an adequate dictionary is not at hand, it ought to be. Suffice it that the story deals with what we may—accepting the author's lead—describe familiarly as the neurasthenia which prevails among Americans, especially women. The scenery is arranged upon that popular stage, the summer hotel, and the characters are such as all observant frequenters of such resorts must have encountered. The book is well written, and evinces a familiarity with social life in highly fashionable circles.

COLONIAL NEW YORK. Philip Schuyler and his Family. By GEORGE W. SCHUYLER. In two volumes. 8vo, pp. 1043. 1885. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

We are always glad to welcome any new work which adds fresh material to the storehouse of historical information. Mr. Schuyler has done good service to the genealogical scholar through his long years of painstaking study into the genealogy and history of the Schuyler family of Albany. He publishes the original family record of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, translated from the Dutch by Mr. Alofsen, of Holland; together with the genealogical table, naming each of the children of the first settler of the name in America. He gives us brief sketches and elaborate genealogical tables also of the families with whom these children intermarried, all of whom were more or less connected with the public affairs of Colonial New York—as, for instance, those of Van Rensselaer, Staats, Lansing, Bogart and numerous others. Forty or more pages are devoted in the second volume to the history of Arent Schuyler and his New Jersey descendants. Arent Schuyler was not, however, the ancestor of all the New Jersey Schuylers; and Mr. Schuyler explains how other branches of the family settled in that State. One interesting chapter of considerable length treats of Anneke Jans and her famous estate, so intimately associated with the growth and prosperity of Trinity Church. This will attract attention among her hosts of heirs in every part of the land. Of the Scribner family, the author informs us. that the first of the name in America was Matthew Scrivener, a member of the Council of the Virginia Colony in 1607. He further says, "Benjamin Scrivener, of Norwalk, Connecticut, is reputed to be the ancestor of the Scribners in the United States. He adhered to the name of Scrivener. The town clerk, when recording the names of his grandchildren, born after 1742, wrote Scribner, doubtless by direction of their parents. From that time Scrivener disappears. and Scribner becomes the surname of all of Benjamin Scrivener's descendants." Such changes in names were frequent in the Colonial period. The genealogical table of the Scribner family follows, with many informing notes from the author's pen. "Charles Scribner was a graduate of Princeton College, in the class with his brother William. He commenced the study of law, but, being of a delicate constitution, he could not endure the confinement of an office, and sought a less sedentary occupation. He finally connected himself with Mr. Baker, already established in the publishing business in New York. After the death of his partner he greatly extended his business, becoming in a few years one of the most prominent men in the trade. He established the magazine known as *Scribner's Monthly*, which had a circulation at home and abroad inferior to only one in the United States."

In general history, Mr. Schuyler has drawn from the usual sources accessible to all students, and presents little that is new to the reading world. He introduces it as a frame-work to his genealogical tables; but many of his biographical studies add special value to the volumes.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vol. II., Part 8vo, pp. 134. Pamphlet. 1885. Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania

Among the papers embodied in this volume, an illustrated archæological report on the Athens locality, is one of the most notably interesting. This paper was read before the learned Society by Harrison Wright, Ph.D., who, after explaining the purpose of the Committee of which he was Chairman, says: "Our first discovery was a grave about twelve feet north of the original grave. By great good luck in our first excavation, we came directly upon a skull eighteen inches below the surface of the ground—part of the skeleton of a man above the medium height, buried in a sitting posture." The archæological specimens obtained are preserved with great care, as valuable historical data bearing upon the early history of the North American Indian.

W. T. Sherman

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VAN CORTLANDT MANOR-HOUSE

THE period from 1683 to 1688—the five years during which Thomas Dongan, afterward Earl of Limerick, governed New York—was one of important beginnings. We have seen how Albany blossomed into a city in 1686. The forces that were to transform the picturesque wilderness along the line of the Hudson into a garden of beauty were already at work. In the midst of scenery unsurpassed by any in Europe, hundreds of thousands of acres of the finest land in the world were changing owners. The forest kings traded off their possessions with undisguised pleasure; taking as much pride apparently in the buttons and brass-kettles they received in return as the new proprietors did in the fact that all their wonderful acquisitions were the result of honest purchase.

Governor Dongan found it necessary to visit Albany very often during his administration, as the Iroquois were restless and treacherous, and the relations between New York and Canada of the most delicate character. Every effort which ingenuity could devise was made to retain the favor of the dusky warriors, who were the only wall of separation between an unprotected colony and an always possible foe. The character of the French was well understood by Dongan, who not so very long before had commanded an Irish regiment under Louis XIV., in the French and Dutch war, and he was therefore the more intense in his study of the Indians as a race. In maturing the wise policy which was to preserve her boundary from foreign encroachments, and give New York commercial ascendency on this continent, he was greatly influenced in his judgments through the signs of promise observable from the slow sailing-vessel that bore him to and fro between the metropolis and Albany, and he was materially assisted in every emergency by the intelligent, far-sighted men of the province.

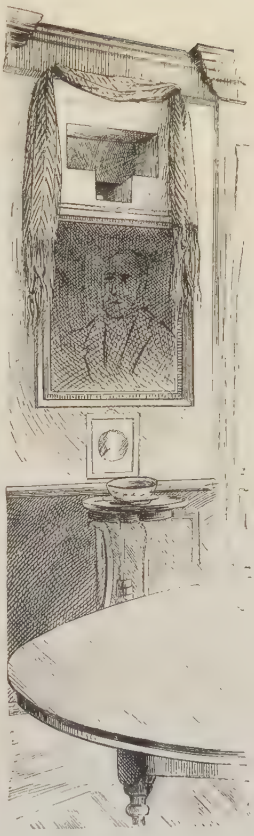
Prominent among these were Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Frederick Philipse—the only two mentioned by name as Counselors by the Duke of York in his original instructions to Dongan, dated January 27, 1683; and both gentlemen were reappointed to the same high office by James as King of England, May 29, 1686. They had been styled by Sir Edward

Andros "very eminent men," in his letters to the Lords, and they bore the reputation, both at home and abroad, of being "very rich men." Van Cortlandt inherited property, then turned it over to advantage; but Philipse, who began with nothing, had grown to be much the wealthier of the two. Van Cortlandt was forty years of age in 1683; Philipse was fifty-six. Van Cortlandt was well educated, classically and otherwise, having been trained, under a learned tutor imported from Europe, in the severe mental culture which characterized his father, Oloff S. Van Cortlandt. He was a tall, handsome man, of fine presence, courtly manners, and many social attractions. In 1677 he was the first native New Yorker to hold the office of mayor of the city (he was again appointed to the mayoralty in 1686 and 1687), and was the first Judge in Admiralty, receiving his appointment from Governor Andros in 1677. His wife was the famous Gertrude Schuyler, sister of Peter Schuyler, first mayor of Albany, and of the wife of Robert Livingston; while of Van Cortlandt's sisters one became the second wife of Philipse, another married Jeremias Van Rensselaer, the patroon, and a third married Brant Schuyler, brother of Mrs. Van Cortlandt. Further intermarriages in the same families made the "court circle" of New York, at this period in a sense one family. Van Cortlandt lived in a large, well-furnished house in the lower part of the city, at the corner of Pearl and Broad Streets, where Sir Edmund and Lady Andros had often been entertained, and where the new governor now became a frequent and familiar guest. Dongan was a bachelor about fifty years of age, a ready talker, with broad views on all practical topics, an accomplished politician and diplomat, and an affable and charming companion.

VAN CORTLANDT RELICS.

Loving Cup, Dragon, and other antique treasures brought from Holland more than two hundred and fifty years ago.

He was a Roman Catholic, and Van Cortlandt an active Churchman (later on the senior warden of Trinity Church), but there is no record of any inharmony in consequence of different religious views. Dongan was essentially a man for the times, and one of the best of New York's colonial governors. That he should have encouraged the great land-buyers in their operations is no matter of wonder. The opening of the tangled forests to civilization was a prospect filled with magnificent possibilities. He respected tireless activity, such as he saw conspicuously displayed among the few enterprising men, whose money was constantly in requisition to save the credit of the colony. He issued patents with as much alacrity, almost, as Fletcher did in the following decade. He made a considerable purchase himself of the Indians, which he subsequently sold to Van Cortlandt. Philipse had already secured a portion of his immense landed estate, extending from Spuyten Duyvil to the Croton River, and in 1682 built the stone dwelling at Yonkers, which, with additions, became subsequently the manor-house, now the City Hall of Yonkers. Bricks for its masonry, tiles with scriptural illustrations, and its great outer south door, divided in the middle, were imported from Holland in the ships of Philipse, which were constantly crossing the ocean. The following year, 1683, "Castle Philipse" was built at Sleepy Hollow, and strongly fortified against the savages, and near it the new mill of Philipse first began, about the same date, to grind the grain of his tenants.



THE LOOP HOLE.

Section of Dining-Room.

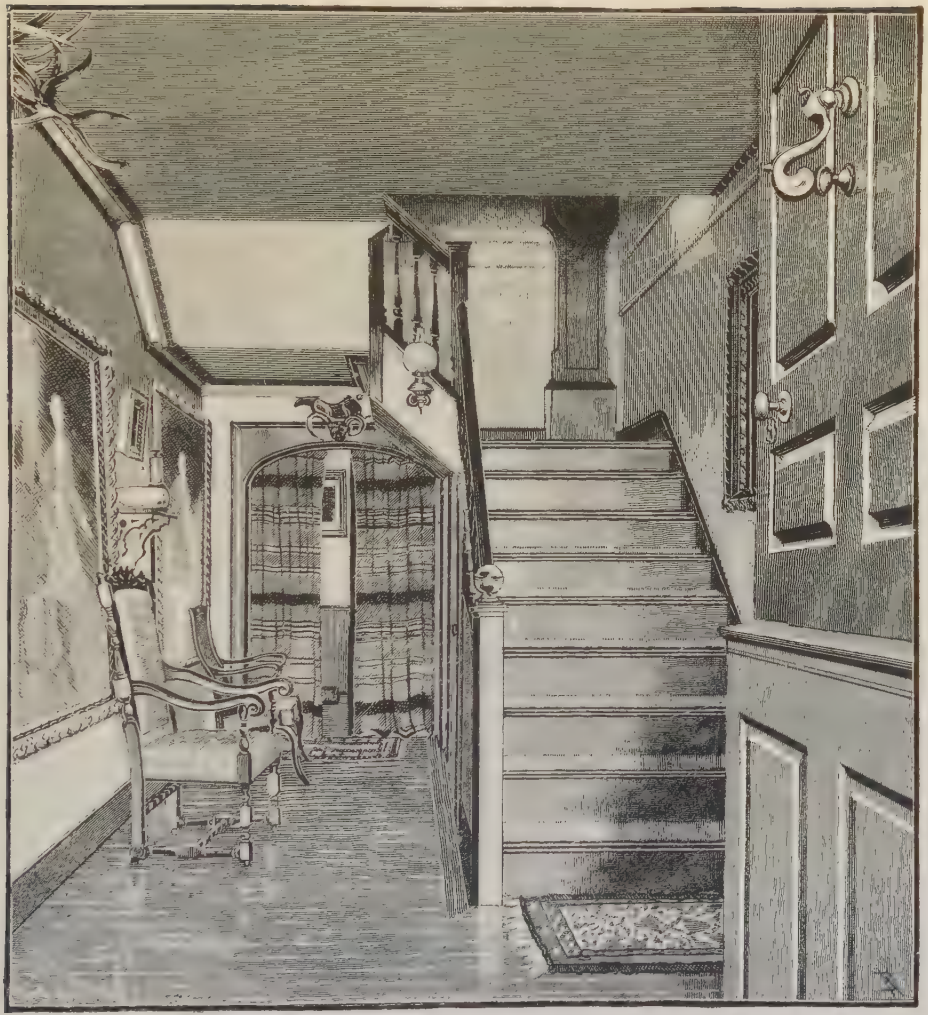
SEAL OF STEPHANUS VAN CORTLANDT.

Copied from a deed executed by him in 1664.

Robert Livingston, meanwhile, was exploring the forests and trading with the Indians, as opportunity offered. He secured some one hundred and sixty

acres, and on July 22, 1685, received from Dongan a patent, with manorial privileges, subsequently confirmed by royal authority, with the additional privilege of a representative to the Legislature. Another large patent was obtained from Dongan (soon after his arrival), for seventy-six thousand acres in the vicinity of Fishkill, by Gulian Verplanck and Francis Rombouts, the property described as extending back into the woods from the river "four hours' going," or sixteen miles. Mr. Verplanck dying, Van Cortlandt was joined with Rombouts and Jacob Ship as the representatives of the Verplanck heirs. In all these transactions every thing must be judged in the light of its surroundings. To see events correctly we must catch the spirit of the times. These active men were destined to be of infinite value to New York, for they set many a wheel in motion that otherwise would have been a long while in turning.

Van Cortlandt had been attracted to the region north of the Croton River, and made one purchase as early as 1677. The next of which we have any record was the territory of Meahagh, of which he obtained a deed in 1683. He continued to add to his acres until they numbered 86,000, and reached twenty miles inland, to the Connecticut line, and some ten miles to the north. The exact date when the house was erected is unknown. There is a tradition that it was built some time before the Philipse house at Yonkers; but from many of its features we are led to the belief that it came into existence the same year. It was evidently intended as a fort in case of hostilities with the Indians or French, and for the protection of the tenants in the neighborhood, rather than as a family residence. Its solid stone walls are three feet in thickness, and pierced at intervals of two feet with loop-holes for musketry, two rows of which extend entirely round the original structure; one of these apertures has been opened in the dining-room, as engraved in the sketch. The great hospitable entrance door is of the same Dutch pattern, divided in halves, as that of the Philipse house, imported, probably, at the same time, as nothing of the kind was then manufactured in this country. The entrance hall awakens intense interest; the first object upon which the eye rests being the antique staircase with its volume of historic associations. Upon the left wall hang two large paintings, representing two of the grandsons of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, John and Pierre, as school-boys, John standing beside a deer he had tamed, and Pierre beside a pet dog. The horns of the tame deer are suspended upon the wall above the pictures. These boys were the sons of Philip Van Cortlandt, who inherited the manor-house property at the death of his father, and whose wife was Catharine de Peyster, granddaughter of the founder of that family in this country. John, born in



ENTRANCE HALL OF VAN CORTLANDT MANOR-HOUSE.

1718, died unmarried at the age of twenty-nine. His little note-book, nearly one hundred and fifty years old, is at this moment in the hands of the writer, in which, in a clear, legible hand, we find described his passage from New York to the Croton River, "in John Teller's sloop," in May, 1747, a journey that occupied two days. Pierre, upon arriving at manhood, married his second cousin, Joanna Livingston, granddaughter of Robert Livingston, first lord of Livingston manor, and their descendants have

ever since occupied this dwelling. He was the first lieutenant-governor of New York as a State, holding the office for eighteen successive years. The wedding-dress of Joanna Livingston is preserved—a white moire antique, now cream-color from age. The bride received a wedding gift from her aunt in Holland of a blue silk petticoat, elaborately quilted, and clocked stockings, and wore them to please the aunt, but with many demurs at having to wear colors on her bridal day.

To the right of the entrance hall is a large restful apartment that has always been the sitting-room of the family, and in a close set in the wall near its old-fashioned fire-place are the rare and curious heirlooms, many of which were brought from Holland by Oloff S. Van Cortlandt—they consist of plate, china, jewelry and glass, of the most varied and interesting character. The christening bowl that has been used in all the generations of the Van Cortlandts in this country, the loving cup, illustrated elsewhere, and pieces of old Holland porcelain are studies for the artist, as well as antiquarian. Upon the mantel is a curious clock, the carvings of which represent the Queen of Sheba going to see Solomon. In the rear of this room is the library. Beyond it—in one of the wings, added long after the Dongan period—is the parlor of the mansion, overlooking a finely cultivated garden to the east. The dining-room opens to the left of the entrance hall, and exhibits the traces of well-preserved age in greater profusion than any other part of the dwelling. An enormous round mahogany table, which was imported from Holland before the English Revolution, is one of its conspicuous features. During the American Revolution this table was carried to Rhinebeck for safety, as the cow-boys and skinners alternately occupied the house, taking out the beautiful tiles from the fire-places to use as plates, and doing mischief generally. In the rear of the dining-room is a bed-room of size corresponding with the library, along the base of which for years were marks of the pitching of coppers by the raiders. Shut into this room, in solitude, Pierre Van Cortlandt fasted and prayed all the day of the battle of White Plains. This room was also the scene of a pretty little romance. A young girl, a ward and relative, whom the lieutenant-governor had cared for as his own child, became engaged to a country lad much against the good judgment of her guardian, who forbade the marriage. She planned therefore an elopement, and jumped through the window of this apartment—only about three feet from the ground, however.

The site of the picturesque old manor-house was apparently selected with a view to its accessibility by water. At the point where the Croton joins the Hudson was formerly a beautiful bay, a convenient anchorage for

vessels large and small. The house was built facing this bay, to the south, and sheltered from the northerly winds by a leafy eminence in the rear. It has a high basement, a second story, which includes the principal and living apartments, and a third story, lighted by dormer windows. It has two roomy wings, to the right and left, and around the front and ends of the mansion is a broad veranda, shaded by trailing vines. From this veranda the celebrated Whitfield preached about the middle of the last century, whose eloquence was so great and whose voice so powerful, rich and sweet that Dr. Franklin estimated that he could be heard distinctly in the open air by thirty thousand people. Seats were constructed on the lawn for his audience. Bishop Asbury also preached from this veranda, who for thirty-two years traveled from place to place, preach-

THE SITTING-ROOM. } *Van Cortlandt Manor-House.*
THE DINING-ROOM. }

PORTION OF THE MANORIAL CHARTER, ENGROSSED ON HEAVY PARCHMENT, BEARING THE GREAT SEAL OF THE PROVINCE AND DATE, JUNE 17, 1697.

ing about seven thousand sermons, and ordaining not less than three thousand preachers. Few houses in America are more notable for the distinction of its occupants and guests. Dongan christened it, some say built it (but that is now thought improbable) while on his sporting expeditions. Being extremely fond of his gun and of a holiday, he was quick to discover that the woods thereabouts were alive with fat venison and other game, and the waters the resort of canvas-back ducks. He never went alone, and it is easy to imagine the gay parties of gentleman who at one time and another were quartered under its roof more than two centuries ago.

Van Cortlandt improved his property slowly, built a ferry-house, still standing a few rods from the manor-house—but a very different structure of brick and timber, with a steep, sloping roof—and established ferries, and erected houses and barns for his tenants as they multiplied, and began clearing and tilling the soil. The Indians were in the habit of coming to Teller's Point for their yearly feasts and dances, and as they partook on such occasions very freely of "fire-water," they became ferocious and dangerous; thus the isolated tenants and their families generally took refuge during these savage festivities in the manor-house.

In June, 1697, Van Cortlandt's whole territory was erected by charter into the lordship and manor of Cortlandt, with power to hold court-leet and court-baron, distrain for the rents, send a representative to the New York Legislature, etc., reciting all the usual privileges extended to such domains. It does not appear that he ever made the manor-house his permanent home. He was too stirring a man to dwell in quiet so far from the city where his presence was constantly needed. He was one of the privy council of the king's governor for eight years, during which time the political wheel took some very rapid and fierce turns. He was obliged to perform military duty, and wars and rumors of wars were perpetual. He was not only Judge in Admiralty, but Associate Judge in the colonial court, at one time Deputy auditor-general, at another, receiver-general; he was secretary of the Province, then principal Surrogate. In 1696, he was Chancellor, a little later on he served as collector of the Revenue, and finally became chief-justice of the Supreme Court. In addition to all this he had important business of his own, and was occupied with many charities. He went to the manor in the summer-time, but his numerous family of children could hardly have been accommodated all at once in the little fortress before it was enlarged. Mrs. Van Cortlandt, who has passed into history as one of the most remarkable and interesting women of her day, spent more time at the manor than her husband; and both before and after his death, in 1701, she extended its hospitalities to Lady Bellomont. Anne, one of

Van Cortlandt's daughters, married Stephen De Lancey, ancestor of the De Lancey family of New York; Margaret, another daughter, married Samuel, the son of Nicholas Bayard; Maria became the wife of Killian Van Rensselaer; Gertrude married Colonel Henry Beekman; Elizabeth married Rev. William Skinner; Catharine married Andrew Johnson; Cornelia married Colonel John Schuyler, and was the mother of General Philip Schuyler; and Gertrude, the only daughter and heir of the eldest son, Johannes, married Philip Verplanck. The manor was divided by will, but the partition did not take place until 1734. The share of each heir amounted to nearly eight thousand acres. Thus it will be seen that the original manor property passed into the possession of many other prominent New York families, and with the development of years has enriched their descendants beyond measure.

Philip Van Cortlandt, the third son, and second proprietor of the manor, was appointed to the Privy council in 1730, and continued in his seat for eighteen years, until his death in 1748. He was intimately associated with the brilliant and daring men of that exciting period—the versatile James De Lancey, his sister's son; Philip Livingston, of Livingston manor, his first cousin; Colonel Beekman and Abraham De Peyster, his two brothers-in-law; Dr. Cadwalladar Colden, Rip Van Dam, John Rutherfurd, Archibald Kennedy, Daniel Horsemanden, James Alexander, Lewis Morris, William Smith, and Montgomerie, Cosby, Clarke, and Sir George Clinton, the successive rulers of New York appointed by the English government. He was concerned in the quarrel between Cosby and Van Dam, in the great Zenger trial, in the subsequent feud of Clarke and Van Dam, in the contested election between Philipse and Van Horne, in the events attending the great negro plot, in the reduction of Louisburg, and in the opposition to Sir Henry Clinton. The vigorous, violent and abusive language used in these memorable altercations has never been excelled. In the Assembly the men often gave the lie "and fell together by the ears." A traveler passing through New York about this time printed an amusing account of his experiences. He said he dined with some of the prominent "courtiers," who called everybody black except themselves. "Fine time for a Dutch mob to judge of prerogatives!" said one. "These Dutchmen will fancy by-and-by that they are in Holland, and treat us like a parcel of burgomasters!" exclaimed another; and thus the banquet was enlivened to the end. The writer thought it would be more agreeable to go among the no-party men, but, although the evening commenced propitiously, he soon discovered to his surprise, that they were as violent "courtiers" as any he had ever seen. He went to a club consisting of both-party men,

and thought they would have devoured each other before they separated. He spent an evening with some "Zengerites," whose discourse was peppered with invective against the "courtiers," whom they considered the common enemies of mankind. He almost became a convert to the opinion that no man could have good sense—he must be a fool or a rascal—if he differed from his neighbor on any of the topics of the day. But he had yet to make the acquaintance of the "Prudents," who were quietly resolved to court the rising power without giving umbrage to the minority —their maxim was, "differ with no one who has the power to injure you."

THE VAN CORTLANDT MANOR-HOUSE

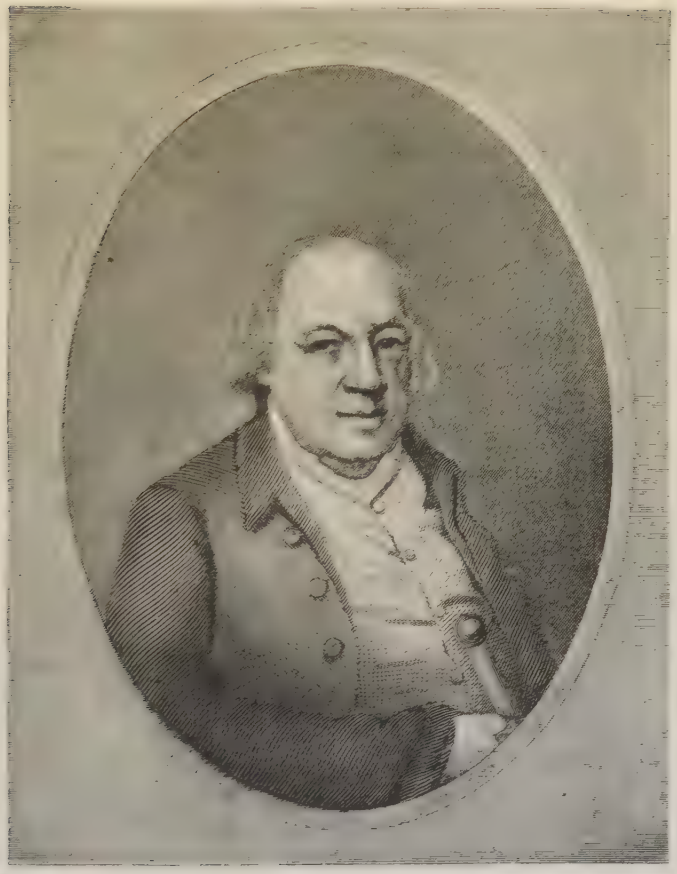
He thought this class "monotonous bores." He finally resolved to visit the ladies. Alas! They were more zealous politicians than the gentlemen. He found "Courtiers" and "Zengerites," no-party women, both-party women, and "Prudents;" and they were, as he expressed himself, "as warm as scalloped oysters in their discussions, although exceptionally good-mannered."

As a mirror of the times on a miniature scale, the traveler drew his picture well. Philip Van Cortlandt was one of the "courtiers," called so in derision. The fashion of speech had changed since his father, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, in the stormy times of the English Revolution, was contemptuously styled an "aristocrat" and a "papist" by the opposing faction. Stepping backward still another generation to the time of Oloff

S. Van Cortlandt, it would be interesting to note the epithets men hurled at each other in unadulterated Dutch. Of the three periods it is difficult to determine in which the quarrels were the more animated. The struggle in 1848 between Stuyvesant and the "Nine men"—of whom was Van Cortlandt—was as important in its results as anything which followed. It reached across the ocean, both parties appearing before the States-General. It attracted attention to New York, and added materially to her population. But in its details nothing could have been more rancorous and implacable. The degraded but sharp-witted Secretary Van Tienhoven called his adversaries all manner of ignominious names, but he was the only man concerned who actually came to grief. He had long been addicted to every known vice, and every honest heart and every honest face was turned against him—except Stuyvesant, over whom he had managed to exert a singular influence—when he was detected in gross frauds upon the revenue, and absconded, leaving his hat and cane floating on the river to convey the idea of suicide. His brother Adriaen, who had also fingered the revenue, disappeared about the same time, and was subsequently recognized in the English service at Barbadoes in the capacity of cook. With all this background of prosaic fact there is something grotesquely amusing in the effort of certain recent writers—through what motive does not appear—to throw discredit upon the family origin of some of the sterling men of that remote time by quoting from the miserable Tienhoven, as if he could be an authority for anything whatever relating to the truth of history. In General Logan's new book, *The Great Conspiracy*, is an item clipped from the New Orleans *Picayune* in the spring of 1861, which reads thus: "All the Massachusetts troops now in Washington are negroes, with the exception of two or three drummer boys. General Butler, in command, is a native of Liberia. Our readers may recollect old Ben, the barber, who kept a shop in Poydras Street, and emigrated to Liberia with a small competence. General Butler is his son."

Will some versatile genius two hundred years hence discover this paragraph, and thereupon proceed to tear down a whole structure of genealogy, and prove to an astonished audience that General Butler was the son of a barber in Liberia?

The principal residence of Philip Van Cortlandt was in the city, but his manor-house was kept open at all seasons, a host of slaves were in attendance, and his wife and children went there at pleasure. His property was divided among his six children when he died, only two of whom married, his eldest and his fifth son—Stephen and Pierre—his only daughter being killed in 1738, at the age of thirteen, by the bursting of a cannon at



PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT.

Lieutenant-Governor of New York, 1777–1795

the Battery on the king's birthday. Stephen, the eldest son, died some eight years later, and the three unmarried brothers died young. Stephen's eldest son, Philip, entered the British army in the Revolution, and at its close went to England to reside, where his numerous descendants intermarried with many members of the English nobility; his great-grandson is the present Lord Elphinstone, one of the queen's lords in waiting.

Pierre Van Cortlandt became the third proprietor of the manor-house and surroundings, and made it his permanent residence from 1749. There for more than half a century he dispensed hospitalities to nearly all the great men of his time. Dr. Colden wrote after spending a night there in 1753:

"Young Pierre and his charming wife keep up the hospitalities of the house equal to his late father." Governor Tryon, in 1774, went up to the manor in a sloop to pay him a visit, apparently of courtesy, accompanied by Mrs. Tryon, Miss Watts, the daughter of Honorable John Watts, and his secretary, Colonel Fanning. The following morning Tryon proposed a walk, and after reaching one of the highest points of land on the estate, announced to his host that he was authorized to offer him royal favors, honors, grants of land, etc., if he would abandon the popular cause and adhere to the King and Parliament, hinting with much force that a title could easily be bestowed. Van Cortlandt declined with decision, saying that the people had confidence in his integrity, and he should do all he could for their benefit and the good of his country. Governor Tryon and his party quickly took their leave, and returned to New York, in disappointment. Pierre Van Cortlandt represented Cortlandt manor in the Assembly from 1768 to 1775; was sent to the New York Congress in May, 1775, and continued to be a delegate through all its changing sessions, as it was tossed from place to place, and performed almost every class of public duty; in May, 1777, he was appointed President of the Council of Safety—a body of fifteen members constituted after the formation of the State constitution as a temporary form of government until a governor could be elected and the legislature meet—which wielded an absolute sovereignty in the most critical period of New York's history; in the elections that followed he became lieutenant-governor of the State, and was president of the Senate. As Governor Clinton was necessarily much absorbed in military duties, Van Cortlandt was left chief executive officer and civil magistrate during the greater part of the war period. His example of undismayed faithfulness when driven from his estates and while adverse clouds darkened the entire horizon were of priceless value to the American cause. He was one of the noble company who ratified the Declaration of Independence—on horseback—at White Plains, July 9, 1776. Few men of his time inspired a higher degree of confidence and respect among all classes in New York.

In the stirring years at the beginning of the contest, many distinguished men visited the manor-house. Dr. Franklin spent a night there in June, 1776, on returning from his unsuccessful mission to Canada. An interesting incident is told in this connection. One of the children came running into the house to bring his mother some of the pins of the prickly pear. Dr. Franklin asked what they were and if they were substituting them for the ordinary pins of the household, and being answered in the

affirmative, exclaimed with much animation: "The Colonists will certainly succeed if they can grow their own pins!" Washington was there many times, and on one occasion wrote in his diary of the "new bridge over the Croton" in front of the manor-house, it having superseded in a measure, the old ferry, which for a century had been the only means of transit. The ferry-house afforded shelter to multitudes of the soldiers of the Revolution, on their marches. Here came Lafayette, De Rochambeau, Baron Steuben and the Duke De Lauzun. When danger fell thick about the manor the family hastened for safety to a farm at Rhinebeck. An old inventory of the goods and cattle removed from the place, preserved on paper yellowed with age, reminds one forcibly of the Patriarch Abraham and his flocks. It is a long paper, or it would be interesting to give it entire. We read of a procession of "Thirteen cows, thirteen sheep, thirteen lambs (three sheep and three lambs tired out on the journey), twenty horses, thirteen cows, five yearlings," and a variety of other domestic amimals. The wagons were packed with tables, chairs, choice pieces of furniture and great chests of bedding. "June 18, sent up sixteen loads." On July 1, the entry reads, in the hand of one of Van Cortlandt's daughters: "Two waggons came down Saturday, went up on Monday, myself, mamma, Nancy, Gilbert, etc., moved up and arrived there the 3d day of July, being Monday."

A few faithful household slaves were left behind to care for the property in the best manner possible. At one time the "Row Galley Men" came to carry them off, and hiding themselves in the garret, the trembling negroes heard the project discussed of burning the house and barns. The approach of troops, however, at this juncture probably frustrated the work, and the raiders fled. Young Pierre Van Cortland (afterward the general) was then a slender lad, and frequently sent down to the manor-house to reconnoitre. He slept in a quaint little place of concealment on such occasions—in a closet under the stairs, near the kitchen, just large enough to squeeze himself in. Many a romantic story might be told in connection with this house during the progress of the war, if space permitted. But we must move forward. While the leaders of thought and the leaders of armies were alike groping in a dense cloud, peace came. Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt wrote in his journal of his trip to New York, on the occasion of the grand entry, as follows: "I went from Peekskill Tuesday, the 18th of November, in company with his Excellency Governor Clinton, Colonel Benson, and Colonel Campbell. Lodged that night with General Van Cortlandt, at Croton River; proceeded and lodged Wednesday night at Edward Cowenhovens, where we met his Excellency

General Washington and his aides. The next night lodged with Mr. Frederick Van Cortlandt at the Yonkers, after having dined with General Lewis Morris; Friday morning in company with the Commander-in-chief, as far as the Widow Day's at Harlem, where we held a council. Saturday I rode down to Mr. Stuyvesants (his brother-in-law) stayed there until Tuesday, THEN RODE TRIUMPHANT INTO THE CITY with the Commander-in-chief."

For many years after the war Van Cortlandt gave his time and his strength to public affairs. The necessities of the situation kept him chiefly at the capital. During Washington's Presidency he was a prominent figure in the social circle of New York, and one of the President's dinner company not infrequently as often as twice a week. After a time he and his family took up their abode once more at the manor-house, which again became notable for its hospitalities and its charities, and there he spent the evening of his noble life. He died, crowned with honors, in 1814.

GENERAL PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT.
[*From a rare miniature.*]

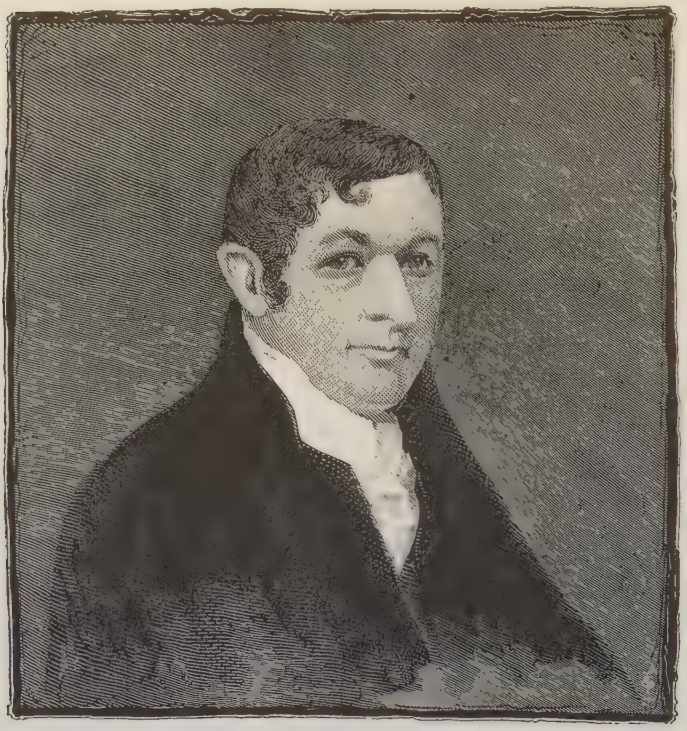
General Philip Van Cortlandt (1749–1831), eldest son of the lieutenant-governor, succeeded to the estate, and was the fourth proprietor of the manor-house. He never married, and with him resided his sister Catharine, Mrs. Van Wyck, after the death of her husband. When the war broke out he was a dashing young man of twenty-six, a major in the "Tryon Guards" of the manor of Cortlandt. He at once burned his commission, and was elected to the Provincial Convention, to choose delegates to the Continental Congress. He was shortly after appointed lieutenant-colonel in the continental army, and served bravely and effectively through the war; for his gallantry at Yorktown he was made brigadier-general. He was the first supervisor of the town of Cortlandt in 1788; a member of the New York Assembly from 1788 to 1790; and of the Senate from 1791 to 1794. He was then elected to Congress, and continued to represent his district in that body for sixteen successive years, until he declined re-election. He was a member of the New York convention that adopted the Constitution; and in 1812 was an elector for President. He was also one of the original members of the Cincinnati, and its first treasurer. He was on terms of great intimacy with Lafayette, and when that nobleman visited this country in 1824, the personal resemblance of the two men was remarked by all who met them. He

entertained Lafayette at the manor-house, and accompanied him on his memorable tour through the United States; on one occasion, at a large reception, finding Lafayette very much wearied with hand-shaking, he stepped into his place and received the greetings of the multitude, who, not noticing the disappearance of Lafayette, went away satisfied with having, as supposed, grasped the hand of the French patriot.

General Pierre Van Cortlandt (1762–1848) succeeded to the manor-house property on the death of his brother, General Philip Van Cortlandt, His first wife was Catharine, the daughter of George Clinton; his second, Anne Stevenson. He, too, was a useful man in public affairs, was in the State legislature, succeeded his brother as member of Congress, and was prominent in a multitude of directions. In the year 1800, he was a Presidential elector, and again in 1840. He was a lad of fourteen when the war broke out, and his youthful experiences were of the most varied and interesting character. He had been consigned to the new college at New Brunswick for his education; and his father wrote a letter introducing him to Washington, then in New Jersey. Young Pierre presented the letter with much trepidation, and when invited to dinner the next day stammered a faint "Yes." But as the time drew near for him to appear again before the great personage, he was overcome with timidity, and after marching toward head-quarters for a little distance turned about and ran home. The next morning he accidentally met Washington, who, before he could escape, exclaimed, "Master Cortlandt, where were you yesterday?" The boy tried to articulate an excuse. "Master Cortlandt," interrupted Washington with grave solemnity, "Mrs. Washington and myself expected you to dinner yesterday; we waited a few moments for you; you inconvenienced my family by failing to keep your word; you are a young lad, Master Cortlandt, and let me advise you, hereafter, when you make a promise or an engagement, never fail to keep it; good-morning, Master Cortlandt!" After graduating from Rutgers College young Pierre studied law in the office of Alexander Hamilton, and rose rapidly into notice. His letters from Washington while in Congress are of great interest. In one addressed to his brother Philip, a day or two after the death of Vice-President Clinton, he criticises President Madison with great severity, for having been so "disrespectful to the memory of a greater man than himself as to suffer Mrs. Madison to have her drawing-room as usual." (This occurred on the day following the funeral of the Vice-President.) From 1833 to 1848, Van Cortlandt was vice-president of the Westchester County Bank; and when the States Prison was removed to

Sing Sing he was one of the Board of Inspectors, much of the time president of the Board.

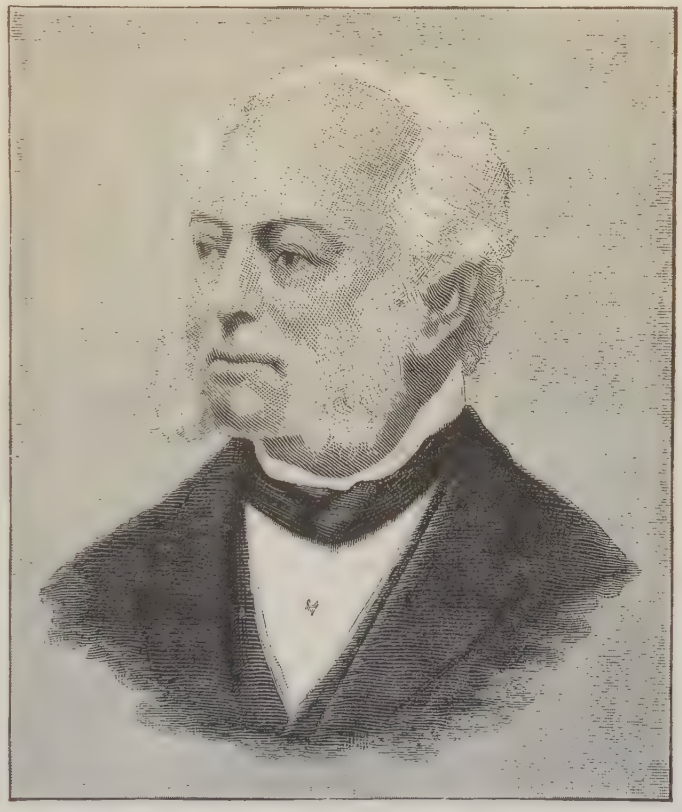
His only child, Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, succeeded to the inheritance of his ancestors in 1848. His tastes never led him into public life, but he followed instead the more genial pursuits of a country gentleman. He was a member of the Cincinnati Society, serving on all the standing committees for many years. He married in 1836, Catharine, daughter of Dr. Theodoric Romeyn Beck, of Albany — author and founder of medical jurisprudence. Colonel Van Cortlandt was a remarkably handsome man, even in his mature years, tall, well-proportioned, graceful, of stately presence, with the courtly manners of the old school. He died July 11, 1884, and it was said of him: "Residing during all his years from boyhood to old age in the town which bears his name, he died without an enemy." Of his five children, three only are living, one son, James Stevenson Van Cortlandt, who resides at the manor, and two daughters.



GENERAL PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT.
[*From a painting at the Manor-House.*]

One of the interesting characters associated with the manor-house was Brant, the famous Indian chieftain, and his portrait looks down from the wall with an air of contentment, as if fully satisfied with his surroundings. There are many other portraits of interest in this delightful dwelling, together with elaboratly carved wainscoting, old-time mirrors, and handsome

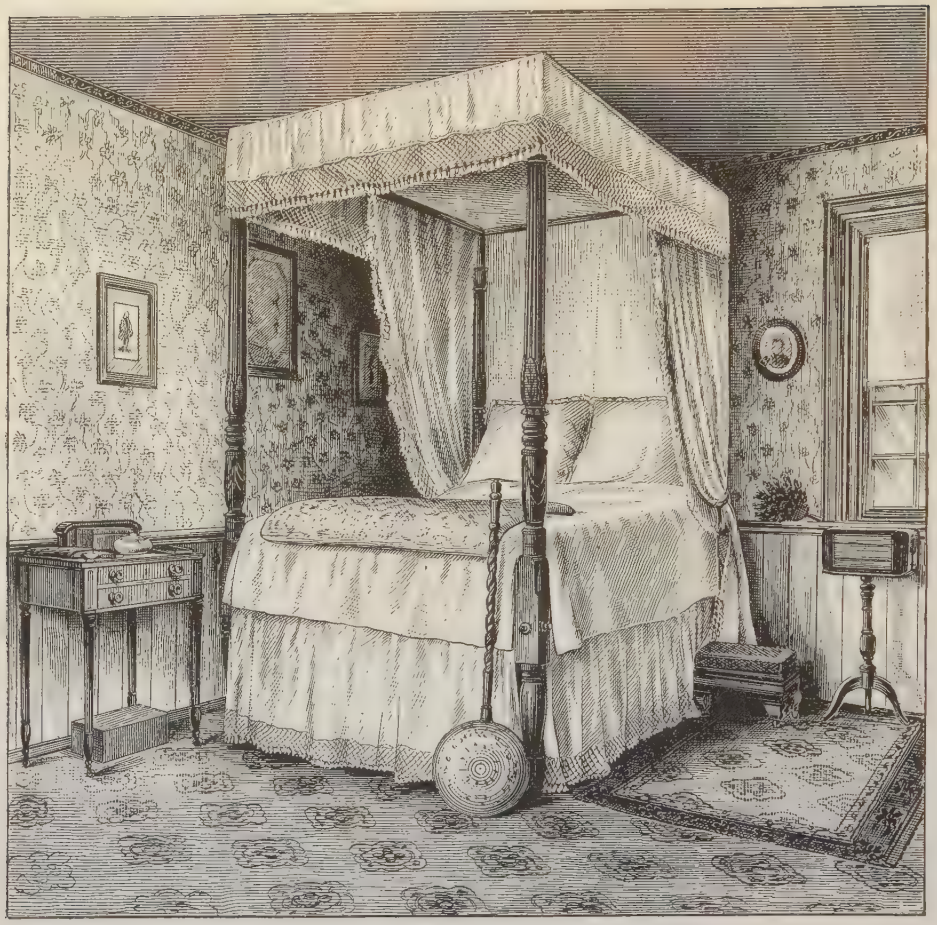
pieces of antique furniture of unmistakable Holland origin, and of two centuries of age. Every apartment seems alive with historic tongues. We can imagine the love-romances on the vine-clad veranda, the stately weddings in the parlor, and the banquets in the dining-room. But we must pause in the "Haunted chamber" for a real thrilling sensation. The ghost, like all of her clan, seems entirely harmless, but why she should persist in making her nocturnal visits to this particular chamber, for so long a series of years, is a mystery with which we do not propose to meddle. It is a curious fact that she never intrudes herself upon the occupants of the house, it is only visitors whom she seeks, as if she had some grievance to unfold—and yet she does not seek all visitors. We believe only one within any recent period can testify to having been favored with her ghostly presence.



COLONEL PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT.
[*From a Crayon Portrait.*]

Still more weird and romantic is the old legend of the coach and four, which for a score of decades has at intervals been heard to rattle up to the door and then disappear in silence, in the darkness. One old slave declared to persons now living, that she had positively seen the ghostly coach and four with her own eyes.

It has been no part of the writer's purpose to present a history of the



THE HAUNTED CHAMBER OF THE MANOR-HOUSE.

Van Cortlandt family, which has recently been done by a skilled hand, and will soon be given to the public. A history of the manor from a legal point of view is also in process of preparation by another able author. This sketch has aimed simply to preserve the distinguishing features of one of the most interesting historic houses on this continent.

Martha J. Lamb

SHALL WE HAVE COLONIES AND A NAVY?

OUR ATTEMPTS TO COLONIZE

The efforts now made by the leading nations of Europe—especially those which heretofore have had comparatively little share in the commerce of the world—to acquire new territories and to obtain a foothold in every quarter of the globe, constitute a novel and striking feature of the times. The fact is now clearly recognized how much the commercial and maritime supremacy of England, and her immense wealth, have resulted from her colonies and her possessions on all the continents and in all the seas of the world, and navies and colonial possessions are the objects for which powers are struggling, even where, as in the case of Austria, they are almost land-locked. And there is not one of them which does not possess territories, long since occupied or recently acquired, which afford them an outlet and field for their population, a market for their manufactures, harbors for their ships, and supplies and refuge for their war vessels in the event of war. The United States alone, of all the mighty nations of the earth, has not a foot of land nor harbor of her own outside of the main land of the continent of North America, and she has neither vessels of war nor ships of burden. We talk and write much about the revival of American commerce, but without colonies, without foreign markets, without stations, without a mercantile navy and a war navy to protect it, how can this be done?

On this continent the United States has had great expansion—the peninsula of Florida, the great States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa, the empires of Texas, California and New Mexico, have filled up and rounded off our possessions. Content with these acquisitions, we have not looked abroad. We thought we were rich and great enough in land; and perhaps, too, the idea was imbedded in the American mind that it was not the mission of this republic to do anything more than stay at home, preserve our institutions, and show the world an example of a government which absolutely secured and protected individual freedom and individual rights.

Attempts have been made more than once to obtain possession of one of the islands of the West Indies, or at least a harbor there, but all resulted in nothing. A brief history of these measures may be, at this particular time, of some interest to the American people.

The West Indies belong geographically, not only to the North American continent, but to the United States, yet we have not an acre there, while nearly all the commercial nations have obtained valid and valuable possession of one or more islands. Spain owns Cuba, Porto Rico and the Isle of Pines; Great Britain owns Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Antigua, Nevis, Turks Island, Virgin Island, the Bahama Islands and New Providence; Holland owns St. Martin's and Curaçoa; Sweden, St. Bartholomew; Denmark, Santa Cruz, St. John's and St. Thomas; and France, Guadeloupe and Martinique. The island of Hayti is divided into two so-called independent republics.

It must be admitted that this is not a desirable condition of things for the United States. Any of these nations, in case of war with us, would have vantage ground at our very doors to attack us.

San Domingo, which had belonged both to France and Spain, succeeded in 1821 in a revolution which separated her from the latter country. She formed a constitution somewhat modeled on that of the United States. As this island alone, in all the West Indies, was not owned by some European power, and was free to act for herself, and was besides a republic, she was the one toward which our attention was naturally directed. Its situation, in the very middle of the group, and its resources, made it very desirable, possessing as it did several excellent harbors, notably that of Samana, in the eastern end, which is very capacious and safe, being sheltered by mountains north and west, and capable of easy defense at the entrance. The importance of the acquisition of this island has long been dimly recognized. During the administration of Mr. Tyler, the state department sent Mr. Hogan there as a special agent, with very comprehensive powers. He was instructed to ascertain and report upon the following subjects:

1. The extent of territory claimed and held by San Domingo.
2. The character and race composition of its people, and the population.
3. The number and availability of its troops.
4. Its financial system, its trade and resources.

Mr. Hogan made a very favorable report, but it is not apparent what exact object our government then had in view—whether it was contemplated to acknowledge merely the independence of the republic, to make some treaty, or to attempt annexation. But this was just at the close of President Tyler's administration, and nothing came of it.

In the year 1854, President Pierce sent Captain George B. McClellan to San Domingo, but his mission was more limited in its scope and purpose than that of Mr. Hogan. He was instructed to examine the Bay of

Samana, and inform the government fully on its capacities and advantages, with the ultimate design of either buying or leasing it, with as much land as was necessary, to be used as a coaling and naval station. He made a most clear, admirable and interesting report, which formed the main basis upon which a convention was subsequently negotiated, giving us the bay and the adjacent land for fifty years, upon the payment of $2,000,000. But this convention expired without ratification. In fact, revolutions were so frequent in San Domingo that it was not easy to know with whom we could safely treat.

No further step was taken until after the war. In 1861, forty years after she lost San Domingo, Spain reconquered and again took possession of it. This was a clear opportunity for the United States to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. The lapse of nearly half a century, during which period the island was wholly independent of Spain, was certainly time enough to make the second occupation a new conquest. But the United States was then engaged in the civil war, and before that was over Spain was again expelled, and acknowledged the independence of San Domingo in 1865. Certainly no reason exists for enforcing the Monroe Doctrine in Central America, and in relation to such places as the Bay Islands and the Mosquito Territory, that does not apply with a magnified force to the West Indies. There is hardly any conceivable condition of things that would render the presence of a hostile power in that region as formidable either to our institutions or our safety and convenience as it would be in any of the large West India islands. And yet our government permitted Spain to re-occupy San Domingo without, I believe, even a protest, and this after declaring that in "no event should the United States permit any European power to make a colony of any of the Central American States."

The last and most pronounced attempt to acquire San Domingo was that made during the administration of President Grant, which caused the break between him and Mr. Sumner, and created such excitement in the country. As a first step the President sent General Babcock to the island to examine the country, its value and resources, ascertain the condition of the people, and report generally upon the advisability of acquiring it. This report was so favorable that it and the solicitations of Dominican agents induced the President to negotiate a treaty with the then authorities. The injunction of secrecy has never been removed from this treaty, but of course it is known that it provided for the absorption of San Domingo into the United States in some form—either as a State or Territory. The treaty was sent to the Senate for ratification, and subsequent events of a public character made it known to the world that the debate over it in that

body was prolonged and bitter. It was defeated, and that led the President to send a special message to Congress, which resulted in the appointment of commissioners to visit the island and report on it comprehensively. The commissioners were B. F. Wade, Andrew D. White and Samuel G. Howe, and they were accompanied by Allan A. Benton and Frederick Douglass. When the report was ready the President laid it before Congress, with a second special message, which was, in fact, an explanation of the circumstances which led him to negotiate the treaty, and a statement of his reasons for the step.

The reasons which he assigned and the general conduct of the government in the whole affair did not meet with the approval of the people, and possibly, but for these unfortunate surroundings, the result might have been different. While the treaty was still pending in the Senate, and it was known that a contest was going on in that body over its ratification, Mr. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy, issued this order to Admiral Poor:

"Navy Department, Jan. 29, 1870.

"Proceed at once with the *Severn* and *Dictator* to Port au Prince, communicate with our consul there, and inform the present Haytian authorities that this Government is determined to protect the present Dominican Government with all its power. You will then proceed to Dominica and use your force to give the most ample protection to the Dominican Government against any power attempting to interfere with it. Visit Samana Bay and the Capital, and see the United States power and authority secure there. There must be no failure in this matter. If the Haytians attack the Dominicans with their ships, destroy or capture them. See that there is a proper force both at San Domingo City and Samana."

Port au Prince is not in or near Domingo—it is in the western part of Hayti; and many prominent Republicans, as well as the Democrats generally, regarded this order as a most dangerous proceeding, not authorized by the Constitution or laws of the United Sates, and likely to involve the country in war—in short as a gross usurpation of authority by the executive department of the government. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Schurz were particularly fierce in their denunciation of it, and indeed it is not easy for anybody to justify or defend it. Mr. Schurz characterized the act "as most absurd, most dangerous and most unrepublican." . . . "Let this first precedent of acquiescence in an act of usurpation by a successful soldier pass into our history, and you will have struck a blow at the cause of free government that will resound throughout the earth."

Nor was the administration more fortunate in the chief ground assigned for seeking to obtain the island of San Domingo. The President in his message of April 5, 1871, said: "Under the attending circumstances I felt

that if I turned a deaf ear to this appeal, I might in the future be justly charged with flagrant neglect of the public interests and an utter disregard of the welfare of a down-trodden race, praying for the blessings of a free and strong government and for protection in the fruits of their industry."

Our people had just emerged from the greatest civil war ever witnessed, caused by this "down-trodden" race, and the problems connected with which, then as well as now, were seeking anxiously for solution, and nobody has been found wise enough to solve it. When, therefore, it looked to the American people that they were asked to assume another burden of the same sort, with which to vex themselves and their posterity, and that too where the motive assigned was only philanthropic—where it was the welfare of one hundred and fifty thousand people in San Domingo and not of forty millions in the United States that we were invited to consider—they very naturally declined. To give the Dominicans the opportunity of "enjoying the fruits of their labor" seemed a motive entirely inadequate to the great step we were asked to take.

But if the enterprise had had other accompaniments than breaches of the Constitution, armed invasion of a people we were at peace with, orders by a Secretary of the Navy to destroy or capture the Haytian ships and to kill Haytian negroes, to protect Dominicans of the same race—and been rested upon a recital of the real and valid advantages that would result to the United States, and the people had been made to perceive their own welfare in the enterprise, as well as that of the Dominicans, then they might have viewed it with favor, and the island might now be our property.

If it had been clearly understood that the country was desirable in itself and of incalculable value to us commercially; that our possession of and control over it, together with its own resources, would have attracted immigration enough to give a stable government to the island; that a great city would soon grow up at Samana and the port be crowded with vessels, the picture would have been more attractive and truer than that presented.

Mr. Seward, while Secretary of State, seemed to have the acquisition of territory very much at heart. He negotiated a treaty with Denmark for the absolute purchase of St. Thomas and St. John, for $7,500,000. It was part of the agreement that the contract should be ratified by a vote, not only of the people of Denmark, but of the islands also. They did vote and agreed to it, but the Senate refused to ratify the treaty, and so that effort fell through likewise. The events of the war should have taught the American government the value of St. Thomas. The port is free, and it was from it that Confederate cruisers and blockade-runners were enabled to do their work.

And though Cuba is the undisputed and undoubted property of Spain, and far the most valuable of all her colonies or possessions, and her title is recognized by all the world, yet it has been the subject of negotiation by the United States more than once, not with Spain, but other powers. Spain having descended from her position as a first-class power, and become embarrassed in her finances, it was thought and hoped by many she could be induced to sell Cuba to the United States. It was reported that Mr. Buchanan had made an offer of $100,000,000 for it, but if so the evidence does not appear; yet the expectation and belief were so general among the European powers that the United States wanted Cuba very much, and would get it by some means whenever it could be done, that France and Great Britain jointly proposed to the United States that the three powers should enter into a convention, pledging themselves never to attempt to become the owners of the island. They went so far as actually to prepare the convention, reduce it to writing, and formally propose it. It consisted of a single article in these words, viz.:

"The high contracting parties hereby severally and collectively disclaim, both now and for hereafter, all intention to obtain possession of the island of Cuba; and they respectively bind themselves to discountenance all attempt to that effect on the part of any power or individuals whatever."

"The high contracting parties declare severally and collectively, that they will not obtain or maintain, for themselves or for any one of themselves, any exclusive control over the said island, nor assume nor exercise any dominion over the same."

This offer was of course declined by the United States, and it was on this occasion that Mr. Everett wrote his celebrated letter—a state paper certainly full of ability and patriotic impulse. He took the grounds that it was not competent to make a treaty which should be irrevocable and bind the country forever, and that the parties did not have an equal interest in the subject; that France and Great Britain were in fact proposing to surrender nothing, while the United States was asked to give away what might be of paramount importance to her. He says: "Cuba lies at our doors. It commands the approach to the Gulf of Mexico, which washes the shores of five of our States. It bars the entrance of that great river which drains half the North American continent; it keeps watch at the door-way of our intercourse with California by the Isthmus route. If an island like Cuba, belonging to the Spanish crown, guarded the entrance of the Thames and the Seine, and the United States should propose a convention like this to France and England, those powers would assuredly feel that the

disability assumed by ourselves was far less serious than that which we asked them to assume."

But the Secretary evidently thought that the day might come and would come when the United States would not only want Cuba, but would get it. After an historical sketch, in which he detailed the decline and loss both of Spain and France on the North American continent and the expansion of the United States, he said: "No word or deed of the President will ever question her title (the title of Spain) or shake her possession; but can it be expected to last very long? Can it resist this mighty current in the fortunes of the world? Is it desirable that it should do so? Can it be for the interest of Spain to cling to a possession that can only be maintained by a garrison of twenty-five or thirty thousand troops, a powerful naval force, and an annual expenditure for both arms of service of at least twelve millions of dollars? It would seem impossible for any one who reflects upon the events glanced at in this note to mistake the law of American growth and progress, or think it can be ultimately arrested by a convention like that proposed." He evidently was a believer in the manifest destiny of the United States, and expected that at some day and by some mode she would swell out of the bounds of the mainland, and spread herself over the islands near her.

The long-pent-up dissatisfaction of the Cuban people with Spanish rule at length found vent in a revolt, which was maintained so long and became so formidable as to induce the expectation that it would in the end be successful. And early in General Grant's first administration an incident occurred which gave our government a fair pretext for looking closely into the situation, and perhaps intervening in behalf of the revolutionists. The Spanish government contracted with ship-builders in this country for thirty gunboats, which it was generally believed were to be used in suppressing the rebellion. Senator Carpenter, of Wisconsin, who had become greatly interested in the fortunes of the "Cuban Patriots," offered this resolution in the Senate:

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the Senate, the thirty gunboats purchased or contracted for in the United States, by or on behalf of the government of Spain, to be employed against the revolted district of Cuba, should not be allowed to depart from the United States during the continuance of that rebellion."

Mr. Everett, in his letter, had referred to certain "domestic reasons"—meaning, of course, the existence of slavery—which prevented the President from deeming the acquisition of Cuba as desirable at that time. But the revolutionists had proclaimed a republic and formed a constitution, one of the articles of which abolished slavery. If, as President Grant thought,

helping a "down-trodden" race in Domingo was justification sufficient for annexing that island, surely it ought to afford a good reason for sustaining the new Republic in Cuba, when they proposed to do what we had just done —free the slaves summarily and forever. The point to be ascertained was, whether the state of things between Spain and the revolutionists really amounted to a state of war, and Mr. Carpenter's speech, which was very able, was partly directed to prove that it did. He held "that whenever civil administration is so far obstructed by a systematic revolt, that the laws cannot be enforced by civil officers, and the government is compelled to resort to the military power to maintain its authority, then a state of war exists," and he declared that there was abundant evidence to prove this to be the case in Cuba. But the gunboats, even while he was speaking, were floating the Spanish flag and were ready for the sea, so that his resolution, whatever might have been its fate if offered and acted upon sooner, was necessarily allowed to drop.

But though the President in his message had expressed the opinion that the revolution in Cuba had not attained such dimensions as would authorize any action on the part of our government, it is believed that he afterward obtained information which induced him to change his opinion. And it was understood that he sent a general officer of the army of high distinction to Cuba, to make a personal examination of the situation, in order that he might authentically understand it. It is further stated that the report of this officer was such as to cause a change of views on the part of the President, and induce him to think that the time for intervention in some form had come at last. But just then, according to reports, occurred a curious and accidental circumstance, which demonstrated that however much we might desire to further the cause of the Cuban patriots, we were without the ability or strength to do so.

A Spanish war vessel of great power and capacity came into the harbor of New York for repairs, and was put into the dock for the purpose. Crowbars were driven behind her, and she would certainly be necessarily detained there for some time, and might easily be kept a prisoner. We did not have, it seems, very accurate information either about the condition or location of the Spanish navy, and it was thought that this ship was the one which stood guard over Cuba, and that her necessary absence would make the way to Cuba open and easy. But it was soon learned that she was one of a fleet, and that at that moment there were four others as powerful as she at Cuba. We had then, and have now, no vessels that could fight them, and so that project came to a speedy end, and not long after the Spaniards succeeded in suppressing the revolt.

The last chapter in these various attempts of our government to locate somewhere outside of mainland, if not the most important, is the most amusing. In the Southern hemisphere, eight or ten thousand miles distant from the United States, are found the Samoan Islands, nine in number. To most people, they would not seem to be of great value to us, but an enterprising and ambitious gentleman named Steinberger, thought otherwise, and so he applied to Mr. Fish, then Secretary of State, and obtained from him authority to proceed to the islands, make a report and see what could be done. Mr. Steinberger made a lengthy and minute report, in which he told everything about the islands. But the position as agent and representative of the United States did not satisfy his ambition; he caused himself to be installed as prime minister to one of the chiefs, and after that signed himself "Steinberger, Premier." As he represented both sides in the negotiations, it is not surprising that he put them in a form satisactory at least to himself. He formed constitutions and promulgated codes both of civil and criminal law, and had everything his own way. Several of the kings wrote to the President, one of whom said:

"May it please your excellency to receive greetings from a native chieftain whose people are few and whose resources are less. We know that you are a great people, with many ships and many warriors, but that you are all united in peace; that you cultivate the soil, build great houses, make great roads, and talk to each other through the air."

Another writes, with something of a poetic touch: "Although we are not acquainted with each other and have not met face to face, nor talked with one another since the world was created, yet we write this letter in order that we may meet with one another."

Malietoa I. informs the President: "We have formed two houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons." Some English emissary must have temporarily got ahead of Mr. Steinberger when this was done. But Mr. Steinberger, premier and diplomat, has not succeeded in effecting an alliance or making a treaty between Malietoa I. and the United States.

That the United States will some day be engaged in wars is certain. No nation ever has or ever will escape them. Those who rely upon our uninvadibility by a land force, must recollect that when we do have a war with some foreign nation, it will not be on our own soil, but probably a very distant place—Central America seems the most probable spot—and that it will be a naval war and fought out on the ocean. Then we will see not the value only, but the necessity of colonies and navies.

John W. Johnston

CHAMPLAIN'S AMERICAN EXPERIENCES IN 1613

The early explorers of America did a marvelous amount of work in their days of strenuous living, and of many we fortunately possess complete and vivid histories. Champlain is one of these, and as he himself wrote his own commentaries, we have a finely-drawn, clearly cut alto-relievo portrait of him in all but autobiographical form. The end of the civil and religious wars which died out in France, with the sixteenth century, set numerous Frenchmen a-roving, and among the soldiers who had to change their manner of life was Quarter-master Samuel Champlain, who had been on the side of the king and the pope in the Brittany struggles. There was sea-water in his breed; his ancestors were fisher-folk, and his uncle a sea-captain, who was engaged to take the last of the Spanish troops out of France homeward, and Champlain, not wishing to be idle, accepted an invitation to go along. So we find him making maps of the head-lands and harbors they passed, both on the way to Cadiz and on a voyage he forthwith undertook to the Spanish Main and to Mexico, where he sketched the New World animals, trees, fruits, and aborigines, and, with his drawings, sent to the King of France a detailed account of his interesting travels. This was a little after the time when Shakespeare wrote the *Tempest*, but the description he gives of the Bermuda waters shows what the mariners in the small ships of those days thought of the weather there, and such a description as his might have inspired the poet. "Bermuda," he says, "is a mountainous island, the approach to which is dreadful on account of the surrounding dangers, for it is almost always raining there, and it thunders so often that it seems as if heaven and earth would meet. The ambient ocean is tempestuous in the extreme, and the waves run mountains high." Does not this conjure up for us Prospero and Ariel, and the "still vex'd Bermuothes?"

As this is not meant to be a life of Champlain, it is in order merely to say that Henry IV. gave him a pension, and that with other people he became associated in voyages to Canada, which Jacques Cartier had visited long years before. But Champlain had not only Cartier's dash, but a tenacity of purpose and a thoroughness in his way of doing things which were all his own. And in his several voyages he completely explored the coasts of New England, Nova Scotia, and Gaspé, helped to settle Port Royal (now Annapolis), actually founded Quebec and

Montreal, went up the Ottawa to the Lake of the Hurons or Fresh Water Sea, and ascended the Richelieu, to discover Lakes Champlain and George. He brought out clergy and established the Roman Catholic Church. He had, indeed, to surrender Quebec to the Kirks, and was carried, with others, away to England, but even there, during his five weeks' stay near the French Ambassador, I think it was he who laid the basis for the restitution of Canada to the French, which shortly followed—Charles II. giving it up so as to secure Queen Henrietta's overdue dowry—and he then went back with fuller power than ever, saw his infant colony well re-established, and died and was buried in the little city he loved so well.*

In quite early times, say in 1613, he had attempted even more; he commenced an enterprise not yet completed, though it may soon be accomplished, viz.: the establishing of a trade route between the Northern Ocean and the valley of the St. Lawrence. And of his attempt to reach the Hudson Bay by a land and river route, this paper is intended to give particulars.

His own writings must be the basis of the account, and as in this particular work he is especially lucid, there should be little difficulty in reconstructing the scene.

He commences with a picture of the way merchants over-reached themselves, and in his downright, old way he was no free-trader, but a monopolist. "They send their vessels into the ice," says he, "in the hope to be the first in the river; they secretly (as they think) bid against each other for furs and so give far more for them than necessary—thinking to forestall their competitors and getting cheated themselves." This he complained of because they were gathering the fruits of his labors, without contributing to the great costs and charges of building forts and warehouses at Quebec and elsewhere, and aiding him to make fresh discoveries for the glory and profit of France, or helping to bring the poor Indians to the knowledge of the Lord!

To remedy all this he succeeded in getting some sort of a patent of

* The *Relations* of the Jesuits are full of references to Champlain. In 1640, speaking of a Huron settlement, they say: "This was where the late M. de Champlain remained longest during his voyage to the inland sea, two and twenty years ago, and here his reputation is still a living memory in the minds of the wild races, who honor, after these many years, the numerous virtues they found him to possess, especially his chastity and continence. Would to God other early French travelers had been like him."

One dark spot appears to rest upon his noble, solid, unselfish character. He was the first to fire a shot in war in Canada. Raiding with Algonquin and Huron tribes, he sullied with Iroquois blood the shores of the lake to which by right of discovery he gave his name.

monopoly, and on the 5th of March, 1613, he and the Sieur l'Ange set sail off from France to make discoveries and to go a-fighting together if opportunity should occur.

A rapid passage enabled them to reach the Lachine Rapids on the 21st of May, and after explaining why he had not come out the year before as promised, he bought a couple of canoes, hired one Indian guide; and now begins the story proper.

Having only two canoes, he could take but four men, one of whom was Nicolas de Vignau, "the most impudent liar that had been heard of for a long time," who had lived with the Indians, knew their speech, and had been sent in previous years to spy out the country. This Vignau had returned to Paris in 1612, and told Champlain that he had seen the Northern Sea—that the Ottawa rose in a lake which had another outlet that way —and that in seventeen days you could go and return from Lachine to the Arctic Ocean. Not satisfied with this one enormous lie, he further said he had seen the wreckage of an English vessel which had been cast away there, from which eighty men had landed; that the Indians had killed them because they wished to take by force their maize and other provisions; that he had seen the heads of these English whom the Indians had scalped (as was their custom), and that they wished to show Champlain the scalps and to give him an English boy they had kept alive for the purpose.

Champlain seems to have had some doubts about the matter, for he says that though he was pleased at the prospect of finding so near what he had believed to be so far, he begged the man to tell the truth, for he was putting a rope round his neck if he was lying, though if he was telling the truth he might be sure of being well recompensed. But the fellow swore to it all and gave a written account of the country he had been through, so Champlain's doubts were dissipated, and he took the man to see Marshal de Brissac, President Jeannin, and other followers of the court; the rather because he understood that in 1610 and 11 the English under Hudson had passed through the straits in latitude 63°, and had wintered in 53°, and lost some vessels. So the dignitaries said he ought to go in person and see about it.

In going up the Ottawa nothing very remarkable happened for some days, but when they were fairly among the rapids of the Long Sapelt, "it was there," says our friend, "we had trouble. For we could not portage our craft because the woods were so dense, and the rapidity of the current so great; it makes a terrible noise and so much foam that you can't see the water, and it is so full of rocks and islets that we had to tow our craft, and I nearly lost my life as I was hauling mine along; it ran

cross-ways in a whirlpool, and if I had not been so lucky as to fall between two rocks it would have dragged me in, because I had not time to undo the line which was twisted round my hand and cut me badly so that I thought my hand was off. So I cried aloud to the Lord and began hauling in the canoe, which the eddy brought home, so I escaped and praised God and prayed for continued preservation." Of course, as he remarks, if the canoe had been lost, it would have been a poor lookout indeed! The rest of the party had similar troubles and similar escapes.

The account of the journey up the Ottawa—past the Gatineau and the Rideau, to Chaudière Falls—is so faithfully described that one can recognize every feature to this day, but all through they had a difficult journey, during which he remarked that DeVignau did not know much about the route, and was always saying there was no danger in the rapids, they must get over them.

The Indians, on the other hand said to De Vignau, "Are you tired of life?" and to Champlain, "You must not believe him," and they portaged as much as they could, though that was troublesome; and any one who has done any hard work of the kind can see Champlain sweating along, though he had "only three guns to carry and three paddles, and a great coat, and a few other trifles." Still he encouraged his folks, "who were even more heavily laden, and were more done up by the mosquitoes than by their burdens."

When they reached the Muskrat Lake, a little off the line of the Ottawa, but on the portage route, they found a chief named Nibachis, who wondered how ever they could have got up, and he gave them escort of four canoes to go and visit Tessoüat, a chief whom Champlain had met and made a friend of long before, whose people were the powerful and clever folks of Allumette Island—*the* island, as it was often called. On the way they admired the cemeteries of this people, in which the graves were marked by posts carved to resemble rudely the figure of the buried person. If it was a warrior, they represented it by a shield, a club, a bow and arrows hung on the post; if a chief, by a crest on his head and a string of beads or other ornaments; if a child, a bow and arrows; if a woman, a kettle, an earthen pot, a wooden spoon or a paddle. The body was enwrapped in the beaver skin robe or other furs, which the owner had in his life time, and they put all his accessories near it, such as axes, knives, kettles, and hooks, so as to be of use to him in the country he was going to, "for these people believed in the immortality of the soul."*

* It was on this voyage, shortly before reaching Nibachis' quarters, that Champlain lost his astrolabe. In 1867, on the old portage road to Muskrat Lake, Captain Overman's people found

Tessoüat was as much pleased as surprised to see Champlain, and at once issued invitations for a smoke. So the next day they all had a repast in Tessoüat's large dwelling—each guest bringing his own wooden plate and spoon—the viands being maize, crushed and boiled into a soup, with fish and meat cut into small pieces, no salt; also meat and fish cooked separately, which Tessoüat distributed, himself eating nothing. Thirst was slaked by beautiful spring water. The feast over, all the young men left, to stay outside the door, while the rest filled their pipes, each in turn of-

three drinking cups of silver, which fitted into each other; also a curious mathematical instrument of plate brass. This was given to Mr. R. S. Cassels, then of Ottawa, now of Toronto, who, recognizing its great value, sought out the silver cups, but unfortunately a day too late, for the peddler, who had bought them for a song, had found no one to sell them to, and had just melted them down, and showed Mr. Cassels the lump of silver; perhaps a dollar's worth. Seeing Mr. Cassels' gun with a crest engraved upon it, he said there was a "picture" on them just like that. If we only had these cups with the crest we should know positively whose they had been, but as we have not, we have to be content with Mr. A. T. Russell's inductive proof that the astrolabe and the cups were Champlain's. Champlain's books are full of observations of latitude. Now when he went by Muskrat Lake to avoid the furious rapids of the main river, he left the Ottawa at a place now called Gould's Landing, where he says, "*Ce lien estoit par* 46 2-3 *de latitude.*" This is an error of a full degree, in addition to the usual error of the instrument, and is the last place where he says he took an observation. He says of the fort on Allumette Island, where he met Tessoüat, that "*elle est parles* 47 *degrez de latitude,*" carrying forward the error of a degree. Had he his instrument still, the chances are, thousands to one, he would have detected the error in the previous observations, and Mr. Russell thinks this conclusive proof that he took no observation at Tessoüat's place at all, though he had time, opportunity, and every inducement so to do.

As far as we here know there are but three astrolabes now existing in the world. These instruments consist of a graduated circle, in the center of which is a pivot, on which works a bar. Near the end of this bar are ridges of metal, with a nick in each, and when the instrument is suspended freely, with the bar pointing to the sun at noon so truly that the ray which passes through one nick also passes through the other, you have the latitude to within a little. The error of Champlain's astrolabe would not exceed one-third of a degree. The astrolabe was in use among the Arabians. It was no doubt used by the Phœnicians and the Akkad Chaldeans, for the late W. Smith, of the British Museum (and Assyrian fame) discovered a part of an astrolabe in the palace of Sennacherib about ten years ago. "It was seemingly," Mr. Russell says, "an instrument of superior character to Champlain's; its circumference was divided into twelve parts corresponding with the signs of the zodiac, the degrees in each marked with an inner circle, naming prominent stars." In the British Museum is also one other astrolabe, obtained from the wreck on the Irish coast of one of the ships of the Spanish Armada. Astrolabes were then new to Europe. One of the last works on them (I again quote Mr. Russell) is Clavin's *Treatise on Astrolabes*, Mayence, 1611. In 1631, Vernier published a pamphlet on the constructon and use of the *New Quadrant of Mathematics.* In this is explained the nature and use of the Vernier scale (for reading subdivisions of degrees), and the new quadrant, with its vernier, soon thrust the astrolabe out of use. Meantime, during its short European career—short that is, compared to its long history among Tyrians, Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and others—it had been used by Vasco de Gama in discovering the way round the Cape of Good Hope, by Columbus in re-discovering the direct route to America, and a host of other great navigators and travelers, whose names will not die while our civilization lasts.

fering Champlain a whiff. They employed half an hour or more in this exercise, without saying a word. At last—

Champlain. I have come to testify my regard; my desire to assist you in your wars as I did before. I could not come last year because my King required me in other wars, but now I have a number of men at Montreal, and I have come to see the fertility of the country; also the lakes, rivers, and the ocean. And I want to see the nation which is six days' journey from this place; I mean the Nipissings, to invite them to war also, and I wish for four canoes and eight men of yours to take me there.

Tessoüat (after more smoking and whispered counsel among the Indians). We admit that you are better disposed toward us than any other Frenchman we have known. You have shown this in the past, and now again, by coming so far and through such great dangers to see us. We therefore regard you as one of us; but you did break your word last year, when two thousand Indians went to the Sault (Lachine) to meet you, with presents for you, and not finding you there, thought you were dead, and mourned. Moreover, the French who were there did not treat us well and refused to go with us on our foray, and we resolved not to go there again. This year, therefore, our folks went raiding on their own account. Twelve hundred have gone; so let us put off a joint expedition until next year.

As for the four canoes, you shall have them, but we do not favor your enterprise; you may have great hardships to meet; those people are sorcerers and have killed many of our folks by witchcraft and poison; as for war, it is useless to ask them; they are people of little courage.

Champlain (who only wanted to see and make friends with these people so as to get up to the Arctic Ocean). The portages and rapids cannot be worse than those I have passed. Their sorceries are powerless against me, for my God will preserve me. As for their herbs, I know them and shall not eat them.

As he was strolling through their gardens trying to kill time, observing their pumpkins, beans, and the new European peas they were beginning to grow, the interpreter, Thomas, told him that after he had left, the Indians had resolved not to furnish the canoes; that none would go with him, that they wished him to defer the journey until the year following, when they would give him a good convoy; for they had dreamed that if he were to go at once, he and his friends would die. So the following colloquy occurred:

Champlain. I have hitherto thought you truthful and honorable men, but now you show yourselves children and liars, and if you do not carry

out your promises, you will not be showing me good will; nevertheless, if it be inconvenient to give me four canoes, let me have two, with four of yourselves.

The Council. We refuse you because of the difficulty and number of the rapids, the ill-will of the tribes, and our fear that you will be lost.

Champlain. I would never have believed you could have showed me so little friendship. Why, I have a lad here (pointing to De Vignau) who has been to the country, and he saw none of the difficulties you speak about, nor did he find the people so ill-disposed.

Tessoüat (after a long pause). Is it true, Nicolas, that you say you have been to the country of the Nipissings?

De Vignau (after a long silence). Yes; I have been there.

Tessoüat (during a tumult in which they all threw themselves upon the man, as if they would cut him and tear him to pieces). You are a shameless liar, Nicolas! You know that you lay down beside me every night; you rose from beside me every morning. If you were among them, it must have been during sleep. How can you be so impudent as to tell your master lies, and so evil-minded as to wish him to risk his life among so many portages? You are a lost man; he ought to kill you more cruelly than we kill our enemies. I don't wonder now that he was so importunate, trusting your word as he did.

Champlain (to De Vignau). You must answer these folks; you must describe the country to them, so that I may believe you.

As De Vignau made no reply, Champlain took him aside, begged him to tell the truth, and promised that if he had seen the sea he would give him the stipulated reward; but if not, to say so and end all further trouble. To which with oaths he replied, affirming all he had said before, "which he would prove if they would only lend him canoes;" and the Indians resolved to send a canoe secretly to the Nipissings to inform them of Champlain's arrival, of which the interpreter told his chief. So in further council—

Champlain. I have dreamed that you are sending a canoe to the Nipissings, without telling me, which surprises me, because you know how much I wish to go myself.

The Chiefs. You offend us much because you trust a liar who wishes you to lose your life, more than so many brave chiefs who are your friends, and value it.

Champlain. Why, the man has been in the country, with a relative of Tessoüat's, and has seen the ocean, and the wreck of an English vessel, and eighty heads the tribes there have, and a young English boy, a prisoner, whom they wish to give me!

The Chiefs. The sea? The ships? The heads of the English? The horrible liar! We will call him Liar from henceforth. Kill him, or make him say who was with him, what lakes and rivers he went by!

De Vignau (with effrontery). I forget the name of the Indian.

Champlain. He has told me the name twenty times, once no later than yesterday, and here is the map he gave me in which the particulars of the route are given. Thomas, translate this for the Indians.

The Indians cross-questioned the man about the map, etc., but he did not reply, "showing his wickedness by his silence." So Champlain retired for quiet thought. He reflected on the accounts given of Hudson's voyage, with which the account of this liar seemed to agree pretty fairly. That it was unlikely such a lad could have imagined the whole thing; that it was almost incredible he would have undertaken this journey had he not seen what he recounted; that it was perhaps ignorance which prevented him from replying to the Indians; that if the English account were true, the Northern Ocean could not be more than three hundred miles away, since we were in lat. 47 and long. 280 from Ferrol (not quite exact); that the difficulty of passing the rapids and the steepness of the mountains, full of snow, might be the reason these people knew nothing of the ocean; that they had always said, and repeated this every year, that it was but thirty-five or forty days' journey from the Hurons' country to the ocean, which they could visit by three routes, but that none had seen it except this liar, whose saying the road was so short had caused him much to rejoice.

Meanwhile they were getting ready the canoe and time was pressing, so Champlain called his man again.

Champlain. The time for dissimulation has passed. I am going to take the opportunity which is given me. Tell me truly, then, if you have seen what you report or not. I will forgive all the past and forget it, if you speak truly now. But if I go on and find it false, I will have you hanged, sure, without mercy, when I return.

De Vignau (throwing himself upon his knees). Pardon, pardon, then! All I said, whether in France or here, is false. I never saw the sea. I was never up beyond this village of Tessoüat's. I only told these lies so as to get back to Canada.

Champlain (beside himself with anger). I can't bear the sight of you. Get away! Thomas, finish questioning the man, and report to me.

Thomas (after a time). I think you should not go farther. The man thought you would be deterred by the difficulties, postpone the journey, and that he would none the less have his reward. He wishes to be left here, and will go and find the sea or die in the attempt.

All which was very unsatisfactory to Champlain, who had to tell the Indians (no pleasant task) that he had been deceived, and to endure their reproaches for the little faith he had placed in them. Don't you see, they said, he wanted you to be killed? Give him to us and he will tell no more lies, we promise you; and they all set at him—children, too—calling him "Liar," "Liar!" Most of all though, the loss of the year was regretted, and all its trials and dangers, and the extinction of hope to reach the sea that way. So on the 10th of June Champlain said adieu to Tessoüat, "that good old chief," with presents and promises to come again next season and help him with his wars.

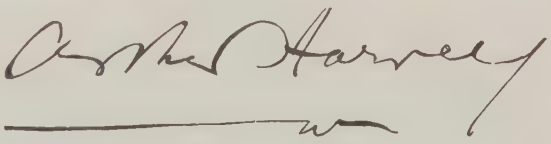
In his account of the return trip down the Ottawa, Champlain pauses (and we will pause a little with him), to give an account of the Indian superstitions clinging to the Chaudière Falls. In his succinct way he says that when the canoes had been portaged to the calm water below, one of the Indians handed round a wooden plate, each putting some tobacco in it for an offertory; which done, it was placed in the middle of the clustering band, who all danced around it, chanting after their own wild fashion. One of the chiefs then made a speech, declaring that thus they had done from of old, to be preserved from their enemies; after which he hurled the plate into the seething cauldron; they shouted all together, and went on their way with confidence. It was but a few hundred yards below that spot that the writer, with a number of friends, a great many years ago, on a fine summer afternoon, met to examine an Indian cemetery.

The ground was a pure sand, and there were, even then, dozens of tumuli marking the graves. We dug into one, and three feet below the surface, under a couple of flat stones, was the skeleton of the ancient brave. The body seemed to have been laid on its side, the knees drawn up to the breast, but it may have been buried sitting in a crouching posture. We found no relics, neither pipe nor arrow-head; the doctor of the party carried off the skull, and on my return I was asked by my wife what right I had to disturb the poor man's bones? I have never exhumed an Indian since, but have felt that the same respect is due to their remains as to those of people of a lighter skin. The spot where that cemetery was is now covered with huge saw mills and millions of feet of lumber, and the *ossa* of the old Indians have been shoveled into their great river, whose falls now light the capital of Canada with a thousand electric lamps, but memory recalls the lovely spot, as it was when the pine shrubs around it exhaled their spicy perfume in the warm summer weather, and the deep, black river rushed in front, its current flecked with the white foam-driblets from the roaring cauldron of the falls above. And imagination carries me, as easily, two or

three centuries farther into the past, when the Red Men of the Woods were undisputed lords of the forest, field, and stream, when their various nations warred as boldly as your Servians and Bulgarians of to-day, and when, with faith as confident as that of Papist or Puritan, they offered to the Spirit of the Cataract and Rapid, with measured dance and cadenced song, their time-honored sacrifices.

Dark, sullen, morose, are the legends of the Indians. "Hush," said they to the Jesuit Father Albanel, when he was being paddled around a mountain cape in Mistassini Lake; "whisper low, for the spirit of the point will be angered, invoke his thunders, call up the storm-wind and the blinding glare of lightning, and we are all lost men!" "Have a care," said they, to Menard and his successors, on Lake Superior, "cast no refuse into the clear, calm lake, or the very fish, which are instinct with the spirits of the departed, will avoid your lines and you will starve! And the island you see there, Michipicaten, is alive—it moves, it seems now close, now far away, and now it disappears—nor dare one of us ever land on its enchanted shores." Yet was there some sweet poetry in their beliefs, and Friar Sagard tells of the bowlder rock, hard by the Indian village of the Hurons on the well-beaten narrow track between it and the tribal cemetery, which stone the populace dared scarcely pass at night, or, if they did, they *heard* the spirits of departed lovers, sweeping past it on the trail, with a rushing sough, to hover round the dwelling of the ones from whom they had been parted by the *fiat*, which among Indians and white alike, is swift and fell.

Without any stirring adventures, the party reached Montreal in safety, and thence, by Tadousac, Champlain returned to France.



Rose Park, Toronto, *January* 6, 1886.

GIRTY. THE WHITE INDIAN

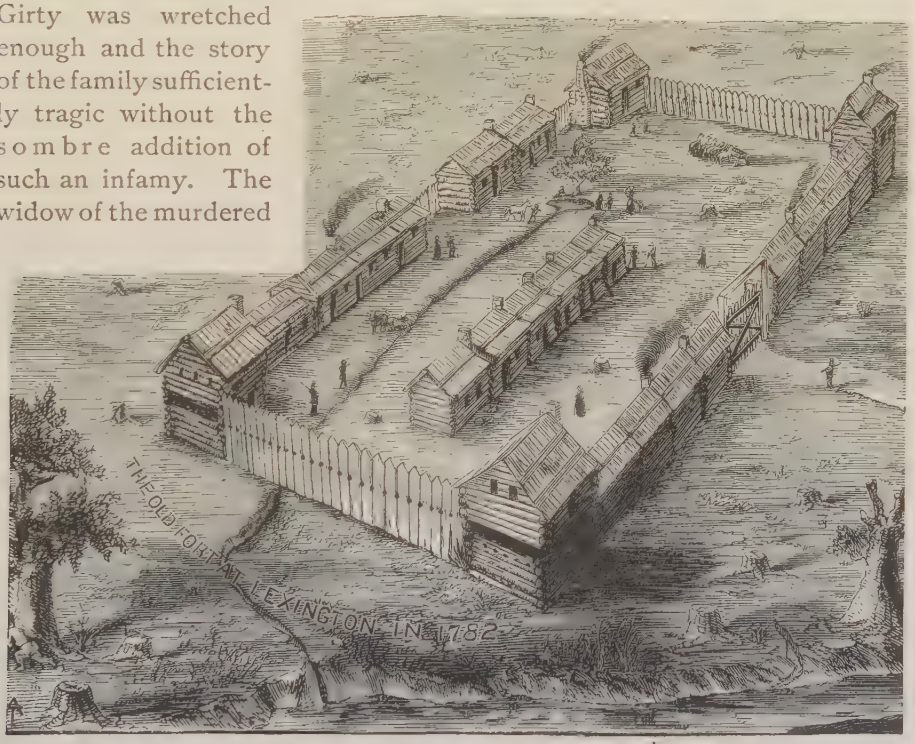
A STUDY IN EARLY WESTERN HISTORY

Though Simon Girty was one of the most unique and lurid characters that ever figured in the annals of the West ; though the part he played among the Indian tribes was frequently important and sometimes conspicuous, and though his life was a tragic romance from the cradle to the grave, yet all that was known of him for more than a hundred years from the time that he first made himself feared and hated was comprised in a few widely scattered fragments written entirely by his enemies and disfigured by errors and inconsistencies. Probably no minor personage in American history who has received as little attention as Girty has had more written of him in ignorance or been the subject of so many wild and conflicting statements. Even as late as 1883, a book, with an indorsing preface by a distinguished historian, was published, which gave as facts the fairy tales about Girty which, strange to say, have been accepted as authentic down to the present time. These very circumstances made the life of Girty attractive to the writer as an historical study, and interested him in an effort to draw out and straighten the thread of truth that has so long been knotted in this tangled skein.

The eventful story of the White Indian, which is here attempted for the first time, is mainly drawn from original sources, and needs neither the intense colorings of prejudice nor the embellishments of fancy to make it entertaining.

Simon Girty was born in 1744 at the then little backwoods settlement of Paxton, in the colony of Pennsylvania, and not far from the site of the present city of Harrisburg. His father, "old Girty of Paxtang," as he was irreverently called, a lawless, intemperate Irishman, immigrated to the colony about the year 1740, adopted the congenial pursuit of pack-horse driver in the Indian trade, married one Mary Newton, and made his home for a number of years at "Paxtang." Finding it profitable to exchange red paint, glass beads and bad whiskey for valuable furs and skins, he became a trader himself and fell into the clutches of the law as an unlicensed trafficker, and later on, in 1750, got himself into the same predicament again for appropriating certain unpurchased Indian lands on Sherman Creek, in the present Perry County, Pennsylvania. This last venture did not in-

crease his popularity with the red men, and shortly after it he was killed by an Indian named "The Fish" near his home on the Susquehanna, and not far from the land he had attempted to borrow. There is no doubt that "old Girty of Paxtang" was more of a sot than a saint, and that fact certainly did not increase his wife's affection for him, but the dramatic episode of her fall, and the assertion oft-repeated and now so ancient that her husband was slain by her paramour turns out to be a pure fabrication. Surely the life of Mary Girty was wretched enough and the story of the family sufficiently tragic without the sombre addition of such an infamy. The widow of the murdered



LEXINGTON A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

man was left to battle with poverty and privations, and her four little sons, Simon, James, George and Thomas, looked helplessly out upon an unfriendly world with no inheritance but a love of liquor, with no memories but bitter ones, and with a future overshadowed by a relentless fate.

About the year 1755, just in time to share the sufferings and horrors of the French and Indian war, the widow Girty married John Turner, who was then living on the Juniata, not far from the protecting walls of Fort Granville, near the present Lewistown, and there at his rude cabin and

clearing, for a brief season, did the unfortunate family have such scant happiness as the war and a howling wilderness afforded. But more misery was impending. In the summer of 1756, not a year and a half after Mrs. Turner's marriage, and while she was rejoicing in the smiles and dimples of an infant son, the danger signal was suddenly heard and the family barely had time to rush into Fort Granville when it was attacked by a large number of French and Indians, who had evidently heard of the absence of the commandant of the fort, who had left it with all his men but a handful under Lieutenant Armstrong to guard some reapers in Sherman's valley. The fort was fired, Armstrong and one man had been killed, several others wounded and destruction was imminent, when the enemy offered quarter to the besieged if they would surrender, and John Turner, too desperate to wait for a formal acceptance of the offer, threw open the gates. Savage mercy followed. The fort was given up to the flames and the prisoners, already worn out, were driven by forced marches to Kittanning, an Indian town on the Alleghany, where Mary Newton became a widow for a second time and the climax of her sufferings was reached. The whole village turned out with whoops and yells of rejoicing to meet the victors, and the few grown male prisoners who had not already been tomahawked were summarily disposed of. John Turner was consigned to the stake before the eyes of his agonized family, and the carousing savages amused themselves by boring holes through his flesh with red-hot gun-barrels. Finally, when flames and torture had nearly done their work, the dying man was tomahawked by a little Indian boy who was lifted up in the arms of his admiring father for the purpose. If we will just here recall the fact that the Christian government of Pennsylvania was at this very date offering rewards in cash for the scalps of Indian men, women and children, we may form some idea of the spirit which prevailed during this desperate and vengeful struggle.

During this festive halt at Kittanning the surviving captives were parceled out among the representatives of the different tribes engaged in the expedition. Thomas and George Girty were assigned to the Delawares; Simon to the Senecas, and James Girty, his mother and her infant son John Turner were delivered over to the Shawanese. On the 8th of the following September, when Colonel Armstrong attacked and destroyed Kittanning, he recaptured Thomas Girty, who thus escaped the savage education in store for his brothers. He found a home near Fort Pitt, the site of the present Pittsburgh, where he resided ever after, and gave his name to Girty's Run in the same neighborhood. The fate of his singularly unfortunate mother has given rise to many romantic but conflicting tradi-

tions, and is still involved in obscurity. There is nothing to show that she ever escaped from the clutches of the dusky demons who must have seemed to her as special agents to work out the family doom. Her baby, the little John Turner, to whom she clung so frantically through many a heartrending scene, remained for years among the slayers of his father; but though longer in captivity than any of his family, he seems to have been the least affected by savage life, and, strange to say, when at last released he sought out his brother Thomas and lived with the whites to the end of his days.

Unheard of for years, the other captive brothers roamed, with their adopted tribes, the great North-western wilderness, and day by day their savage guardians sought to destroy within them every feeling and instinct of race and civilization. The Girty blood was naturally wild and lawless, and they succeeded only too well. In 1764, at the close of Pontiac's war, the able and gallant Bouquet of the British army accomplished that wholesale rescue of prisoners from the Indians so eloquently portrayed in the noted painting of Benjamin West, and the three Girty brothers were among the number. But they had now become indifferent to deliverance. They returned with Bouquet to Fort Pitt, but they returned with souls imbued with savage feelings and with natures perverted by savage education. They had been taught to love the destroyers of their parents, and charmed with the wild, free life of the forest and the prairie, they hated to their dying day the restraints and artificial habits of white society. It is even said that they returned to their tribes, but that the Indians were again compelled to give them up. They were for a time apparently weaned away from their adopted brethren, but they never even then fought against them, were always at ease in their company, and, as will be seen later on, ultimately took up the savage life again. Much of their time after their rescue was spent about Fort Pitt, and the then wild and wooded locality in that vicinity, which later received the name of Squirrel Hill, seems to have been one of their favorite haunts. It was there that their more fortunate brother Thomas and their long absent half-brother John Turner settled, and the early history of the hill teems with highly entertaining but confused and unreliable legends of the family.

The three white savages followed in a desultory way the pursuits which harmonized most with their restless and unsettled dispositions. James and George pursued for a while their father's old business of trading with the Indians, while Simon made a reputation as scout and interpreter. It was in this last capacity that he descended the Ohio with Lord Dunmore in 1774, during the Cresap war, and assisted the Governor at the treaty in-

terview at Camp Charlotte with that great-souled amd magnificent Indian, Cornstalk, a fact which contradicts the wonderful and too thrilling story of his rage and treachery just before the battle of Point Pleasant. It was while he was with Dunmore that he became the friend and comrade of Simon Kenton, and made the acquaintance of Boone, Clark, Harrod and others who took part in the expedition and afterward figured in early Kentucky history. It was about this time, while the glowing spark of the American Revolution was being blindly fanned into a blaze, that Simon Girty fell under the malign influence of Conally, the Tory commandant of Fort Pitt, who finally brought down upon the unfortunate man the crowning curse of his already perverted life. The wily and talented commandant, deep in his plot to secure the Indians to the English, sweep the frontier settlements from existence, and decide the fortunes of the West in favor of the crown, was corrupting every man corruptible about the fort. Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott, both of whom were destined to achieve an infamous notoriety, had not only themselves succumbed already to the power of British gold but were busy helping to seduce Girty also, and it is probable that the lieutenant's commission in the Virginia militia which was given him by Conally only a few weeks before the battle of Lexington, was presented with a view to secure him as a henchman. But the plot was discovered, Conally was arrested, the militia reorganized, and the tempted Girty relegated to his former and less brilliant position of interpreter. He was employed in that capacity during the most of 1776 by the Indian agent Colonel George Morgan, but he was restless and dissatisfied, and his conduct was such that he was discharged by his employer, "for ill behavior," in August of that year. It has been asserted by various authors that Girty was busy this year—1776—assisting the Indians against the Americans, and Abbott and Perkins both make him the leader of the savage attack on Fort Henry in the fall of 1777, when the Elizabeth Zane incident is said to have occurred, but both statements, though elaborated in a highly entertaining way, are utterly without foundation. He was still at Fort Pitt at the times mentioned, but in no very amiable mood. Corrupted by Conally, disappointed in his military hopes, sore over his discharge, and too much of an Indian to be moved by the feelings and principles then stirring the patriotic garrison, but little was needed to induce him to cast his lot with the people of his adoption and their powerful employers.

Early in 1778, while the American General Hand was commanding at Fort Pitt, where Girty was once more acting as interpreter, it became plainly evident to all its inmates that the fiercest of the North-western tribes had united against the Americans and that the whole frontier would be in-

volved in savage warfare. All the Indian in Girty impelled him to side with the dusky companions of his forest life, and when at this dangerous crisis he was again approached with specious arguments and seductive promises by Elliot and McKee, who had been for months in the secret pay of the British commander at Detroit, the untaught creature, with the face of a white man and the heart of an Indian, and with no feeling of loyalty to any flag either English or American, threw in his lot with the savages and their allies. On the night of the 28th of March, 1778, three or four years later than some writers claim, this now notorious trio together with seven soldiers fled from the long familiar walls of Fort Pitt and severed their connection with their country forever. The date of their departure and the attendant circumstances are established beyond question by the official records of Major Isaac Craig, now in the hands of his grandson the accurate and accomplished Isaac Craig, Esq., of Alleghany, Pennsylvania. Major Craig, in command of artillery, was ordered to Fort Pitt during the Revolution and remained there until the close of the war. Girty soon put in an appearance at Detroit, where he was warmly welcomed by the English commandant Hamilton, whom that great soldier, Clarke, stigmatized as "the hair-buyer general." Girty's skill as a woodsman and scout, his knowledge of the Indian languages, his proficiency in all the savage arts, but above all his influence with his dusky kinsmen, made him exceedingly valuable to the English, who needed his services in advancing their interests among the North-western tribes. A few weeks before Simon's flight his brother James had been sent from Fort Pitt with presents and mollifying messages to the Shawnees, who were boiling over with righteous wrath at the cowardly murder of Cornstalk and his son. He heard the news of Simon's flight while on this mission, renewed at once his kinship with his ancient tribe and returned to Fort Pitt no more. The following year his brother George, the only one of the three regularly enlisted in the Continental army, renewed for life his connection with the people of his choice. Simon, or "Katepacomen," as the Indians called him, now allied himself with the Wyandots, "the bravest of the tribes," with whom he was more or less identified until the day of his death. They had known him ever since his childhood, and they received him now as an adopted Indian, and he soon became one of their most trusted and efficient leaders, a fact which of itself did no little toward making his voice so potent in the councils of the North-western tribes. Much of his time during the Revolution was spent within the present boundary of the State of Ohio, his favorite haunt being the Wyandotte town of Upper Sandusky, which was located about four miles north-east of the Upper Sandusky of to-day. Here the British paid

their savage allies of the West their annuities, and here Girty helped to plan and direct many of the blows that were aimed at the frontier settlements.

It was while Girty was in the Ohio country, and in the fall of the same year that he fled from Fort Pitt, that the most creditable act of his life took place. The Indians who were then constantly on the war-path brought home many captives, and among them the redoubtable Simon Kenton, whom they had taken to Wapakoneta and had already doomed to the stake, when he was recognized by Girty with astonishment and delight as his old comrade of the Dunmore expedition. At once and at the risk of destroying both his standing and influence among his inflamed and suspicious people, Girty exerted himself to the utmost to save him, and at length, after the most earnest and impassioned speeches, the power of which is attested by the effect it had upon a crowded council of prejudiced and revengeful savages, he succeeded, and taking the rejoicing Kenton to his own cabin, he fed him, clothed him and dressed his neglected wounds. White Indian as he was and renegade, if such he can strictly be called, he exhibited on this occasion at least a generosity and nobility of soul which would have done credit to a more enlightened and more civilized character. The British, however, soon made use of him to perpetrate acts the very reverse of this one, and not very long after the Kenton incident he made his first appearance in the character of an emissary among the Moravian Indians with his evil advisers Elliott and McKee, and with them sought to instigate that peaceful community to join in the war against the Americans. He is first heard of in a military capacity in January, 1779, when as the leader of a band of savages he attacked and defeated a party of Continental soldiers under Captain John Clarke not far from his old familiar haunt, Fort Pitt. The following summer, when Colonel Bowman was engaged in his attack on old Chillicothe, Girty was back in Ohio, and the report that he was advancing with a hundred warriors to the relief of that place may have had something to do with Bowman's strange and sudden order for the retreat of the expedition.

The Girty brothers accompanied Colonel Byrd when he invaded Kentucky in 1780, and it was when the force was returning to the Indian country that one of its detachments, commanded, it is alleged, by Simon Girty, defeated Colonel David Rogers at the mouth of the Licking as he was conveying a load of ammunition up the Ohio for the Americans at Fort Pitt. This victory, though not remarkable for the number of men concerned, was one of the most complete and crushing of the minor engagements of the struggle, and must have convinced the Indians that their white brother

was a brave of more than ordinary military capacity, for when Clarke retaliated on the Pickaway towns immediately after Byrd's unexplained retreat Girty was given no insignificant part in the conflict, though it is claimed that on one occasion the reckless bravery of the Kentuckians caused him to draw off his savages with the remark that "it was useless to fight fools and madmen." George Girty, the only one of the Girty brothers who, contrary to the popular impression, ever actually deserted from the American army, was duly heard from in the summer of 1781. General Irvine, then in command of Fort Pitt, records the fact that a band of Indians under this loyal savage and the noted Brandt attacked on the 24th of August and below the mouth of the Great Miami a force of volunteers on their way to join Clarke, and killed or captured every man in the expedition.

Both the date and the facts of the second demonstration against Fort Henry, which occurred very early in September, 1781, have been badly mixed by different writers, but it is quite evident that the Girtys participated in the siege, which failed through timely notice given the settlers by the Moravian missionaries—a fact which caused the disappointed Wyandots to turn 'round upon the buffeted and badgered Christian Indians, located about the site of the present Coshocton on the Muskingum, and break up their settlements. Girty took part in the brutality of his tribe, and though according to Heckewelder, a most authentic witness, "Elliott was the principal instigator of their sufferings," Girty also made himself conspicuous as a raging persecutor of the missionaries and their unresisting converts. His outrageous conduct at this time is attributed to drink—an overwhelming inherited passion. "No Indian we ever saw drunk," says Heckewelder, "would have been a match for him." But at this stage of the game in the West there was but little choice between the mercy of an Indian and the compassion of a white man, and deeds of cruelty were not confined to one side only. The spring of 1782, the last year of the Revolution, had barely come when Captain David Williamson and a party of American frontiersmen, as if bent upon surpassing the inhumanity of Girty and the Wyandots, also pounced down upon the defenceless Moravian Indians and murdered in the most cowardly and cold-blooded manner about a hundred of their men, women and children. The victims were deliberately slaughtered like so many unresisting cattle, their bodies burned in one of their own churches, and their property carried off to the settlements. It was a deed as infamous as any ever committed by the fanatical Sepoy or "the unutterable Turk," and was doubly atrocious from the fact that the murdered people had befriended the Americans. The Indians,

though they felt free themselves to worry and abuse this little band of their own people, resented this massacre as a deadly insult and outrage upon their whole race. They never forgot it, they never forgave it, and there was no mercy in store for any man who had part or lot in the matter. Howe, in his *Historical Collections*, says that even as late as eight years after the affair a settler captured near Wheeling was killed by the Indians for having been concerned in that awful crime. About the same time that Williamson murdered the Moravians occurred the celebrated defeat of Estill by the Wyandots, two events that aroused the worst passions of both sides to the highest pitch. The settlers proceeded at once to organize the ill-fated expedition of Crawford, with the declared intention of exterminating the Wyandots and Delawares of the Sandusky root and branch. No quarter was to be asked or given, no prisoners were to be taken, every Indian, be he friend or foe, was to die. The savages heard of this determination and met it with a resolution as merciless as it was inflexible. The tragic story of the Crawford expedition is well known. In June, 1782, with the murderer Williamson second in command and accompanied by a number of others who had participated in the Moravian massacre, he marched upon the Sandusky towns, failed disastrously, and fell with many of his troops into the hands of the Indians, whose hearts were burning with ferocity and the thirst for vengeance. The guilty Williamson, who so well merited death, unfortunately escaped, but Crawford was doomed. He was burned at the stake, on the 11th of June, near Upper Sandusky, in the present Wyandot County, Ohio, after prolonged and horrible sufferings from all the tortures that savage ingenuity could invent. Simon Girty, who had been a prominent leader in the conflict, and who witnessed this terrible scene, had known Crawford during the Dunmore war; had often enjoyed his hospitality, and, tradition says, had even formed a romantic attachment for his daughter. It is therefore easy to believe that the blackest thing that has ever been alleged against him is that he not only did not save the tortured and slowly-dying colonel, but answered him with a mocking laugh when he begged him to shoot him and relieve him of his agony. It is said that even the devil is not as black as he is painted, and it is possible that the same may be said of Girty. Exactly how far his savage and perverted nature carried him on this occasion will never probably be accurately known, but the commonest principles of justice require that some things that are known should be stated. It should be remembered right at the beginning that Crawford was a prisoner of the Delawares, and that they only could therefore decide his fate; and that he was burnt at a Delaware town and in retaliation for an outrage upon Delawares, for

the Moravians were of that tribe. The statement printed time and again that the ill-fated colonel was burnt by Girty's tribe, the Wyandots, betrays a gross ignorance, both of the transaction itself, and of the customs peculiar to the different tribes of that day. The writer was not surprised therefore that a Canadian descendant of Wyandot Indians, with whom he corresponded, should energetically protest that his ancestral tribe did not at that time, if ever, burn prisoners of war. Regarded simply from a tribal stand-point, Girty had no authority whatever to release Crawford. As to the influence which he might have exerted in favor of the condemned man, that is another matter, for he was certainly a person of no little power and importance among the Indians at that time. Dr. Knight, who was captured with Crawford and witnessed his tortures, and who has long been accepted as a most reliable authority on this subject, while he says that Girty refused the prayer of the tortured man to shoot him and "by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene," does not make him in any way an assistant at it. On the contrary, he even asserts that Crawford said to him: "Girty has promised to do all in his power for me, but the Indians are very much inflamed against us." An examination of the principal authorities on this subject will convince any unprejudiced person that Girty was true to his promise to Crawford, but that he was utterly powerless to save him. Heckewelder, who certainly had not one spark of love for Girty, and whose testimony is unimpeachable, says of Crawford: "It was not in the power of any man, or even body of men, to save his life." Wingemund, a Delaware chief, when appealed to by Crawford, replied: "If Williamson had been taken you might have been saved, but, as it is, no man would dare to interfere in your behalf; the King of England, if he were to come in person, could not save you; we have to learn barbarities from you white people." (See Howe, 547.) If the statements of the savage but brave and manly Wyandots are to be believed, Girty did not forget the sacred obligations of accepted hospitality, but remembered old ties in Crawford's case as he did in Kenton's. McCutchen, who claims to have obtained his information from Wyandots, says, in the *American Pioneer*, that Girty tried to save Crawford at the only time when it was possible to do it, viz., the night before his capture. That he went to him in Indian dress, and, under a flag of truce, warned him that he would be surrounded that night, and told him how he might escape; that Crawford tried to act on his advice, but that his men were too much demoralized to carry out the plan. After saying this, McCutcheon strangely adds that afterward, as a matter of speculation, Girty offered the Delaware war-chief, Pipe, three hundred and fifty dollars for Crawford, but was himself

threatened with the stake for his interference; that he was afraid after that to show the sympathy he felt for the doomed man, but sent runners, however, to Lower Sandusky, to traders there, to hasten to buy Crawford, but that he was fatally burned by the time they arrived. The latest contribution to this subject is from the venerable Mrs. McCormick, of Pelee Island, now in her ninety-sixth year, and it is doubly interesting from the fact that she was not only personally acquainted with Simon Girty, but received her information directly from her mother-in-law, who was captured by the Ohio Indians when she was about grown, and was at the Delaware town when Crawford was burnt. Mrs. McCormick kindly sent the writer the following statement, often repeated to her by her mother-in-law, in recounting the incidents of her captivity. She says: "I have often heard my mother-in-law speak of Simon Girty. She both saw and heard him interceding with the Indian chief for the life of Colonel Crawford, and he offered the chief a beautiful horse which he had with him, and the stock of goods he then had on hand, if he would release him, but the chief said 'No! If you were to stand in his place it would not save him.' She also went to see Colonel Crawford, and talked with him, and he told her that Girty had done all he could to save his life." This was no Kenton case. Crawford had invaded the Indian country with the declared intention of granting no quarter, and, what was even worse in the eyes of the infuriated savages, his intimate associate and right-hand man was the guilty Williamson. Crawford was burnt by the Delawares in retaliation for the wanton and cowardly massacre of their Moravian kindred, and there was no hope for him from the moment of his capture. Authorities differ as to the motives which actuated Girty's conduct toward Crawford, but close inquiry renders positive the declaration that Girty was not only powerless to save him, but that he would have endangered his own life if he had persisted in an open effort to do so.

It was during the days immediately following Crawford's defeat that James and George Girty so greatly increased their unsavory reputations by their brutal treatment of Slover and other captives, and more than one writer expresses the opinion that much of the odium now resting upon Simon Girty is due to the fact that many of the cruel acts of these brothers were either ignorantly or intentionally placed to his credit. The power of circumstances and education to affect the lives and conduct of men is here strikingly exemplified. Thomas Girty, reared among patriotic and civilizing influences, was now one of the respected and substantial citizens of Pittsburgh (Fort Pitt), and at the very time his three Indian brothers were joining in the war-whoop of the braves as they gathered for the destruc-

tion of Crawford's command, he was known as a lover of his country and was seeking to increase the security and good order of his town.

Elated by their victory over Crawford and spurred on by rumors of a peace which would leave the choicest of their hunting-grounds forever in the possession of their enemies, the Indians were eager to make a crowning effort for the recovery of Kentucky, and early in August of this year, 1782, a grand council of the North-western tribes was held at Chillicothe to decide the question of invasion. Simon Girty, who was now one of the most trusted and devoted of the Indian leaders, was the foremost figure at this meeting, and is credited by Bradford with having made the decisive speech of the occasion. Nearly six feet tall, straight, strong and broad-chested, with massive head and big black eyes, deeply bronzed by exposure, dressed in savage fashion and adorned with paint, feathers, and all the war trappings of his tribe, he looked every inch the Indian leader that circumstances and his peculiar talents had made him. To the assembled chiefs his words were the words of Katepacomen, their adopted brother, who was as faithful to them as the panther to her cubs; whose tent-poles had been strung with the scalps of their enemies, whose cunning was that of the fox and whose heart had never failed him in time of battle. In his speech, which aroused the warriors to the highest pitch of excitement, he depicted the ruin the whites were making of their favorite hunting-ground, urged an immediate blow for its recovery, and then with significant flourishes of his tomahawk he closed his impassioned words by a fiery call for the extermination of their enemies, which was answered by a wild and unanimous yell of approval. The council promptly declared for invasion. Girty was chosen the leader of the savage army of nearly six hundred warriors, and Bryant's and Lexington stations, which were only five miles apart, were marked as the first in order of destruction. By the middle of the month the dusky horde, after a swift and stealthy march, reached the center of the wilderness now so widely known as "the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky," and on the night of the 14th of August silently settled around famous Bryant's Station, which they had expected would fall at once into their hands through the absence of its usual male defenders. With admirable skill the wily Girty had maneuvered to draw them out to the relief of Hoy's Station, which he had caused to be threatened several days before for that very purpose, and the pioneers, completely deceived by the device, were busy with preparations for a march by sunrise, when he arrived fortunately for them a few hours before their intended departure. The deceiver was himself deceived. Mistaking the bustle and the lights within the fort to mean that his presence had been discovered, Girty ordered a premature at-

tack, which revealed to the unsuspecting and astounded garrison the imminence of its danger and ultimately resulted in the failure of its enemies. The gallant charge of the men of Lexington through the Indian lines and into the beleaguered fort; the heroic exploit of the women who marched into the jaws of death to get water for the garrison, and the successful defense of Bryant's Station are now too celebrated in story and in song to need another telling. At this siege Girty displayed his usual courage. He led on the Indians when they stormed the palisades, and in a close encounter with a Lexington rifleman barely escaped with his life. His parley with the garrison, however, when he tried to negotiate a surrender, resulted only in his mortification and the taunt of the fearless Reynolds that "they knew him, and he himself had a worthless dog that looked so much like him that he called him Simon Girty," must have convinced the White Indian how greatly he was detested by the pioneers. The alarm had now gone forth, the rescue was sounded and the siege was abandoned. Girty's plan, so admirably conceived, so well conducted and so nearly realized, failed, but in the very face of defeat and while the brave hunters of Kentucky were gathering and marching against him, beset by difficulties but undiscouraged, he formed a scheme still deeper and more dangerous to his foes. He retreated, but it was a subtle and seductive retreat, which lured the small but dauntless band of his pursuers to the fatal hills and deadly ravines of the Blue Licks, where the advice of the sagacious Boone was disregarded, and where, on the 19th of August, 1782, the Indians struck a blow that sent horror and grief to every cabin in the wilderness of Kentucky and invested the name of a barren and rugged spot of earth with a sad and sanguinary immortality. The criminal rashness of McGary, the precipitate crossing of the fatal ford, the unequal struggle, the desperate heroism of the pioneers and the sickening slaughter of the flower of Kentucky's soldiery, constitute one of the most familiar and interesting episodes of Western history; but the part played in it by the principal actor, Girty, has for some reason been substantially ignored by the writers who have treated the event during the entire century that has elapsed since its occurrence. The borderers of 1782, exasperated at Estill's defeat, inflamed by the burning of Crawford and lashed into a fury of mortification and grief over this last and great disaster, were in no mood to admit the ability of the man they hated and despised as a renegade. The disaster was charged entirely to the recklessness of the hot-headed McGary and the odious Girty was treated with silent contempt. The example thus set seems to have been followed by all the Western chroniclers since that day. But viewing now the cold facts with eyes undimmed by either prejudice or

passion, it becomes evident that the soldiership of Girty had more to do with the defeat of the gallant pioneers than the rashness of McGary, which dramatic incident has not gone unchallenged from the fact that Boone makes no mention of it whatever in his letter to the Governor of Virginia, written only a few days after the battle. The man who led on, entrapped, outgeneraled and overwhelmed such able and wary leaders as Boone, Todd and Harlin may be scorned as a renegade but not as a military chieftain. It does but little honor to the memory of the brave who battled at the Blue Licks to assert that they were beaten by a creature who had neither character nor brains.

How great was the alarm of the settlers, even after Girty had retired beyond the Ohio, may be inferred from the above-mentioned letter of Boone, in which he urges the Governor of Virginia to send troops to aid in the defense of Fayette County, in which the two greatly exposed stations, Bryant's and Lexington, were located. He declares: "If the Indians bring another campaign into our country this fall, it will break up these settlements." Girty was now by far the most prominent and influential leader among the Ohio Indians, and was dreaming of still greater military achievements, when fortunately for the distressed and weakened pioneers his career as a soldier was checked for a while by the close of the War of Independence, but not before he had, according to Bradford, made a narrow escape from the swiftly-moving forces of George Rogers Clarke, "the Napoleon of the West," who pursued him to the valley of the Miami. The autumn, so dreaded by Boone, instead of bringing Indians, brought the glad tidings of the cessation of hostilities, an event which crushed all the hopes of the savages of ever recovering Kentucky—hopes which seemed just after their great victory at the Blue Licks to be on the very verge of a glorious realization. Girty learned with disgust of the return of peace while at the head of an Indian force operating about Fort Pitt, and the news, strange to say, was first made known to him by the salutes of rejoicing fired from the very fort that he had shamelessly abandoned, and whose downfall he had so confidently predicted.

The great struggle in which the savages had been so actively engaged was now over, and Girty, resigning for a season the ambitions of military life, betook himself again to his old desultory occupations of trader, hunter and interpreter. It was during the, to him, monotonous calm of the first year after the war, 1783, that he secured a white wife by marrying Catharine Malotte, a young lady about half as old as himself, and reputed to have been at that time the beauty of Detroit. There is an air of romance even about his marriage. His wife, like himself, had been a victim of a

border tragedy and a prisoner among the Indians. A party of settlers, including her own family, while descending the Ohio in a flat-boat, seeking new homes in the wilds of Kentucky, were fired into by a band of Shawanese, who seized the boat, killed several of the party, and carried into a miserable captivity all the survivors, including the then young girl, Catharine Malotte. She was released through the interposition of Girty. Gratitude paved the way for love, and when her deliverer returned from the war as the victor of the Blue Licks, she turned away from her red-coated and more civilized admirers of the British post, and accepted their strange and notorious white savage confederate. About two years after his marriage, 1785, Girty did an act of kindness, as singular as it was unexpected, and the motive for which has never been clearly explained. According to Colonel Thomas Marshall, he posted his brother, James Girty, who was himself a thorough savage, on the northern bank of the Ohio, near the mouth of the Kanawha, to warn immigrants traveling by boat of the danger of being decoyed ashore by the Indians. McClung says that this timely notice was of service to many families, and that those who did not heed it suffered. It is asserted that Girty did this to curry favor with the Americans, and to help pave the way for his return to the people he had abandoned, but nothing has been produced to support this opinion. His conduct otherwise did not indicate it. The Indians at this time, and for years after, were constantly aggravated by the encroachments of the whites upon their North-western lands, and certainly Girty did his best to fan the increasing flame, which finally resulted in Harmar's campaign of 1790. The very name of the White Indian seemed an omen of evil to the pioneers, for it was at "Girty's Town," now St. Mary's, Ohio, that Hardin was defeated in this same campaign.

Hostilities between the Americans and Indians continued, and, Girty's services being in demand, he was once more in his element. In February, 1791, at the head of a large force of savages, he attacked and besieged Dunlap's Station on the Great Miami, but he failed as he did at Bryant's, after trying by every device of skill and terror to induce the brave and determined garrison to surrender. It was at this place that Abner Hunt met his death, but exactly how will probably never be known. O. M. Spencer, who was captured by the Indians about this time, and while he was yet a child, says in his *Captivity*, that Hunt was burned and tortured to death by Girty's Indians. Judge Burnet, in his well-known and valuable *Notes*, makes no mention whatever of the burning, but says: "Mr. Hunt was killed before he could reach the fort." Spencer is remarkable for his exuberant imagination. He pictures Girty as a regular Ital-

ian assassin of the Borgia period, with the regular stage "make-up," scowl and all, but unfortunately betrays himself by giving Girty a flat nose. He evidently dressed up his character to suit the popular demand. George and James Girty were as completely identified with the Indians all this time as if they had been actually born savages. They lived with them, fought with them, and apparently wanted no other society, and did all they could to make Indians out of the white children they frequently captured. They participated in the attack on Dunlap's Station, and each took an Indian's part in the struggle then in progress.

Simon Girty figured in the terrible defeat of the brave but unfortunate St. Clair, November 4, 1791, and was evidently a personage of some importance, but owing to the fact that the Indian side of the story of these early and bloody days is not recorded, the part he took is not clear. He is said to have received a saber-cut in this battle, but Spencer, who saw no bravery in him, and who calls him "a murderous renegado and villain of diabolic invention," says that "he was informed," while he was a badly scared child captive, "that the wound was made by the celebrated Brandt while he and Girty were engaged in a drunken frolic." That Girty could get as drunk as a lord and display all the brute that was in him when he was drunk there is no manner of doubt, but his daring character and his contempt for danger are sufficiently established to refute the imputation of cowardice. It is said that on one occasion, while engaged in a violent quarrel with a Shawanese, the Indian questioned his courage. Savage-like Girty sought satisfaction at once, and got it. Securing a keg of powder he instantly knocked it in the head, snatched a blazing fagot from the camp fire, and then, in the presence of a crowd of dusky spectators, called on the Shawanese to stand by him while he waved the sparkling torch above the powder. But the taunting Indian decamped amid the derisive laughter and yells of the Indians.

An incident which is thought to have occurred shortly after St. Clair's defeat, and which is given on British authority, indicates that Girty shared the feelings of his tribe against the horrible practice of burning prisoners. Several captives who had been taken during the recent battle, by some of the Indian allies, were condemned to the stake, and, in spite of every influence that Girty could bring to bear, the fatal fires were kindled to the delight of the assembled multitude of drunken braves, screeching squaws and capering children of all ages. Among the prisoners was an American officer, in whose behalf Girty especially exerted himself, but without effect. Finally, when his doom seemed inevitable, Girty, who was always fertile in expedients, seized a favorable moment when unobserved and dropped him

a significant hint. The officer, very fortunately, instantly comprehended it, and, as he was being taken to the stake, he suddenly snatched a papoose from the arms of a squaw and threw it toward the flames where another prisoner was burning. The wildest excitement instantly ensued; men, women and children fell over each other in the simultaneous rush that was made to save the baby. The child was rescued, but, in the midst of the frantic and indescribable confusion, the officer made good his escape. To his credit be it said, that he never forgot his deliverer, and, as will be seen further on, did his best to prove his gratitude in 1812 when the fortunes of war brought trouble to Girty.

During the years 1792–3, when the Federal Government through commissioners was seeking to establish a permanent peace with the North-western tribes, Girty was conspicuous as the adviser and interpreter of the Indians. He counseled them with all the earnestness of a natural-born savage to resist every effort of the Americans to acquire their lands north of the Ohio, and his voice seems to have been as potent with them as ever. In fact, he is said to have been the only man with a white skin allowed to be present at the most important private consultations of the red men. Girty and his Wyandots were found arrayed against the Americans in the campaign of 1794, and they took part in the desperate attack on Fort Recovery on the 30th of June, and were present at the battle of Fallen Timber on the 20th of the following August, when old Mad Anthony Wayne visited such a crushing defeat upon the brave but fated savages. Girty was now getting on in years, and when the treaty of Greenville, in the summer of 1795, closed the old Indian wars of the West and brought his hunting-grounds and his adopted kinsmen under the authority of the people he had fought so long and hated so cordially, the battle-scarred warrior, disappointed, disgusted and furious, abandoned forever his old home on the St. Mary's and followed the retiring British to Detroit. He was there in July, 1796, when the English gave up to the United States this the last of the military posts they held in the North-west, and the advancing troops of Wayne felt sure that now at last the daring and notorious White Indian would fall into their clutches. But the wily old fox scented the danger just in time, and desperately determined to risk the chance of drowning to capture by his enemies, he boldly plunged his horse into the Detroit River as the soldiers came in sight, fought his way successfully through the sweeping current to the Canada shore, and there, with the water streaming from his clothing but still seated firmly upon his panting horse, he shook his fist at his baffled pursuers and poured out upon them and the United States Government a torrent of the wildest and most savage curses.

Driven at last from American soil, Girty found a refuge at Fort Malden, a post which had been established by the British on the east side of Detroit River, on the Canadian frontier just before the evacuation of Detroit, and distant only fifteen miles from that stockaded village so famous in the annals of Indian warfare. Fort Malden commanded the entrance to Detroit River and from its walls the red-coated sentinel could look for many a mile up the stream which separated him from the territory of the new Republic, and turning, view the beautiful waters of Lake Erie spreading out before him as far as the eye could reach. The ground once occupied by this defense is now the property of Hon. John McLeod, ex-member of the Canadian Parliament. A platform of elevated earth cast up in the long ago by the veterans of George III., and the stump of the flag-staff that once surmounted it, are now the only remains of the fort from whence issued the invading forces which brought death and disaster to the American soldiers of the war of 1812. The very name "Malden" has almost disappeared from the maps, and its successor, "Amherstburg," now designates the picturesque spot in the County of Essex, Upper Canada, where once the royal stronghold stood. But the Malden of 1796 which Girty sought, though but an outpost of the wilderness frontier, was busy enough just then, surrounded as it was by hundreds of hungry refugee Indians from the war-desolated North-west, who were clamoring for aid and comfort from their British employers. Here he found many warriors of his own tribe preparing to settle on lands granted them as allies of the crown, and here safely ensconced were Elliott and McKee, his corrupters of Fort Pitt and his boon companions for twenty years. They had found it convenient to be among the earliest arrivals. These educated white mercenaries grew rich from the fruits of their treason, while the illiterate Girty, Indian-like, waxed poorer and poorer. It was well said lately to the writer by a scholarly correspondent who owns original papers bearing upon the Girty case, that "Girty was terribly punished for his conduct, whilst men who deserved it more escaped almost unscathed." As this society (about Malden), Indians, refugees and British, was the most home-like Girty could expect to find, the soil fertile, the region sufficiently wild and abounding with game and no war promising immediate excitement, he settled with his family on a piece of land at the head of Lake Erie and about a mile and a half below Malden, the same now owned by W. C. Mickle. Following on with other fugitives came James Girty, the most degraded, blood-thirsty and uncivilized member of the family, a thorough Indian in feelings, manners and life. Caring for no society but that of his fellow-savages, he settled with his Shawnee squaw, his dogs and his wild young children, on Middle Sister

Island, not far from his brother. After his settlement at Malden, Simon Girty resumed the occupation of interpreter, and was much among the Indians who constantly visited the fort and camped upon his land. But the monotony of peace, which accorded so little with a nature that was fiery, untamed and adventurous to the last, pushed him to extremes for relief. Sometimes he sought excitement in the rum he loved so much and which was dealt out so freely at the fort, and then he was an Indian indeed, and would tear around on horseback flourishing an Indian war club, singing Indian war songs, and filling the air with the terrible sounds of the scalp halloo. Sometimes his recreation would be a long hunt with a party of savage kindred, and again it would be some dangerous expedition. Tradition reckons with this last his celebrated trip to Pennsylvania in 1811, when in disguise he risked his life to see once more his relatives and old haunts at Squirrel Hill, east of Pittsburgh, where his brother Thomas and half-brother John Turner lived and died respected. John Turner, who seems to have always been loyal and affectionate to the notorious and hated Simon, is known as "the benefactor of Squirrel Hill," from the fact that he donated a burying-ground to the citizens of that locality at his death, which occurred in 1840, after he had attained the advanced age of eighty-five. All sorts of wonderful and improbable tales are told of this bold appearance of Simon in the very midst of his enemies. One of the wildest recounts an attack that was made upon him while he was concealed at Turner's house, and the statement is made that he then received a saber-cut in the head which ultimately caused his death. Unfortunately for this thrilling tale the saber-cut dated back to St. Clair's defeat. He was convinced however that he was still cordially detested, and especially at that time when the hostile movement of the Wabash Indians caused the savage horrors of the past to be so vividly recalled. His presence was detected and vengeance was threatened, but he escaped, and returning home found all Upper Canada in excited commotion over the rapidly approaching war between the United States and England and the certain invasion of the province.

War was proclaimed on the 19th of June, 1812, to the delight of the savage beneficiaries of Great Britain, who had for weeks been gathering in swarms about Fort Malden, and the very name of that post soon became to the Americans the synonym for defeat and death. Girty was an old man when the war commenced, but not too old to encourage a band of Wyandots to rally around Tecumseh and the British standard. After the lapse of many years the aged victor of the Blue Licks, and the remnant of his broken people, were again united against their ancient and inveterate North-western foes. But the health of Girty was shattered, and he was so

nearly blind that he could lead no more his dusky hosts to battle, but he dimly saw the flash of the guns which announced the shameful surrender of Hull; stood once again within the stockaded walls of Detroit, to which he had been so long a stranger, and heard the exultant shouts of his lessening tribe as it returned from the bloody massacre of Raisin, a deed which inspired every Kentucky soldier with the feelings of an avenger, revived bitter memories of the Indian tragedies of the past, and with them the name of Girty, which was mentioned again with threats and curses. And fate as usual was against him. The tide of war turned, the British fleet was destroyed, Malden was captured, and Girty became a fugitive. But one at least of the soldiers who pursued the retreating forces of Proctor wished the White Indian no evil. It was the American officer whose life he had saved by suggesting the desperate expedient of casting the Indian papoose toward the flames. A British authority asserts that, though this officer had retired from the American army, he rejoined it in 1813 with the express purpose of doing his best to protect Girty in the event of his capture. It was an exhibition of that rarest of noble qualities, gratitude, which makes one think better of his race. But the ill-starred Girty, from whom happiness always stood afar off, was denied the pleasure of ever knowing that he had a single friend among the advancing Americans. They never met. With pain and difficulty Girty followed the retreating British and Indians until the 5th of October, 1813, when Harrison virtually closed the struggle in the North-west by his victory at the Thames. And here also, according to the veracious Campbell, was ended the checkered career of the notorious White Indian. Campbell says: "It was the constant wish of Girty that he might breathe his last in battle. So it happened. He was at Proctor's defeat on the Thames, and was cut to pieces by Colonel Johnson's mounted men. Nearly three-quarters of a century have elapsed since the battle of the Thames occurred, and though in that long period books and pamphlets without number on Western history and the War of 1812 have been published, still, strange to say, in spite of all this investigation, this statement of Judge Campbell was the nearest approach that writers made to the actual truth concerning Girty's death, and was, with one very late exception (Mr. Butterfield) received by all as authentic history. Simon Girty was not only not killed in the battle of the Thames, but he was prevented by blindness and rheumatism from taking any part whatever in the engagement. His brother James, however, followed the brave Tecumseh that day into the thickest of the fight, his younger brother George is said to have died about this time, and it was during this war that Simon lost his

son Thomas, from sickness occasioned by over-exertion in gallantly carrying a wounded officer from the field of battle, and it is possible that the error so long perpetuated about the death of Simon may have arisen from a confusion of these events, all of which involved the Girty name. The collapse of the British army at the Thames found Simon Girty homeless and a wanderer, but, moved by the same instinct of savage brotherhood which ever characterized him, he sought and found a refuge at a village of the Mohawks on Grand River. This village, which was located in the midst of some of the finest land in the Dominion, and on probably the most picturesque of Canadian streams, was settled at the close of the American Revolution, under the leadership of Girty's Indian friend and comrade, the distinguished Brandt. It is a singular coincidence that Campbell, the celebrated poet, should have made a mistake about Brandt so similar to the one made by another and more obscure Campbell about Girty. In *Gertrude of Wyoming*, "the monster Brandt" is mentioned as a participant in that cold-blooded massacre, of which Thomas Campbell so touchingly sung, though the fact is established that he was not present on that tragic occasion.

Girty shared the whiskey and venison of his Indian friends until the close of the war in 1815, when he returned to his solitary farm near Malden. It was solitary indeed. His two daughters were married, and in homes of their own; the son of his heart had died during the war; and his wife, worn out by his wild and irregular life and Indian-like ways, had left him long ago. Only one of his family, his son Prideaux, lingered about him. To add to his gloomy reflections, his savage brother James was nearing the grave. Shunned by white people, and deserted even by his Indian squaw, the miserable creature lingered on through months of pain, and at last was found dead on the beach of Middle Sister Island, on the 15th of April, 1817. The final shadows were gathering thick and fast about the aged victor of the Blue Licks also. Blind, rheumatic, and shattered in health, the terrible Canadian winter succeeding his brother's death told with fatal effect upon him. He declined rapidly, but showed no concern whatever about his condition, and bore his sufferings with the proverbial stoicism and fortitude of his adopted race. During the bitter weather prevailing but few bothered themselves about the now desolate and sinking recluse. The remnant of his old tribe, however, did not entirely forget him in his extremity, and occasionally a solitary Wyandot, as seamed and scarred and grizzled as himself, would come to his bedside suddenly and unannounced, take the thin hand of his dying brother "Katepacomen," and with tender grasp, but impassive countenance, greet him in the familiar tongue of his

dusky people. Girty died in the month of February, 1818; his troubled and tempestuous life fitly ended in the midst of a driving snow storm. He had paid no attention to religion as understood by white men, and if he died in any faith at all it was in that of the Indian—a simple trust in the power and the goodness of the Great Spirit. He was buried near Amherstburg (Malden) on his farm, now known as the W. C. Mickle place, while the snow was so deep that his body had to be carried over the fences. His grave can still be pointed out, though it is entirely unmarked, and so utterly neglected that a common farm gate swings over the spot. And so ended the unhappy life of a creature who became by the force of warping circumstances the anomaly of early Western history.

No estimate of Girty can be either correct or just which does not take into account the influence which captivity and savage training had upon his character. How powerful it was is shown by the significant facts that it not only effaced the natural antipathy for the destroyers of his parents, but so perverted his normal instinct of race that he was never again in full sympathy with his own people, while, as far as known, he was always true to the Indians, and retained their confidence and friendship to the end of his days. The early settlers knowing that he was a white man by birth, but ignorant of his captivity and its effects, very naturally hated and despised him as a renegade. The term, however, does not apply to him in its infamous sense as it applies to Elliott and McKee, who had nothing whatever in common with the Indians, while Girty was one of them in almost everything but complexion. He was more of a savage than a renegade ; more of a Brandt than an Elliott, and took part in the forays and outrages against the whites, not with the cowardice and mean malice of an outcast, but as a leader of his adopted people, and with the bravery and open hatred of an Indian. He was substantially an Indian ; was neither better nor worse than an Indian, and should in the main be judged as such.

George W. Ranck

THE TRENT AFFAIR

I shall never forget my delight, October 16, 1861, when, on meeting Senator John P. Hale in Pennsylvania Avenue, opposite the White House, he informed me, in a jubilant manner, that James M. Mason and John Slidell, Confederate Commissioners to England and France respectively, had been captured on board the British mail steamer *Trent* by Captain Charles Wilkes, of the United States steamer *San Jacinto*, and brought into Hampton Roads, Virginia. Old Point Comfort was electrified by the tidings, and the announcement was no sooner sent over the wires than expressions of joy were heard from every quarter of the Union outside the seceded States. The *Baltimore American* said: "Two of the magnates of the Southern Confederacy, two, perhaps, who have been as potent for mischief as any that could have been selected (out of South Carolina) from the long list of political ingrates, have 'come to grief' in their persistent attempts to destroy the noble government to which they owe all the honorable distinction they have hitherto enjoyed."

Neither press nor people waited for the particulars of the capture before proceeding to discuss at length the question of its legality. The *Baltimore American*, while apparently justifying the act, expressed the opinion that it was "a violation of the laws of neutrality, strictly considered;" but, later, the editor said he thought the character of the question was "beyond the reach of mere diplomacy," and that the government had no other alternative than to adhere to the position it had already assumed. "In numerous ways government and people have fully endorsed the act of Captain Wilkes, and the verdict will never be reversed although all Europe, with England at its head, demand it." The *National Intelligencer* said: "The proceeding of Captain Wilkes is fully justified by the rules of international law as those rules have been expounded by the most illustrious British jurists and compiled by the most approved writers on the laws of nations." In support of this position many British authorities were cited. In the declaration of war by Great Britain against Russia, promulgated on the 28th of March, 1854, the following language was used: "It is impossible for Her Majesty to forego her right of seizing articles contraband of war, and of preventing neutrals from bearing enemies' dispatches."

There was a British precedent during the Mexican War, General Paredes, a bitter enemy of the United States, who was arrested in 1846, at the

beginning of the war, and, being in Europe, was brought to Vera Cruz on the 14th of August, 1847, in the British mail steamer *Treviot*. Secretary Buchanan made complaint in a letter to Mr. Bancroft, our Minister to England, saying, "A neutral vessel, which carries a Mexican officer of high military rank to Mexico for the purpose of taking part in hostilities to our country, is liable to confiscation, according to the opinion of Sir William Scott"—high British authority, whom he quotes. Mr. Bancroft wrote to Lord Palmerston, who admitted the justice of the complaint, and the commander of the *Treviot*, Captain May, was ordered to be suspended for what the British Government unhesitatingly acknowledged to have been a violation of the belligerent rights of the United States. Dr. Robert Phillimore, Advocate of Her Majesty in her office of Admiralty as Judge of the Cinque Ports, held that "it is indeed competent to a belligerent to stop the ambassadors of his enemy on his passage." The Washington *Evening Star*, November 9, said: "The British Government should direct Lord Lyons to return the thanks of Her Majesty to the United States Government for its forbearance in not having seized the steamer *Trent*, brought her into port, and confiscated ship and cargo for an open and flagrant breach of international law. The Queen's Proclamation of May last acknowledged the rebel States to be belligerents—enemies of the United States—and by their own principles of international law, British ships were thereafter to abstain from carrying dispatches, or doing any act that favored the Confederates, under penalty of seizure and confiscation. Slidell and Mason should be held in rigid custody until they can be tried and punished for their crimes against the Government of the United States. Their sham character of ambassadors affords no protection. It is a lawful right of belligerents to seize an ambassador, as soon as any other person, if he can be caught at sea. The minister appointed by the Continental Congress to Holland, Henry Laurens, was captured on the 3d September, 1780, by a British frigate, on his passage to Holland, near Newfoundland, was taken to England, and, after examination, committed a close prisoner in the Tower of London on a charge of high treason. Indulgence would be thrown away on arch-traitors like Slidell and Mason."

Hon. Edward Everett, before the Middlesex Mechanic's Association at Lowell, justified the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell as perfectly lawful—their confinement in Fort Warren perfectly lawful—and said they "would no doubt be kept there until the restoration of peace, which we all so much desire"—and "we may, I am sure, cordially wish them a safe and speedy deliverance." Mr. George Sumner, a well-read lawyer, said in the *Boston Transcript* of November 18: "The act of Captain Wilkes was

in strict accordance with the principles of international law, recognized in England, and in strict conformity with English practice." Even the British Consul at New Orleans, Mr. Muir, it was authoritatively stated, justified the seizure and supplied legal authority to appear in a leading editorial of one of the city papers.

Mr. George Ticknor Curtis and Mr. George S. Hillard, of Boston, however, among others, pointed out the irregularity of the seizure in not carrying the *Trent* in for judicial condemnation. The *New York Herald* said: "It will not probably enter the mind of a single American, for a moment, even after reading the news in our columns to-day, that Mason and Slidell will be surrendered to the English Government." There were some discordant voices. For instance the *New Orleans Crescent* said this "high-handed interference with a British mail steamer by the Lincoln Government will either arouse John Bull to the highest pitch of indignation, or it will demonstrate that there has been an understanding between the two governments for a long time—that England has been and is assisting the Abolition Government to the detriment of the South."

Then, from the other side of the line, the *Toronto Globe* and *Toronto Leader* both condemned the act. The *Globe* denounced it as "an outrage on the British flag, and an infraction of international law;" and the *Leader* declared it was "the most offensive outrage which Brother Jonathan has dared to perpetrate upon the British flag." Immediate liberation of the prisoners and apology, they claimed, should be demanded. At the same time it was proposed to raise an English subscription in New York to prosecute the captain of the *Trent* in the English law courts for violating the Queen's proclamation, in case of delay of the Queen's attorney-general to bring suit, or the owners of the vessel should decline to prosecute him.

Such was the general drift of public sentiment immediately after the news of the capture was received. The circumstances attending the seizure are briefly told. The *San Jacinto*, which had been attached to the United States African Squadron, left St. Paul de Loanda on the 10th of August in the temporary command of Lieutenant (now Rear-Admiral) D. M. Fairfax, with orders to wait at Fernando Po for Captain Wilkes, who took command there. On arrival at Cienfuegos, they learned that the steamer *Theodora* from Charleston, South Carolina, with Messrs. Slidell and Mason on board, had run the blockade, and he determined to pursue and intercept her if possible. On reaching Havana, he found she had left that port on her return, and that the Confederate Commissioners were waiting to take passage to Europe in an English vessel. He then conceived the bold

plan of intercepting the British mail steamer and, in the event of their being on board, to make them prisoners. He cruised in the Old Bahama channel where they encountered the *Trent* on the morning of the 8th November. The account reads: "We were all ready for her, beat to quarters, and as soon as she was within reach of our guns, every gun of our starboard battery was trained upon her. A shot from our pivot gun was fired across her bow. She hoisted English colors but showed no disposition to slacken her speed or heave to. We hoisted the star-spangled banner, and as soon as she was close upon us fired a shell across her bow, which brought her to." Captain Wilkes hailed her and said he would send a boat. Thereupon he ordered Lieutenant Fairfax to board her. Under date of November 12, Lieutenant Fairfax reports the particulars to Captain Wilkes on board the *San Jacinto*, as follows: "At 1.20 P.M. on the 8th instant, I repaired alongside of the British mail packet in an armed cutter, accompanied by Mr. Houston, second assistant engineer, and Mr. Grace, the boatswain, I went on board the *Trent* alone, leaving the two officers in the boat, with orders to wait until it became necessary to show some force. I was shown up by the first officer to the quarter-deck, where I met the captain and informed him who I was, asking to see his passenger list. He declined letting me see it. I then told him that I had information of Mr. Mason, Mr. Slidell, Mr. Eustis, and Mr. McFarland having taken their passage at Havana in the packet to St. Thomas, and would satisfy myself whether they were on board before allowing his steamer to proceed.

"Mr. Slidell, evidently hearing his name mentioned, came up to me and asked if I wanted to see him. Mr. Mason soon joined us, and then Mr. Eustis and Mr. McFarland, when I made known the object of my visit. The captain of the *Trent* opposed anything like a search of his vessel, nor would he consent to show papers or passenger list. The gentlemen above mentioned protested also against my arresting and sending them to the United States steamer near by. There was considerable noise among the passengers just about that time, and that led Mr. Houston and Mr. Grace to repair on board with some six or eight men, all armed. After several unsuccessful efforts to persuade Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell to go with me peaceably, I called to Mr. Houston and ordered him to return to the ship with the information that the four gentlemen named in your order of the 8th inst. were on board, and force must be applied to take them out of the packet. About three minutes after, there was still greater excitement on the quarter-deck, which brought Mr. Grace with his armed party. I, however, deemed the presence of any armed men unnecessary, and only calcu-

lated to alarm the ladies present, and directed Mr. Grace to return to the lower deck, where he had been since first coming on board. It must have been less than half an hour after I boarded the *Trent*, when the second armed cutter, under Lieutenant Green, came alongside (only two armed boats being used). He brought in the third cutter, eight marines and four machinists, in addition to a crew of some twelve men. When the marines and some armed men formed just outside the main-deck cabin, where these four gentlemen had gone to pack up their baggage, I renewed my efforts to induce them to accompany me on board. Still refusing to accompany me unless force was applied, I called to my assistance four or five officers, and first taking hold of Mr. Mason's shoulder, with another officer on the opposite side, I went as far as the gangway of the steamer and delivered him over to Lieutenant Green, to be placed in the boat. I then returned for Mr. Slidell, who insisted that I must apply considerable force to get him to go with me. Calling in at least three officers, he also was taken in charge and handed over to Mr. Green. Mr. McFarland and Mr. Eustis (the secretaries of Mason and Slidell), after protesting, went quietly into the boat. They had been permitted to collect their baggage, but were sent in advance of it, under charge of Lieutenant Green."

Lieutenant James A. Green, says: "When Lieutenant Fairfax gave the order for the marines to be brought in, he heard some one call out 'shoot him.' As the marines advanced, the passengers fell back. Mr. Fairfax then ordered the marines to go out of the cabin, which they did, Mr. Slidell at the same time jumping out of a window of a state-room into the cabin, when he was arrested by Mr. Fairfax, and was then brought by Mr. Hall and Mr. Grace to the boat, into which he got." Lieutenant Green further states that Commander Williams, the mail agent, said "the Northerners might as well give up soon." Lieutenant Green adds that, with the exception of the captain, who was "reserved and dignified," the officers of the vessel generally showed an undisguised hatred for the Northern people and a sympathy for the Confederates, denouncing Lieutenant Fairfax and his men as "pirates, villains," etc. He says he was informed by one of the crew of the *Trent* that Commander Williams was advising the captain to arm the crew and passengers of his ship, as Williams threatened that "the English squadron would break the blockade in twenty days after his report."

On his arrival at Hampton Roads, Captain Wilkes came ashore, and at once sent Lieutenant Taylor with his report to Washington. He had a long conversation with General Wool, then in command there, who expressed the opinion that he had done right, and said that "right or wrong, he could only be cashiered for it." Wilkes' report to Secretary

Welles, of the Navy, bears date Hampton Roads, November 15, 1861. He wrote: "I have found it impossible to reach New York, my coal being exhausted. I shall procure sufficient in a few hours to proceed forthwith to my destination, New York, where I hope to receive your instructions relative to the Confederate prisoners I have on board this ship. I have determined to send Commander Taylor, U. S. Navy, who is a passenger from the coast of Africa, to Washington by the boat, as bearer of dispatches, and have given him orders to report to you in person."

On receipt of Captain Wilkes' report, November 16, the Secretary of the Navy sent to Commodore H. Paulding, Commandant of the Navy Yard, New York, the following telegram: "You will send the *San Jacinto* immediately to Boston, and direct Captain Wilkes to deliver the prisoners at Fort Warren. Let their baggage be strictly guarded and delivered to the colonel at Fort Warren for examination. The *San Jacinto* will be paid off at Boston. Send amount of money required. Answer per telegraph."

On same day, William H. Seward, Secretary of State, united with Secretary Welles in the following telegram to Robert Murray, United States Marshal, New York: "You will proceed in the *San Jacinto* to Fort Warren, Boston, with Messrs. Mason and Slidell and suite. No persons from shore are to be permitted on board the vessel prior to her departure from New York." We next hear of the *San Jacinto* at Newport, Rhode Island, 21st November, where Captain Wilkes was obliged to stop on account of the stress of weather and for coal. Meantime it appears his prisoners had united in a request that they might be permitted "to remain in custody at Newport, on account of the comparative mildness of climate and the delicate health" of one of their number. They said they were "willing to pledge themselves not to make any attempt to escape, nor to communicate with any person while there unless permitted to do so." This request being sent by telegram to Secretary Welles, he replied same day, November 21: "The government has prepared no place for confinement of the prisoners at Newport. The Department cannot change the destination of the prisoners."

On November 22, the Secretary of the Navy telegraphed to Captain William L. Hudson, Commandant Navy Yard, Boston: "Direct Captain Wilkes immediately on his arrival to have the effects of the rebel prisoners on board the *San Jacinto* thoroughly examined, and whatever papers may be found to send them by special messenger to the Department. Answer per telegraph." November 24, Captain Wilkes reported his arrival at Boston, after having to put into Holmes' Hole on the morning of the 22d, on account of fog.

On her way from Hampton Roads to Fort Warren, the *San Jacinto* encountered a terrible gale, which old sailors said had not been surpassed off Cape Cod for twenty years, and she was so much delayed that she was obliged, as already stated, to put into Newport for coal, which was sent to her in lighters. The Confederate Commissioners and their secretaries occupied the captain's cabin, and messed with him at table. He had, when they first came on board, tendered the offer of his cabin for the accommodation of their families, but this was declined, and the latter proceeded on their way in the *Trent*. All political talk was prohibited by Captain Wilkes. Colonel Dimmick, in command at Fort Warren, received the prisoners; their baggage was landed and examined, consisting of six or eight trunks, six valises, several cases of brandy, wines and liquors, a dozen or more boxes of cigars, and two casks (pints and quarts) of ale, and conveyed in two carts. No dispatches were found. These all went on with the ladies of the prisoners, and reached England from St. Thomas in the British steamer *La Plata*. Shortly after going on board the *San Jacinto*, the prisoners joined in a letter to Captain Wilkes, in which they gave their version of the circumstances of their arrest and transfer to his ship, and requested that it be forwarded to Washington with his report, which was done. They afterwards also united in a note to him, acknowledging the courtesy with which they had been treated on board.

There was a banquet at the Revere House, in Boston, in honor of Captain Wilkes, Hon. J. Edmunds Wiley presiding. His act was highly applauded by Mr. Edmunds, Governor Andrew, and Chief-Justice Bigelow. Captain Wilkes and Lieutenant Fairfax made speeches, briefly describing the capture. Captain Wilkes said he "had read in the law books that dispatches from an enemy were contraband of war, and he took it for granted that ambassadors were the embodiment of dispatches." In his report to the Secretary of the Navy, he called them "live dispatches." Governor Andrew said he was in the office of the Secretary of War when the dispatch came announcing the capture, and that he joined heartily in the cheer led by the Secretary. He pronounced the act as "not only wise judgment, but also manly and heroic success."

On November 30, Secretary Welles wrote Captain Wilkes at Boston: "I congratulate you on your safe arrival, and especially do I congratulate you on the great public service you have rendered in the capture of the rebel emissaries. Messrs. Mason and Slidell have been conspicuous in the conspiracy to dissolve the Union, and it is well known that when seized by you they were on a mission hostile to the government and the country. Your conduct in seizing these public enemies was marked by intelligence,

ability, decision, and firmness, and has the emphatic approval of this Department. It is not necessary that I should in this communication—which is intended to be one of congratulation to yourself, officers, and crew—express an opinion on the course pursued in omitting to capture the vessel which had these public enemies on board, further than to say that the forbearance exercised in this instance must not be permitted to constitute a precedent hereafter for infractions of neutral obligations."

The news of the seizure reached the Lords Commissioners in London on the 27th November, and by their order immediately communicated to Earl Russell. At the same time a public meeting was called there and a resolution presented calling on the government "to assert the dignity of the British flag by requiring prompt reparation for this outrage." On the suggestion of Mr. John Campbell, one of the speakers, that the capture might have been justifiable in view of British law on the subject, the resolution was laid over.

The *London Times* was at first quite moderate. It fully admitted the right of search, and said the British Government "had established a system of international law which now tells against us." It quoted Lord Stowell, who held that "the only security that nothing is to be found inconsistent with amity and the law of nations, known to the law of nations, is the right of personal visitation and search to be exercised by those who have an interest in making it." It also cited the opinion of Chancellor Kent, wherein he declared that "The duty of self-preservation gives to belligerent nations this right. The doctrine of the English Admiralty Courts on the right of visitation and search and on the limitation of the right, has been recognized in its fullest extent by the courts of justice in this country" (the United States). But the *Times* claimed that when these decisions were given a different state of things existed. There were then no mail steamers or vessels "carrying letters wherein all the nations of the world have immediate interest." Hence, England did then what they would not now do nor allow others to do. It was not aware of any authority to show that the commissioners "were contraband of war; and in any event it was not a question to be adjudicated on by a naval officer and four boats' crews. The legal course would have been to take the ship itself into port, and to ask for her condemnation, or for the condemnation of the passengers, in a Court of Admiralty."

Under date of November 30, Earl Russell directed the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to instruct Vice-Admiral Sir A. Milne to communicate fully with Lord Lyons, British Minister at Washington. He speaks of the "act of wanton violence and outrage," and says the com-

mander should "look to the safety of Her Majesty's possessions in North America," and "not to place his ships in positions where they may be surprised or commanded by batteries on land of a superier force." Arrangements for increasing the military force in Canada were at once made. Twenty thousand picked troops, the flower of the British Army, were mustered and passed in review, for embarkation via Halifax. The large ship *Melbourne* was being loaded at Woolwich with Armstrong guns, some eighty thousand Enfield rifles, a large amount of ammunition, and other war materials. Greater activity could not have been displayed had war already been declared. Neither night nor Sunday was allowed to suspend the work of preparation at Woolwich.

A well-informed correspondent of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* wrote from Paris, December 6th: "The sudden dispatch of arms and men to Halifax, the outfit of numerous heavy ships of war, the violent language of the British press, and concurrence of the French press, are events out of proportion to the nominal cause of them, and indicate a secret design and foregone conclusion." He thinks the British Government from the first "was disposed to aid the rebellion for the purpose of dissolving the Union." He advises that our government accept at once the objection to form taken by the British Government, and release Mason and Slidell, thus depriving that government of the pretext on which it rests.

November 30, 1861, which seems to have been fraught with many important communications concerning this affair, Secretary Seward took the precaution to write to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, our Minister at London, a confidential letter, with permission to read it to Lord Palmerston, "if deemed expedient," in which letter, referring to the matter, he said: "It is proper that you should know one fact in the case without indicating that we attach importance to it, namely, that in the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board the British vessel, Captain Wilkes having acted without any instructions from the government, the subject is, therefore, free from the embarrassment which might have resulted if the act had been specially directed by us. I trust that the British Government will consider the subject in a friendly temper, and it may expect the best disposition on the part of this government."

Earl Russell was prompt to communicate with Lord Lyons on this important subject. His letter to him bears date, also, November 30, and after reciting the circumstances of the capture as reported to him, he says: "It thus appears that certain individuals have been taken from on board a British vessel, the ship of a neutral power, while such vessel was pursuing a

lawful and innocent voyage—an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law. Her Majesty's Government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States naval officer who committed the aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his government, or that, if he conceived himself to be authorized, he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he had received. For the Government of the United States must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow such an affront to the national honor to pass without full reparation, and Her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that it could be the deliberate intention of the Government of the United States unnecessarily to force into discussion between the two governments a question of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling.

"Her Majesty's Government therefore trust that when this matter shall have been brought under consideration of the Government of the United States, that government will, of their own accord, offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, the liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your Lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed. Should these terms not be offered by Mr. Seward, you will propose them to him."

Bearing upon this highly important letter of Earl Russell, we find in Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort* a significant and interesting private history, showing that the Queen was not satisfied with the draft submitted for her approval, and that it was, at her suggestion, divested of its harsher features, and very much softened in other respects, to guard against giving offense to our government. The draft was returned with a memorandum drawn by the Prince Consort and corrected with the Queen's own hand, indicating the changes she would have made. The letter, as sent, shows that her recommendation was followed in every particular. Thus it is more than probable that her wisdom and good will toward the United States saved the two countries from a state of open hostilities, if not actual war. It is well known that the Prince Consort was in accord with her, and it is sad to think that the memorandum referred to was the last political writing from his pen. He was then seriously indisposed, and when he handed the paper to the Queen, "he told her that he could scarcely hold the pen while writing it." He died on the 14th of December, 1861.

At a public dinner given to Commander Williams in London, 12th

December, he made what appears to have been not inaptly characterized as "a braggadocio speech," in which he gave his account of the action of himself, Lieutenant Fairfax, and others on board the *Trent*. He said he and Lieutenant Fairfax asked each other's pardon for anything which might have been said or done offensive on either side, so far as they themselves were concerned. He declared that one of Mr. Slidell's daughters branded an officer of the *San Jacinto* "to his face with his infamy, having been her father's guest not ten days before." He likewise averred, with an appeal to Heaven, that "the marines made a rush toward Miss Slidell with fixed bayonets." He said "she did strike Mr. Fairfax, but not with the vulgarity of gesture attributed to her. Miss Slidell (he continues) was in the cabin with her arms encircling his neck, and she wished to be taken to prison with her father. Mr. Fairfax attempted to get into the cabin —I do not say forcibly, for I do not say a word against Mr. Fairfax so far as his manner is concerned—he attempted to get her away by inducements. In her agony, then, she did strike him in the face three times." He said that "when the marines made a rush for Miss Slidell, she screamed, for her father snatched himself away from her to break the window of his cabin, through which he thrust his body out. But the hole was so small that I hardly thought it would admit the circumference of his waist. It was then the lady screamed. When the marines rushed on with the point of the bayonet, I had just time to put my body between their bayonets and Miss Slidell, and I said to them, 'Back, you —— cowardly poltroons.'"

The excitement in England instead of abating, continued to increase, although there was a conservative undercurrent there not unfavorable to the United States. For instance, Mr. John Bright counseled moderation, and the Sheffield Foreign Affairs Committee petitioned the Queen to punish Captain Moir and Commander Williams of the *Trent* for disobeying her proclamation of 13th May, by carrying "officers" of the Confederate States and their "dispatches."

The *New York Tribune* of 3d December, said: "England is almost beside herself is the tenor of the latest and most trustworthy private letters. They say that passion has swept away reason in a manner to an extent unknown since 1831, and that the national sympathy with the South developed by recent events is startling." Some now thought the President might propose to submit the matter to arbitration; but the New York *Journal of Commerce* suggested that "if the British Government wanted only an adjudication by a Court of Admiralty, they could be easily accommodated by a return of the prisoners on board of the *Trent* at the

point of capture, and then Captain Wilkes could fire a gun across her bow and bring her into port according to law."

There appeared to be no thought on the part of the people or press of the United States that the prisoners would be given up. Secretary Welles, in his annual report, had referred to "the prompt and decisive action of Captain Wilkes," as having "merited and received the emphatic approbation of the Department;" and a resolution of thanks to him had been passed by the House of Representatives immediately on coming together. Nevertheless, near the close of December, to the amazement of many, it began to be whispered about that our Government, considering discretion the better part of valor, had concluded to yield to the demands of Great Britain. The *New York Herald*, referring to this "silly rumor," said there "was not the slightest truth in the report."

But now came the unexpected denouement. Having taken several days to digest Earl Russell's dispatch, a copy of which had been left with him by Lord Lyons, Mr. Seward proceeded, December 26, to reply to it. He commenced by reciting its principal points, and saying it had been submitted to the President, added: "The British Government has rightly conjectured what is my duty now to state, that Captain Wilkes acted upon his own suggestions of duty without any direction or instruction, or even foreknowledge of it on the part of the government." He corrects some of Earl Russell's statements to the effect that the round shot was fired in a direction obviously so divergent from the course of the *Trent* as to be "quite as harmless as a blank shot, while it should be regarded as a signal." So, also, we learn that the *Trent* was not approaching the *San Jacinto* slowly when the shell was fired across her bow, but "on the contrary, the *Trent* was, or seemed to be, moving under a full head of steam, as if with a purpose to pass the *San Jacinto.*" Also, that Lieutenant Fairfax "did not board the *Trent* 'with a large armed guard,' but left the marines in his boat when he entered the *Trent;*" that "the Captain of the *Trent* was not at any time or in any way to go on board the *San Jacinto,*" as Earl Russell had stated. Mr. Seward described the character of the prisoners, saying their dispatches were carried to emissaries of the rebel government in England; he said, "The question before us is, whether this proceeding was authorized and conducted according to the law of nations. It involves the following inquiries:

1st. Were the persons named and their supposed dispatches contraband of war?

2d. Might Captain Wilkes lawfully stop and search the *Trent* for these contraband persons and dispatches?

3d. Did he exercise that right in a lawful and proper manner? 4th. Having found the contraband persons on board and in presumed possession of the contraband dispatches, had he a right to capture the persons? 5th. Did he exercise that right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations? If all these inquiries shall be resolved in the affirmative, the British Government will have no claim to reparation." Addressing himself to these inquiries, he disposes of the first four in the affirmative. Taking up the fifth, he says: "It is just here that the difficulties of the case begin. In the present case, Captain Wilkes, after capturing the contraband persons and making prize of the *Trent* in what seems to us as a perfectly lawful manner, instead of sending her into port, released her from the capture, and permitted her to proceed with her whole cargo upon her voyage.

Captain Wilkes (quoted by Mr. Seward) says he "forebore to seize her (the *Trent*) in consequence of his being reduced in officers and crew, and the derangement it would cause innocent persons" on board. These reasons, Mr. Seward declared were satisfactory to the government, so far as Captain Wilkes was concerned. Finally, Mr. Seward rested on the old American rule that in case of capture from search, the question must "be carried before a legal tribunal, where a regular trial may be had, and where the captor himself is liable to damage for an abuse of his power." "If I decide this case," continued Mr. Seward, "in favor of my own government, I must disavow its most cherished principles and reverse and forever abandon its essential policy. The country cannot afford the sacrifice. If I maintain those principles and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself. It will be seen, therefore, that this government would not deny the justice of the claim presented to us in this respect upon its merits. We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted all nations ought to do to us. * * * I prefer to express my satisfaction that, by the adjustment of the present case upon principles confessedly American, and yet as I trust, mutually satisfactory to both of the nations concerned, a question is finally and rightly settled between them, which heretofore exhausted not only all forms of peaceful discussion, but also the arbitrament of war itself; for more than half a century alienated the two countries from each other, and perplexed with fears and apprehensions all other nations. The four persons in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your Lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them."

Lord Lyons replied to Mr. Seward on the 27th December, saying

he would, without delay, send a copy of his "important communication" to Earl Russell, and would confer with him (Mr. Seward) on the arrangements for the delivery of "the four gentlemen" to him (Lord Lyons). The rest is soon told. On December 30, Lord Lyons wrote to Commander Hewett of the *Rinaldo*, an English sloop-of-war, to proceed with his vessel to Provincetown, Massachusetts, and receive the released prisoners, adding: "It is hardly necessary that I should remind you that these gentlemen have no official character. It will be right for you to receive them with all courtesy and respect as gentlemen of distinction; but it would be improper to pay them any of those honors which are paid to official persons;" and their transfer should be "effected unostentatiously."

Being conveyed from Fort Warren to Provincetown by the tugboat *Starlight*, the "four gentlemen," with their luggage, were quietly transferred to the *Rinaldo* on the evening of January 1, 1862, remarking that their "only wish was to proceed to Europe;" and that vessel at once set sail for St. Thomas, whence these emissaries of treason pursued their weary way to their original respective destinations, cowed and humiliated in no slight degree. Doubtless they knew that only a cool reception awaited them.

The *London Star* said: "When Mason and Slidell have been surrendered to us it will surely be time to declare in what capacity we, as a nation, are to receive them—whether as the envoys of Mr. Jefferson Davis, or as inoffensive visitors to a country where the rebel slave-owner and fugitive negro are welcome alike to the protection of the law." The *London Times* exulted over what it called "a great victory," but said: "Mason and Slidell are about the most worthless booty it would be possible to exact from the jaws of the American lion. The four American gentlemen who have got us into our late trouble, and cost us probably a million apiece, will soon be in one of our ports. What they and their secretaries are to do here, passes our conjecture. They are, personally, nothing to us."

Not the least wonderful thing in this extraordinary affair was the sudden acquiescence in and approbation of the act of our government in surrendering the "Confederate ambassadors," on the part of the people and press of the United States, as soon as Mr. Seward's masterly state paper was published. Nor were our people alone in their satisfaction at so happy a settlement of a vexed question which alarmed and threatened to disturb all the maritime nations of the world.

Horatio King

SHILOH

Before entering upon an account of the battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, it seems proper to examine the steps by which an expeditionary movement to destroy lines of communications of the enemy became a campaign, and a starting point selected for a raid on a railroad became a field on which was fought one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War.

On the 1st of March, 1862, Halleck, from St. Louis, advised Grant, at Fort Henry, that transports were being collected for an expedition up the Tennessee River. "The main object of this expedition," so says Halleck, "will be to destroy the railroad bridge over Bear Creek near Eastport, Mississippi, and also the connections at Corinth, Jackson, and Humboldt. . . . Avoid any general engagement with strong forces. It will be better to retreat than to risk a general battle. . . . Having accomplished these objects, or such as may be practicable, *you will return to Danville and move on Paris. . . .*" On the 6th of March, Halleck wrote that Smith (C. F.) had gone up the Tennessee River to seize Corinth, but that he (Halleck) feared that it was too late and that Smith was too weak. On the same day Halleck wrote to Buell that he was informed that Beauregard had 20,000 men at Corinth, and that Smith would not probably be strong enough to attack it, but that he should reinforce Smith as rapidly as possible. Smith, by direction of Halleck, landed at Savannah, Tennessee, about the 8th of March and organized from there raiding parties on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, under Generals W. T. Sherman and Lew Wallace, in the direction of Purdy, Corinth, Burnsville, and Eastport, but rains and high water and reports of enemy in strong forces in their front, prevented success in any direction, and Sherman, with his division, finally dropped down from Tyler's Landing, at the mouth of Yellow Creek about ten miles below Eastport, on the 15th of March, and under orders from General Smith, landed two divisions at Pittsburg on the 16th of March, which place was thenceforth strongly occupied by Federal troops. On the 11th of March an executive order consolidated the several departments of Missouri, Kansas, and Ohio into one, and placed Halleck in command, thus giving him control of the armies therein. Of those of interest in the present discussion we shall have to consider only the Army of the Tennessee, or the forces which have been moved up the Tennessee River to Savannah and Pittsburg Landing and

its vicinity, and the Army of the Ohio under General Buell just then beginning its march to the South from Nashville.

To show the character of the expedition to and above Savannah the following extract is given from a circular letter of General W. T. Sherman, dated Headquarters Expeditionary Corps, Steamer *Constitution*, March 12th, to Commanders of Brigades: "The object of our expedition is to cut the Charleston and Memphis Railroad at a point between Corinth and Iuka. . . . The object of the expedition is not to engage the enemy in force, but to break their communications;" and again in Orders No. 7, March 13th: "Officers and men must be cautioned to obey orders without question. The objects to be accomplished are special and different from what they expect, but are a part of a grand design devised by the same mind that planned the victories of Forts Henry and Donelson, and led to the evacuation of Columbus and Nashville without a blow."

In his record of events Sherman says: "On 16th dropped down to Pittsburg Landing and disembarked and attempted destruction of railroad, . . . but failed in the undertaking."

Of the position taken up at Shiloh, Sherman wrote March 17th: "Am strongly impressed with the importance of the position, both for its land advantages and its strategic position.* The ground itself admits of easy defense by a small command and yet affords admirable camping ground for a hundred thousand men. . . ." On the 14th of March, Buell writes that he can move with 55,000 effectives against the enemy in his front, and suggests a move against the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, west of Decatur, and not west of Corinth. Florence preferable on account of the bridge there. Halleck in reply of same date says: "We must attack the enemy in the center, say at Corinth or Jackson (Tennessee). General Smith has established himself at Savannah. I think all your available forces . . . should be sent up the Tennessee." To which Buell replies, March 15th: "I am decidedly of opinion that my force should strike it (Tennessee River) *by marching*. It can move in less time and in better condition, and with more security to our operations than by the river." On the following day Halleck writes to Buell: "Move your forces by land to the Tennessee as rapidly as possible. . . . Enemy in strong force at Eastport and Corinth; reported 60,000. *Grant's army is concentrating at Savannah.* You must direct your march on that point, so that the enemy cannot get between us. . . ." On the same day Halleck says to Grant: "As the enemy is evidently in strong force, my instructions not to advance so as to bring on an engagement must be strictly obeyed. General

* The possible strategic value to the position can be seen by the author.

Smith must hold his position (at Savannah ?) without exposing himself by detachment until we can strongly re-enforce him. General Buell is moving in his direction and I hope in a few days to send 10,000 to 15,000 more from Missouri." On the 17th Grant arrived at Savannah and assumed command and writes to Halleck: "I shall order all the forces here, except McClernand's division, to Pittsburg, and send back steamers as rapidly as possible. . . . All the troops of my command, except those left to garrison Forts Henry and Donelson, two regiments at Clarksville yet to arrive, and McClernand's division, will be at Pittsburg." On the 17th Halleck telegraphed to Buell: "Move on as ordered to-day to reinforce Smith. Savannah is now the strategic point." It will be seen from this that Halleck had selected Savannah as the point of concentration and so informed Buell. The troops, however, of the Army of the Tennessee were being placed in position at Pittsburg and at Crump's Landing (six miles lower down) on the right bank of the Tennessee, with no bridges and their backs to a swollen river, where, as Grant says: "The opposite side is covered with water to the depth of six or eight feet on the bank and much further back, extending far beyond where field artillery would reach." This made the throwing of a bridge impossible. In the same report, March 18th, Grant says: "No doubt a large force is being concentrated at Corinth and on the line of the railroad." March 19th Grant writes to Buell: "I am massing troops at Pittsburg, Tennessee. There is every reason to suppose that the rebels have a large force at Corinth, Mississippi, and many other points on the road toward Decatur." On the 20th Halleck telegraphs to Grant: "Your telegrams of yesterday just received. I do not fully understand you. By all means keep your forces together" (at Savannah?) "until you connect with General Buell, who is now at Columbia" (eighty miles away), "and will move on Waynesborough with three divisions. Don't let the enemy draw you into an engagement now. Wait till you are *properly fortified* and receive orders." Grant informs Halleck on the 25th, from Savannah, that he will go with the expedition to Corinth (from Pittsburg) in person, unless orders prevent it. "*Owing to limited space at the landing, some more days may yet be required to debark troops there.*" Thinks he cannot get off before 24th; under his instructions will take no risk at Corinth. "If a battle on anything like equal terms seems to be inevitable," will "find it out in time to make a movement upon some other point of the railroad." On the 20th, Grant orders two more brigades from Savannah to Pittsburg Landing, and also sends orders to the troops at that place and the division at Crump's Landing to be prepared to march at any time with three days' provisions in haversacks and seven in

wagons. As Corinth was but twenty miles from Pittsburg Landing, this preparation would hardly seem to apply to a raiding party. On the 21st Grant reported from Savannah to Halleck that by reason of arrival of additional troops at Corinth, the indications were that that place could not be taken without a general engagement, which, under instructions, was to be avoided. He says in addition: "This *taken in connection with the impassable state of the roads* has determined me not to move for the present without further orders." The following day Grant telegraphs from Savannah: "Troops from here, except one regiment, all sent to Pittsburg. No movement making except to advance General Sherman's division to prevent rebels from fortifying Pea Ridge."* This in answer to Halleck's order to keep the troops together until connection was made with Buell and not to be drawn into an engagement. On the 23d General Grant writes to C. F. Smith: "I am clearly of the opinion that the enemy are gathering strength at Corinth quite as rapidly as we are here, and the sooner we attack the easier will be the task of taking the place. If Ruggles is in command it would assuredly be a good time to attack." *On that day* Johnston had arrived at Corinth with his command concentrated on the railroad.

The abortive efforts to strike the railroads made during the ten days from the 12th, with the certainty that the enemy were fully alive to the vital importance of preserving their communications, and were concentrating troops at exposed points which could rapidly be thrown together on any threatened point or for offensive purposes, might well have changed the expeditionary character of the force on the Tennessee River into that of a force occupying a strategic position at a point where it could have concentrated with Buell and other reinforcements before a concentration and attack by the enemy could be possible. Pittsburg, or Shiloh, would not seem to be such a point, for it was separated from Buell's army by a wide, unbridged river and eighty miles of road, and was but twenty miles from the railroad at Corinth, where the enemy had the advantage of the rolling stock on two long roads to aid them in their concentration. Halleck's orders looked to a concentration at Savannah, which would have been a perfectly safe place, but as he seems to have acquiesced in the movement to Pittsburg Landing, it must have been under the supposition that the force there and position were strong enough for proper defense against any attack till it could be reinforced. This may well have been, for the returns show that Grant had under him at that time a force of over 50,000 present

* Pea Ridge was probably the real strategic position with a narrow front and unassailable flanks. Why was it not held and fortified?

for duty. That Halleck, however, expected no attack at Pittsburg is shown from his telegram to Buell of March 26, 1 P.M., in which he says: "I am inclined to believe the enemy will make his stand at or near Corinth. . . . I propose to join you as soon as you reach the Tennessee. . . . I think all your available forces . . . should be concentrated on the Tennessee in the vicinity of *Savannah* or *Eastport*." These positions were thirty miles apart, with Pittsburg near midway between and across the river. On the 27th Buell reported that he would be able to cross Duck River at Columbia by the 30th. It was in reality crossed on the 29th, and on that day one division (Nelson's) crossed the river by a tortuous ford and started for Savannah.

On this same day Halleck telegraphed Buell: "It seems from all accounts that the enemy is massing his forces in the vicinity of Corinth. You will concentrate all your available troops at *Savannah or Pittsburg*, twelve miles above; reinforcements are being sent to Grant; *we must be ready to attack the enemy as soon as the roads are passable*." General Grant at this time had no expectation of being attacked, for on the 31st of March he wrote to General McCook, commanding, as Grant supposed, the advance forces (of Buell) . . . "I have been looking for your column anxiously for several days so as to report it to Headquarters of the Department, *and thinking some move may depend on your arrival*." *

Buell reports to Halleck from Columbia on April 1 that his advance is two days' march on the way to Savannah, and that the rear will start on the 2d. On the 3d Grant makes a report of an expedition to Eastport, in which he says, "There will be no great difficulty in going any place with the army now concentrated here, but a battle will necessarily ensue on any point on the railroads touched." On the same day Grant sends word from Savannah to General Nelson, commanding leading division of Army of the Ohio: "Your advance has arrived here." On the 26th of March Cheatham had been ordered to concentrate his division at Bethel Station and Purdy "to defend the road from Savannah to Bolivar." This was in consequence of a report from the brigade commander at Purdy of threatening movements of the force under General Lew Wallace in front of Crump's Landing. This concentration in turn reacted upon Wallace, causing him on the 4th of April to report it, and in consequence two divisions at Pittsburg were ordered to support him if attacked.

* For adroit garbling see this dispatch as quoted on page 68, Vol. I., *Military History of U. S. Grant*. The quotation there is, "I have been looking for your column anxiously for several days," as though General Grant felt himself in need of reinforcements from being in a hazardous position, while it really meant that he wanted to report to Headquarters, that Halleck might make preparations or give orders for an offensive movement.

Buell on the 4th writes to Grant: "I shall be in Savannah myself to-morrow with one, perhaps two, divisions. Can I meet you there? Have you any information for me that would affect my movements? What of your enemy and your relative positions?" To which Grant replies on the 5th: "I will be here to meet you to-morrow. The enemy at and near Corinth (then within two miles of Grant's front) are probably from 60,000 to 80,000. Information not reliable.' On the same day Sherman from Pittsburg Landing writes to Grant: "I have no doubt that nothing will occur to-day more than some picket firing. . . . *I will not be drawn out far, unless with certainty of advantage*, and I do not apprehend anything like an attack on our position." Grant on the same day reports to Halleck that "the force at Corinth and within supporting distance of it cannot be far from 80,000 men. . . . One division of Buell's column arrived yesterday." On the same day, and the day before the desperate assault on his lines, Grant reports an attack on the 4th on the outposts, and in that he says: "I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack (general one) being made upon us, *but will be prepared should such a thing take place.* General Nelson's division has arrived. The other two of Buell's columns will arrive to-morrow and next day. It is my present intention to send them to Hamburg, some four miles above Pittsburg, *when they all get here.*"

So far we have the Army of the Tennessee consisting of about 50,000 men with its back to a broad river where there was no bridge and where the narrow landing place was so insufficient, that it took several days, according to General Grant's statement, to debark the troops. Yet in the minds of the generals in command there was no likelihood that the 80,000 men at Corinth under bold enterprising generals would make an attack. On this very day, also, Halleck telegraphs Buell: "You are right about *concentrating at Waynesborough.* Future movements must depend on those of the enemy. I shall not be able to leave here till the first of next week." This certainly did not look as though his army at Shiloh was in peril, or that he thought it in a false position, though his orders had been specific on that point. He really seemed to have thought the enemy would wait for him to concentrate and assume the command and make the attack when, and in the manner it pleased him, to make it. During all this time, though as General Sherman had said the position at Shiloh was easily made defensible, not a single field-work had been thrown up or even laid out. Pea Ridge not occupied and fortified.

The army then concentrated at Pittsburg Landing had all the troops which came from Fort Donelson in its ranks, and was well clothed, well fed, and well armed. The movements of the Union troops have now been care-

fully followed from the inception of the idea to send an expeditionary force to destroy the Charleston and Memphis Railroad, on the eve of the battle of Shiloh. Let us take a glance at what was being done on the other side during this time. On the 5th of March, Beauregard at Jackson, Tennessee, assumed command of the Army of the Mississippi, and began with great energy and earnest appeals to the Confederate generals and Governors of States to collect a force under him. He had in his command the corps of Polk, a greater part of which had lately been freed from garrison duty at Columbus, Kentucky, and some brigades covering the railroads from Memphis, east and north. Bragg had lately arrived, bringing with him about 10,000 troops from Mobile, and had taken command of all the troops south of Jackson, the limit of Polk's command. A. S. Johnston, commanding the whole Confederate force in the West, was then at Huntsville with the command brought from Bowling Green, and was moving slowly on Decatur, where two railroads united and crossed the Tennessee River, to which point he was moving for the purpose of uniting with Beauregard who had anxiously requested it.

Fortifications were immediately begun at Corinth, and other stations on the railroads occupied by small forces. Notably one at Purdy, near Bethel Station, consisting of two regiments of infantry, a battery of artillery, and three companies of cavalry.

The greatest activity was shown in watching the river at the various landings, and the railroads gave extraordinary facilities for concentration on threatened points. Polk was being brought in toward Jackson, and Johnston was coming from the East. On the 16th, General Bragg from Bethel, sent a party to watch Sherman who that day landed at Pittsburg, and says, "I am glad to hear that General Johnston is joining us; with his force we certainly ought to crush any force the enemy can *now* bring."

On the morning of the 17th Sherman made a move towards Corinth, which caused Bragg to make immediate dispositions to concentrate against him, and to telegraph to Johnston at Decatur to push forward to his assistance. By the 19th Iuka and Burnsville were covered with a brigade each from Johnston's command, and the Confederate generals began to feel more assured in their line. By the 23d of March A. S. Johnston was at Corinth with his own army concentrated at Tuscumbia, Iuka, and Burnsville, all on the railroad leading to Corinth. From Corinth on that day he telegraphed to Van Dorn at Little Rock "to move with his command by the most expeditious route to Memphis" about sixty miles west of Corinth, having two railroads by which rapid concentration could be effected at the

latter place. On the 26th of March, President Davis wrote to General Johnston: "You have done wonderfully well, and now I breathe easier in the assurance that you will be able to make a junction of your two armies. If you can meet the division of the enemy moving from the Tennessee before it can make a junction with that advancing from Nashville, the future will be brighter." On the 29th the armies of Kentucky and the Mississippi were united under General Albert S. Johnston with Beauregard second in command. The army was composed of three corps under Polk, Bragg, and Hardee, with an infantry reserve of about 5000 men under General Crittenden. Bragg, in addition to his duties of corps commander, became chief of staff. The same day Van Dorn announces that he will join with his forces as soon as possible. On the 31st an order was issued for a brigade to occupy Monterey (Pea Ridge), a strong point about midway between Corinth and Shiloh.

Of this army, then about 40,000 strong, some were veterans in point of service but not enured to battles. Beauregard says of his new levies that they were composed of the best blood of the South. Bragg says after the march began that "many had never made a day's march or done a day's work." They were mostly badly armed. On the 1st of April a secret reconnoissance was ordered of the road from Purdy to Pittsburg. This looked forward evidently to a march of the division at Purdy, to strike the army at Pittsburg on the flank or in rear. The same day the order was issued for the troops of Polk's and Hardee's corps and the several detached brigades to be placed "in readiness for a field movement and to meet the enemy within 24 hours." On the 2d of April the three corps commanders were ordered to hold their forces ready to advance upon the enemy at 6 A.M. the following morning with three days' cooked rations and 100 rounds of ammunition. From some cause unknown a delay took place in the execution of these orders and on the 3d of April Johnston telegraphed President Davis, as follows: "General Buell is in motion, 30,000 strong, moving rapidly . . . to Savannah. Confederate forces, 40,000, ordered forward to offer battle near Pittsburg. Division from Bethel, main body from Corinth, reserve from Burnsville converge to-morrow near Monterey on Pittsburg, Beauregard second in command, Polk left and Hardee center; Bragg right wing; Breckinridge reserve. Hope engagement before Buell can form junction."

Hardee was ordered to move on the night of the 3d on the Ridge and Bark Road in the direction of Pittsburg to a point known as Mickey's. Owing to bad roads and the delays arising therefrom, concentration *in front of Monterey* was not completed until late on the 4th. Bragg wrote

to General Johnston from Monterey on the 4th at 10 A.M.: "I reached here at 8.30 ahead of my rear division. Bad roads, inefficient transportation, badly managed, and the usual delay of a first move of new troops have caused the delay. My first division is at Mickey's, and the ignorance of the guide for the second as well as the reports I receive from people here induce me to order my second division on the same road as the first. I am also influenced to do this from the information I have of Hardee's advance. . . . Nothing heard yet from General Breckinridge. . . . These delays will render it necessary to hold Hardee in check till we can be ready in the rear. I shall take the liberty of sending this information to him and *direct him to hold up* until he hears of my force being in position." Johnston from Monterey changes Polk's orders on the 4th and he was directed to move in support of Hardee and Bragg at 3 A.M. of the 5th, the hour set for Hardee and Bragg to move. Johnston expected "in a measure to surprise" the enemy and closes by saying: "Permit no delay when once this movement shall have begun." Breckinridge's final orders were to move by the Ridge Road to Mickey's and "thence if a road can be found in the direction of Pratt's house on the direct road from Monterey to Pittsburg which he will then follow until within two miles of General Bragg's forces where he will dispose his command *en masse* between the Bark Road and Lick Creek," Polk forming a second line from the left of Breckinridge to Owl Creek. On the night of the 4th the Confederate forces camped near the Mickey house, Hardee's corps in front, next in rear came Bragg's forces and in rear of that Polk's corps, all under orders to march at 3 A.M. of the 5th. A deluge of rain swelled the streams and filled the ravines so that a night march became impracticable and the advance did not begin till dawn of this, the 5th day of April. About 10 A.M. Hardee's advance reached the outposts of Grant's army and his command was immediately deployed about a mile and a half east of Shiloh Church between the heads of Owl and Lick Creeks (about three miles apart) with the left near Owl Creek. The storm of the preceding night delayed the march so that the troops were not closed up on Hardee until about four o'clock. This caused a postponement of the attack until the morning of the 6th.

The troops were arranged in two parallel lines, the first under Hardee and the second under Bragg, one thousand yards in rear, while four brigades under Polk supported the left and three under Breckinridge supported the right of the lines. We have now the two armies confronting each other separated by a distance of one and a half miles—one deployed in line of battle and the other in its chosen position which it has held for nearly three weeks with plenty of time, tools, men, and ability to make its

line of battle as it pleased, both with reference to direction and strength. On this day General Sherman reports that he thinks "there are two regiments of infantry and one battery of artillery" (Confederate) "about two miles out but that he does not apprehend anything like an attack on the Federal position. Grant on the same day, April 5th, reports to Halleck: "I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack (general one) being made upon us, but *will be prepared should such a thing take place.*" General Grant, however, had an idea that the division of General Lew Wallace, then at and near Crump's Landing, might be attacked by a superior force and had given orders that in that event it should be immediately reinforced by two divisions from the main army. In the security of these opinions that night our army slept soundly.

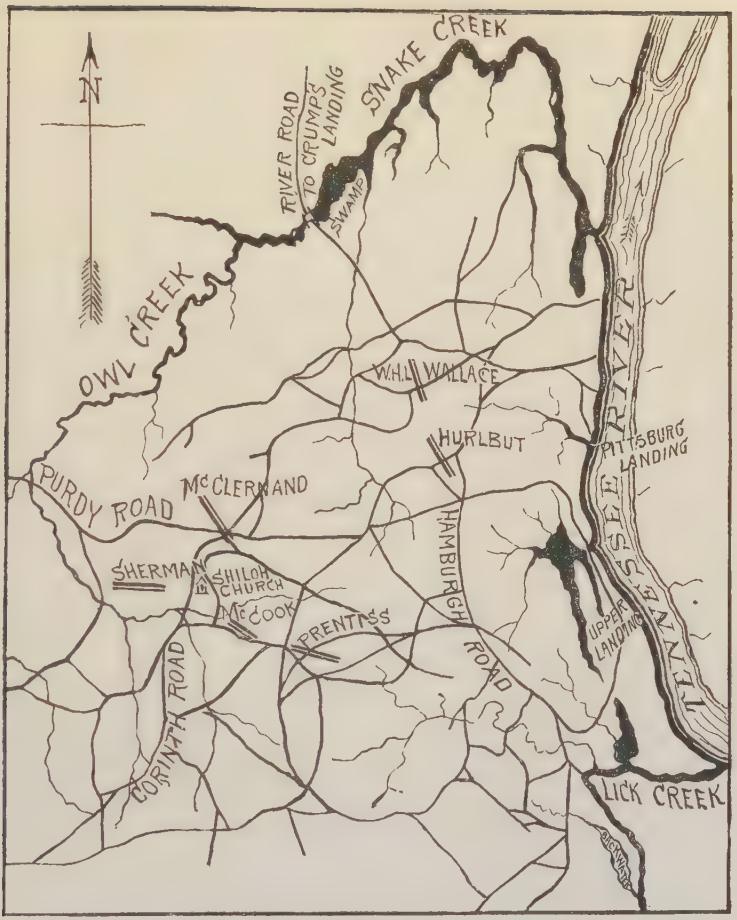
The Confederate army in battle array is now sleeping on its arms less than two miles from our unprotected troops, and before the crash begins it will aid much to get a clear idea of the situation of the troops in the position which General Sherman has told us was so easily defended by a small force, and at the same time afforded camping ground for a hundred thousand men. Sherman's force of three brigades and three batteries was on the extreme right. A fourth brigade of Sherman's division was on the extreme left nominally guarding a ford near the mouth of Lick Creek (but placed nearly a mile from that ford), was entirely removed from Sherman's supervision, and separated from the force on its right by a space of four-fifths of a mile. On the left of Sherman's main force, and half a mile away, was the division of Prentiss, consisting of three brigades and two batteries. This force was posted on the right bank of a ravine flowing into the creek in Sherman's front. The distance from the right to the left was about three and a half miles and the force on the front line numbered 14,293 and 22 guns, or about one-half of the proper number to hold such a line and give a decent support in close proximity. The division of McClernand was in rear of Sherman and camped obliquely to Sherman's line, and from its position must be treated as in reserve. Two other divisions under the command of W. H. L. Wallace and Hurlburt were in reserve and more than a mile in rear of Prentiss.

One division was at Crump's Landing six miles below, guarding a most important point on the left bank of the Tennessee River, and Nelson's division of the Army of the Ohio was at Savannah. The men of one brigade of this division were preparing for a review and inspection on the following morning, the brigade commander having on the afternoon of the fifth been told by General Grant that he could not march through the swamps to a point opposite Pittsburg Landing—to make the troops com-

fortable, and boats would be sent to transport the troops Monday or Tuesday or early in the week, and that they would have to go to Corinth to get into a fight.*

The space behind the two divisions which may be said to be in position, and between them and the Tennessee River, was much broken by ravines, affording many strong positions, and the ground was partly cleared, partly covered by open forests, and partly by a dense underbrush. The whole force on the ground numbered 37,331, and 52 guns. This would have given four divisions on a selected fighting line, each with its proper reserve, and one entire division in reserve ready to move to any part of the field, with two more divisions six and twelve miles away which could easily have been on the field before ten o'clock in the morning. For these troops no fighting line had been selected, no breastworks constructed along such a line and no abatis placed in front of it. The ground in front had not even been cleared of bushes to destroy shelter to the enemy and give unobstructed range for artillery and musketry. It will not do for an educated soldier to say that at that time our men did not appreciate the importance of defensive works, for half the force then at Shiloh had seen at Fort Donelson what strength such works added when they had to be attacked. Of the position at Fort Donelson, General Grant himself had said : "The ground is very broken and the fallen timber extending far out, I fear the result of any attempt to carry the place by storm with new troops." It is no excuse to say that the men were new to the business, for that was known before the battle as well as after it, and such troops were just the ones that needed breastworks to give them confidence till they were warmed up with the fire of battle. The conditions of defense at Fort Donelson might have been exactly reversed at Shiloh, and does it seem probable that a proper line of 37,331 men could have been shaken by an assault of 40,000 badly armed raw troops? On the Confederate side were three corps commanders in their proper position with the general in command and his seconds in positions selected by themselves. These high officers were in their places to press success, to repair disaster, and, in general, to make the Confederate army move like a machine in its work. On the Federal side the general in command was some miles away at the beginning of the battle and having no one on the field to act for him. No orders had been given to the division commanders, no co-operation arranged, and at the outset of the battle each division commander was a law unto himself as to where, how, and when he should take his command into action. This discussion would seem to be rendered proper by the assertion of the general in command, made while

* Diary of Colonel Jacob Ammen, commanding 1st brigade, Nelson's division.



POSITION OF FEDERAL FORCES ON THE 5TH OF APRIL.

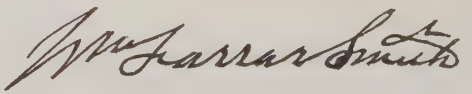
the Confederate forces were absolutely in his immediate front, that while not expecting any attack by the enemy in force, he still would be prepared for such a contingency. Was he?

On looking back through the movements made in Kentucky and Tennessee after the incoming of the year 1862, it will be seen that on the 16th of February the center of Johnston's army was captured at Fort Donelson and the wings separated. One leisurely retreated through Tennessee along the line from Nashville to Decatur, Alabama. The other as deliberately left Columbus, taking away the valuable heavy armament, the troops falling back over the railroad without let or hindrance, to the southern part

of Tennessee. Between these two wings were two Federal armies, numbering together 100,000 men or more. At Corinth, Mississippi, on the 5th of March, a nucleus for another Confederate army was formed, connected by railroad with both the retreating wings, and on the 23d of March Johnston reunited his army on this nucleus, giving him a force of about 40,000 men, and began at once to make preparations for an offensive movement. Halleck, on the 1st March, formed an expeditionary corps to proceed by water up the Tennessee River to destroy the railroad near Corinth, with these explicit instructions: "Having accomplished these objects, or such of them as may be practicable, you will return to Danville" near Fort Henry, "and move on Paris." On the 5th of March the instructions were changed to these: "If successful the expedition will not return to Paris, but will encamp at Savannah, unless threatened by superior numbers." On the 23d of March, the day of the concentration of the Confederate forces, the "Expeditionary Corps," now fairly become the Army of the Tennessee, *which had been ordered to concentrate at Savannah*, and numbering somewhat over 40,000 men, was encamped near Shiloh with its back to a wide, swollen river, with no bridges behind it and no possibility of throwing any—with a narrow landing so insufficient in space that several days were consumed in debarking the troops.* The position of the command, and the want of preparations for a decisive line of battle have already been given in detail.

The other or co-operating Federal army was over 80 miles away, and separated from the force at Shiloh by broken bridges and the Tennessee River. In some respects, the situation on the 5th of April had changed for the better, for the supporting army (the Army of the Ohio) had one division at Savannah, and four more within a day's march.

Seen from a purely military stand-point, the situation of the Army of the Tennessee at Shiloh, on the 5th of April, would seem to be faulty to an extreme degree, and the dispositions for battle uncommonly simple.



* See Grant's letter to Halleck, March 25th.

ONE NIGHT'S WORK, APRIL 20, 1862

BREAKING THE CHAIN FOR FARRAGUT'S FLEET AT THE FORTS BELOW NEW ORLEANS

On the morning of April 20, 1862, orders were received by the commanding officers of the gunboats *Itasca* and *Pinola* to prepare their vessels for a night expedition. It was understood that the obstructions were to be removed which prevented the passing of Flag-Officer Farragut's fleet by the forts to New Orleans. These obstructions consisted of a huge chain, buoyed up by hulks, between Forts Jackson and St. Philip, which the Confederates had stretched across the river at that point. Captain Bell, who was to take command of the expedition, came on board the *Itasca* after dark, and gave the following orders, to be carried out if possible.

The *Pinola* was to take the west side and the *Itasca* the east side. We were to ascend the river, board the hulks, and overpower the enemy if any were found on board of them. On the *Pinola* the men were to use a petard to break the chain, while to the *Itasca* was assigned two kegs of powder (fifty pounds each) which were to be lashed to the chain and exploded by a five-minute fuse, it having been claimed that a large chain had been broken in that way. Captain Bell called all the officers on the quarter-deck, and stated to us that on the success or failure of the night's work depended the capture of New Orleans, as Flag-Officer Farragut did not wish to take his fleet up the river until the obstructions were removed. Lieutenant-Commanding Caldwell, commanding the *Itasca*, was ordered to place his vessel alongside one of the hulks, while I, with a picked crew of thirty sailors, was to board her, to be followed by Acting-Masters Jones and Johnson with the powder. Then we were to act as circumstances required. We started up the river about ten o'clock; the night was favorable for the undertaking, as the moon was not up, and it was quite hazy. After passing the gunboats on picket duty, we kept along together when suddenly a light was shown from Fort Jackson, answered quickly by a rocket from Fort St. Philip, and it was apparent that we were discovered.

In a moment a sharp fire was opened upon us from the water batteries and Fort Jackson, nearly all the shots passing over us. The engines were slowed down for a few moments when the order came to go ahead "fast"

and make a dash at the hulks, which we did, soon losing sight of the *Pinola*. We struck the second hulk from the shore on the east side of the river, threw our grapnel, stopping the engine at the same time, but the current running very strong, we drifted astern of the hulk, carrying away some of her upper works—started ahead again, and ran up on the port side of the first hulk on the eastern shore, slowing the engine and keeping our helm aport which eased the strain on the grapnel.

We sprang on board with the kegs of powder, but found no enemy on the hulks as was expected. We also found, as substantailly reported, that the enemy had seven hulks or schooners, of about two hundred tons each, anchored at a distance of about one hundred yards apart, and extending across the river between Fort Jackson and the shore opposite, supporting a large chain. As well as we could discern in the darkness, these hulks were anchored, and the large chain was lashed to the hulks-chain outside, and near the hawse-pipe, and triced up well under the bows. The hulks-chain was passed around the windlass several times, and the end secured. We found the hulks-chain could be slipped from the bitts without using the powder, which was done by Acting-Master Johnson and his men, and as the hulks-chain went out the large chain went down with it, setting the hulk adrift. Our helm being aport and the engine running slow, ere we were aware of it we found ourselves heading for and near the eastern shore; but before the engine could be reversed we ran our bow up on a bank close to Fort St. Philip, taking the hulk with us. The firing from the enemy ceased soon after we struck the hulk, showing they had lost sight of us, probably supposing we had gone down the river.

Our position now was a very critical one; every means in our power were used to back the vessel off, but of no avail, we could not move her an inch. Her bow seemed to be securely held in the mud of the bank. A short distance above us could be seen the Confederate gunboats signaling, and every moment we expected them down upon us. The *Pinola* could not at this time be seen, so every preparation was made to abandon the ship in case we were discovered by the enemy. As the hulk was afloat alongside of us, a slow match was made ready to fire the magazine of the *Itasca*, when all hands were to board the hulk and float down the river. In a short time the *Pinola* was discovered coming to our assistance, but failed to pull us off, as the hawser they gave us parted, and she soon disappeared in the darkness down the river. She was gone so long that Lieutenant Commanding Caldwell sent the executive officer in a boat to the *Hartford*, to report our situation to the flag-officer. Soon after the boat left the ship, the *Pinola* made her appearance again, having in the

meantime been down the river and taken on board a large hawser, which, making fast to the *Itasca*, fortunately pulled her off just as a fire-raft was seen coming toward us. The *Itasca* was now headed up stream, and running above the chain, turned, and in coming down passed over the chain between the second and third hulks, breaking it, and setting the hulks adrift, thus making a clear passage for the fleet. The officers of the *Pinola* informed us they were not able to accomplish anything with the petard, as it failed to work. The passage was reported clear to Flag-Officer Farragut, but the machinery of one of the large vessels being out of order, we did not go up to the attack of the forts that night as was expected.

On the 23d inst. Lieutenant-Commanding Caldwell, returning from the *Hartford*, said it was reported that another chain had been stretched across the river, and could be seen from the main-top of that vessel; and that Flag-Officer Farragut and he had been up in the main-top, and although *they could not see any chain*, still the flag-officer desired that either he or the Commander of the *Pinola* should go up to the hulks and decide the matter. Lieutenant-Commander Caldwell said *he* would go, and taking the gig of the *Hartford*, with Acting-Master Jones and a picked crew, he pulled up to the hulks; I followed with the *Itasca*, keeping within supporting distance, and ready to render any assistance that might be necessary. The gig after reaching the hulks on the west shore was steered across the river, a lead line dropped over, soundings made, and no chain or obstruction of any kind could be discovered. The gig returned about eleven o'clock, P.M., when we dropped down and made signal to the *Hartford* that the river was clear. Soon after our signal was answered. Another signal was run up by the flagship for "fleet to form line of battle," when the *Itasca* took the position assigned to her. The fleet was fully underweigh about three thirty A. M. When opposite Fort Jackson a forty-two pound shot fired from Fort St. Philip pierced our boiler, causing the steam to escape and completely stopping the motive power of the vessel. The *Itasca* drifted down the river in a sinking condition, having been well riddled with shot, and was towed ashore by the steamer *Harriet Lane*.

Geo. B. Bacon
Lieut & Officer of U.S.S. Itasca

REPRINTS

From the London Graphic, March 6, 1875.

[The following memorial sketch, from the pen of Charles Reade, the novelist, published in the *London Graphic* eleven years ago, will be warmly welcomed by all lovers of the truth of history. When the article appeared, the author of it, who had personally superintended the engraving of the portrait, sent a copy of the paper with his manuscript to his kinsman, General Meredith Read, the son of the Chief-Justice, to whose courtesy we are indebted for the autograph letter of Charles Reade accompanying the same, from which original his autograph has been copied for the benefit of our readers.—EDITOR.]

JOHN MEREDITH READ, late Chief Justice of Philadelphia, was born in 1797, and closed a remarkable career on November 29th, 1874. He was called to the bar in 1818, and was for many years a leading counsel. In that character his name is connected with celebrated cases, one of which earned him an English reputation. About the year 1850 one Hanway, having defended fugitive slaves from capture, was indicted for treason. The evidence was strong, the peril great. Hanway retained Mr. Read, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, and Mr. J. J. Lewis. Mr. Read was leader, and his defence, famous to this day, appears to have surprised both friend and foe. Instead of grappling with the facts and so courting defeat, he fell upon the indictment with such a mass of learning and logic as literally crushed it. He showed by examples innumerable and reasons invincible that Hanway had not levied war in any legal sense against the United States, although he had violated a State law, and that, therefore, he must be acquitted under an indictment charging treason. Mr. Stevens said, "It is not possible to add anything to this defence," and the prisoner, whose case had been considered almost hopeless, was immediately acquitted. In 1858 Mr. Read was elected a judge of the Supreme Court of Philadelphia, and, a few years before his death, Chief Justice. In this character he did the best service to his country and to mankind. He was profoundly versed in European, as in American, law, and being not a mere judge, but a jurist too, he has left behind him a number of decisions, contained in forty-one volumes of reports, of the greatest value to lawyers both in Europe and America. Judges mingle more in politics in the United States than in England, and Mr. Read, who on one occasion was on the point of being nominated for the Presidency, was all his life a strong opponent of slavery and an earnest upholder of the Union. Mr. Read was descended from an old English family which was originally settled in Northumbria, but in the fourteenth century migrated southwards, and held large possessions in Berkshire and Oxfordshire. In the civil wars of the seventeenth century the family declared for the Crown, and its then chief, Mr. Compton Reade,

was for his services one of the first baronets created by Charles the Second after the Restoration.* A younger son of the family went over to Ireland in the same troubles, and his son, Colonel John Read, born at Dublin in 1688, went over to America, and purchased land in the Province of Maryland. This gentleman's eldest son, George Read, was one of those able men who framed the Constitution of the United States; he subsequently became President and Chief Justice of Delaware. He died in 1798. His son, John Read, an eminent lawyer, was

HON. JOHN MEREDITH READ, LL.D.,

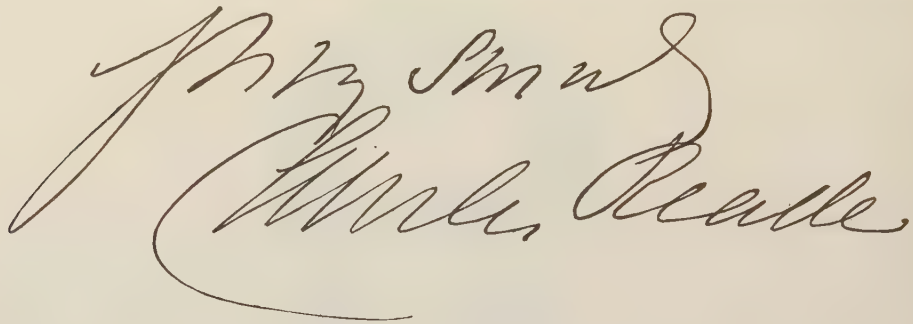
CHIEF JUSTICE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[*From an engraving by Sartain of a painting by J. Henry Brown. London Graphic, March* 6, 1875.]

born in 1769, and died in 1854. John Read's son is the subject of this memoir, and the reputation of the family in the United States is at present maintained by General John Meredith Read, son of the Chief Justice, born February, 1837. This gentleman is distinguished both in science and in politics, has represented the

* Two baronetcies were conferred, one in 1646, the other in 1660. Through a clerical error in one of the patents an e was added to the name, and was subsequently adopted by the English branches. The historical American branch retained the ancient form which the name had when it left England, and it figures thus on the petition to the King of the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and many other earlier State papers. —EDITOR.

United States in Paris, and is now American minister to Athens. Reverting to the English branch of the family, we may observe that the baronetcy, being unassociated with estates, has not yet been claimed by the person to whom it belongs. The younger branch holds the lands of Ipsden, etc., which have been four centuries in the family, and is best known to the public by Mr. Winwood Reade, the African traveller, and Mr. Charles Reade, the popular writer. We understand that the Philadelphia and the Oxfordshire branches maintain a firm friendship and sympathy.



NOTES

FORT MONROE OR FORTRESS MONROE? —*Editor Magazine of American History:* A few months since I had a discussion with another ex-officer of the army as to the official designation of the military works at Old Point Comfort. We had each been attached to the staff of the general commanding the district in which the works are located, for a short time, and had frequently seen the orders of our commander. He said it was Fortress Monroe; I, that it was Fort Monroe. Being together at the War Department a few days later, we called upon Lieutenant-General Sheridan, as the highest military authority, and asked him to please give us a ruling in the case, which he did, as follows:

Copy:

Headquarters of the Army.
Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, Feb. 8, 1832.

Order
No 11 (Extract)

1 . . . It is the order of the Secretary of War that all the Military Posts designated *Cantonments* be hereafter called *Forts*—and that the works at Old Point Comfort be called Fort Monroe, and not Fortress Monroe.

* * * *

By order of Major Gen. Macomb:
R. Jones,
Adjt. General.

It was called Fortress Monroe from 1819 to 1832. Official
P H Sheridan
Lt. General

William Howard Mills.

TICONDEROGA—The easy capture of this strong fortress at the beginning of the Revolutionary War by Colonel Ethan Allen has been one of the puzzles of historians, and many have been the attempts to account for the total surprise on the part of the officers of the garrison. The following tradition is one of the many, and may be as true as some of those credited by the scholars and writers.

Eliphalet Loud, Esq., one of the most important men of his day in this town, a man of unusual ability and education, was a soldier on that occasion, and a verbal tradition current in his family, says that, on the evening before the capture, the English and American officers were engaged in a social entertainment, at which the American officers, with the attempt in view, plied their English associates most plentifully with liquor, while they, knowing the necessity for cool heads, poured theirs down their bosoms, and the result was what might be expected, a total surprise. The old gentleman always expressed the regret that these American officers must have felt at the *waste* of so much good liquor, but the success gratified it.

NASH

WEYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, 12 *February*, 1886.

QUERIES

BENEDICT ARNOLD—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Where was General Benedict Arnold, May 4–8, 1780?

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 26.

CAN any one give me any information concerning the following Continental soldiers or their descendants? F. E. H.

Captain Charles Parsons, 1st. N. Y. regiment.

Captain Jonathan Titus, 4th N. Y. regiment.

Sergeant Richard Davis, 2nd N. Y. regiment (in 1790, of "County of Suffolk").

Private Benjamin Eaton, 2nd N. Y. regiment.

Gunner Wm. Gurtley, Colonel Lamb's Artillery regiment (of Boston)?

HISTORICAL TREES [xiv. 516; xv. 98]—Let Plymouth, Massachusetts, add its quota to the list—the old "Town Tree," with its bolted branches, an object of interest for many years. It stood in Town Square and was blown down Dec. 26, 1885.

Can any of your readers inform me how the tree received its name?

EDGAR D. SHIMER

JAMAICA, *Long Island.*

COLONEL THOMAS CRAFTS—Who were the parents of Colonel Thomas Crafts who commanded the regiment of artillery raised for the defense of Boston, from June, 1777 to December, 1778, called the "Massachusetts State's Train."

H. R. COOKE

NEW YORK.

REPLIES

ALTOWAN [xv. 207]—*Sir William Stuart*, of Scotland, wrote Altowan for *my brothers and sisters and myself*, when we lived at Spring Lawn, near Flushing.

His portrait is at 14 West 38th Street. Look at Preface. ALEX. S. WEBB

GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN [xv. 208]—S. M. Bird is in error regarding the tablet erected to memory of General Stephen Moylan in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. It was erected by the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, and not by the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, which was only organized July 22, 1884. General Moylan died April 11, 1811, and on the 14th was buried in St. Mary's graveyard, as its register shows. For twenty years I have been seeking to discover his grave.

MARTIN J. J. GRIFFIN

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 26.

GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN [xv. 208]—Was born in Ireland in 1734. He was a brother of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork. He was a resident of Philadelphia at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, and was among the first to join the American camp at Cambridge. Washington, in a letter to Joseph Reed, dated Cambridge, 20th of November, 1775, writes: "Mr. Moylan, it is true, is very obliging; he gives me what assistance he can; but other busi-

ness must necessarily deprive me of his aid in a very short time." He seems to have been acting as aide-de-camp to Washington, and in the commissary department of the army until June 5, 1776, when Congress elected him quartermaster-general, with the rank of colonel, which office he resigned October 1, 1776. He then raised an independent regiment of light dragoons in Pennsylvania in 1777, and was in the battle of Germantown, and passed the following winter at Valley Forge. In 1779 he was on the Hudson and in Connecticut. On the 20th of July, 1780, he accompanied General Wayne on the expedition to Bull's Ferry, and in 1781 was sent with the Pennsylvania troops to join General Greene in the South. He was made a brigadier-general, by brevet, on the 3d of November, 1783. He was register and recorder of Chester County, Pennsylvania in 1792 and 1793, and until his death commissioner of loans for the district of Pennsylvania. He died in Philadelphia, April 11, 1811, and was buried in St. Mary's church-yard, South Fourth Street, Philadelphia. I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PA., *January* 26, 1886.

GENERAL STOUGHTON [xv. 192]—*Editor Magazine of American History:* I beg leave to call attention to a serious error in Major Wm. Howard Mills's article on the Army under Hooker, in the last number of your very valuable Magazine. The officer whose capture by Mosby is described on pages 192–3, was not Colonel Charles B. Stoughton; but his older brother, Brigadier-General Edwin H. Stoughton. The latter's appointment had expired as stated; but was renewed by the President, his name being sent to the Senate, for confirmation, three days before his capture. It had not been acted on by the Senate, and after his capture, was withdrawn by the President. This left General Stoughton without rank or position in the army, and he never re-entered the service. As his younger brother, Charles, was a brave and capable officer, who served with credit till compelled to leave the service by a wound which cost him one of his eyes, received in the Gettysburg campaign, it is doing him serious injustice to confound him with his brother.

G. G. BENEDICT

Office of the State Military Historian,
BURLINGTON, VERMONT, *January* 28.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER [xv. 94, 208]—After the Dutch had been dispossessed of their colonies in America, by the English, the latter endeavored to introduce the Established Church. This was about as easy a task to accomplish as it was to change the customs and language of the Dutch, which for more than a century so thoroughly prevailed that according to an early writer, "even the dogs barked in Dutch;" nevertheless, through official influences, the Church finally obtained a footing. The adventurous Englishman who came to the colony, as a soldier or settler, oftentimes could not resist the smiles and blandishments of the buxom Dutch girl, and the result was, as might be supposed, a happy union. Worshiping at her shrine, he relinquished, for her sake, everything but the love for his Church. Even his mother tongue was forgotten, or unused, as he adopted not

only the customs, but also the language of his fair vrow, who never learned to speak English; and in time he spake only the language of the place. Some of the children would go to the Dutch church with the mother, while others would attend the English church with the father; and thus, a congregation of English and Dutch was formed in the latter church. It was to meet this emergency, that this book was prepared in English and Dutch. The first rector of the English church in this city, the Rev. Thomas Barclay, who commenced his duties here in 1708, read the service and preached in Dutch. Before this time, a chaplain of the army, or an occasional missionary would hold a service in the fort. The service in Dutch was continued many years, probably until about the time of the Revolution, and the use of the Prayer-book in English and Dutch was continued by the older members, after the substitution of the English for the Dutch service, until long after the second war with England; for they were still, at that late period, more familiar with the Dutch language than with the English. I have in my possession one of these books, complete in every respect, but showing signs of much use, which was used by my grandfather, whose father was a warden of St. Peter's church in 1762. W. W. CRANNELL

ALBANY, *January* 18, 1886.

MILITARY BANDS [xv. 207]—It appears from the following letter that stringed instruments were used in the band attached to Colonel Proctor's artillery. I. C.

Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1776.

Mr. President:

Sir: As the times of sundry of the Artillery men for which they inlisted, will expire the 27th of next month, in which matter beg to have your advice especially as my band of musicians are in the number, who from private encouragement offered to them are intending to join some other corps, at said expiration; I cannot find out who the persons are, as they keep it secret, but I am convinced the persons thus acting use me very ungenerously, as I have been at a considerable expense having bought all their musick and instruments, and paid each person who played on the viol, 5s. per month for their strings. I hope you will take premises in consideration and order it as in your wisdom yon may think meet.

I am most respectfully yours,
Thomas Proctor.

Directed.

To the Hon'ble Council of Safety,
Philadelphia.

DEATH OF WASHINGTON [xv. 266]—If P. L. F. will kindly give Mr. Jas. Duval Rodney, Germantown, Pennsylvania, some clew to "Hough's List," he may perhaps be able to send something.

FEBRUARY 16, 1886.

SOCIETIES

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY —The November meeting of this society was held on the 9th of that month, and the society was the recipient of a beautiful bust of the late Hon. John P. Kennedy, the donation of Prof. Leonce Rabillion. A paper of much interest was read by Rev. William F. Brand, D.D., upon Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, of the Maryland line in the army of the Revolution, whose bravery at the battle of Monmouth contributed quite as much as that of any one to save the army of the country. At the next monthly meeting, December 14, an elaborate paper was read by Clayton C. Hall, Esq., upon "The Great Seal of the State of Maryland." It was a piece of thorough good work, giving full and accurate description of every seal used in the colony, from the granting of the charter down to the date of the change from a colony to a State; and of every seal of the State from that time to the adoption of the present seal in 1876. In his researches he had found the means, and illustrated his descriptions by copies, impressions, or photographs of all the seals but one, which is supposed to have been irretrievably lost in Ingle's rebellion. Both the papers will be printed by the society in its series of publications. A special meeting of the society was held at the Athenæum building on January 25, and in the absence of President J. H. B. Latrobe, Rev. J. G. Morris occupied the chair. The chief feature of this meeting was the reading by Mr. Henry Stockbridge of an interesting paper prepared in accordance with a vote of the society and by appointment of the president. Its purpose was to give some popular idea of the work done by the society for the State and historical students in the publication of the archives, and insuring their permanent preservation in a form at once accessible and attractive to the general reader, as well as creditable to the State. It showed that the volumes of the series published gave a full and exact transcript of the early records, reproducing the original in word, letter and punctuation, with scrupulous and conscientious fidelity. It showed that there are many curiosities to be found in these records of the condition and acts of our ancestors from two hundred to two hundred and fifty years ago. We find in them the germs of many of the customs and institutions and names still existing, the reasons of many absurdities not yet obsolete, and the sure foundation of many of those things which are subjects of congratulation and pride to every Marylander. They have been too long hidden, inaccessible and unarranged volumes which are now for the first time being brought before the public. It is beyond all comparison the most valuable historical work that has ever been done in our State, and is done in a manner to reflect great credit upon all connected with it. Among these curiosities we find that the General Assembly, in making provision for its meeting, provided that the place of assembling should be a tavern, and the prices to be charged to them or to the colony for the entertainment of the persons composing the Assembly was rigidly fixed by them, and they make it apparent that a certain amount of wine or "hot waters" was

one of the perquisites of the members to be paid for out of the colonial treasury of tobacco.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY —At the meeting of this society on the evening of February 9th, a large audience assembled to listen to the Rev. Mr. Jackson's paper on "The Trial of Anne Hutchinson." The lecturer announced his subject, and after an elaborate review of the ecclesiastical and civil conditions of the Massachusetts colony, with a description of the chief persons of the time, and the heresies which led to the arraignment of the accused woman, proceeded:

No one can read the proceedings of that tribunal of November, 1637, without perceiving, from the arbitrariness of its character and its utter disregard of the fundamental principles of law, that, composed as it was of the defendant's bitterest opponents, men to whom religious toleration was hateful, the court had long before determined to convict her, and made use of the form of a trial as the most specious means of compassing their designs. "You are called here," said the governor at the beginning of these extraordinary proceedings, "as one of those that have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and the churches here; you are known to be a woman that hath had a great share in promoting and divulging of those opinions that are causes of this trouble, and to be nearly joined, not only in affinity and affection, with some of those the court hath taken notice of and passed censure upon, but you have spoken divers things, as we have been informed, very prejudicial to the honor of the churches and ministers thereof, and you have maintained a meeting and an assembly in your house that hath been condemned by the general assembly as a thing not tolerable or comely in the sight of God, nor fitting for your sex." The governor, after a brief further statement, commands her to answer whether she does or does not hold and assent in practice to the opinions and factions that have been held in court already; that is to say, whether she upholds the teachings of Wheelwright and the views of those who remonstrated against his ill-treatment. The governor's charge was very general, and in her answer to it Mrs. Hutchinson embodied the great principle of common law, which requires every offense to be set forth with clearness and certainty; "I am called here to answer before you; but I hear nothing laid to my charge."

Mrs. Hutchinson and the governor now got into a hot argument on the liberty of conscience and the duty to the commonwealth regarded in the light of a parent. Winthrop, however, soon found that he was no match for the woman preacher, and brought that part of the discussion to a close by refusing "to discourse with those of her sex about it," and assuming that she did adhere to and set forward the faction. This point assumed to the satisfaction of the court —a pleasant way of trying people, by assumptions!—the judge (the governor) proceeded to attack her weekly public preachings. "The elder women, said Paul to Titus, were to teach the prayer," replied Mrs. Hutchinson.

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA. By THEODORE H. HITTELL. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 799. San Francisco: Occidental Publishing Co. 1885.

A more romantic subject could not well have inspired the pen of an able historian. California possesses a fascination for all classes of people in all climes. It was represented in the old records as an island, rich in pearls and gold. From this point the author, with a firm hand and in clear, charming diction, traces the development, illustrates the progress, and shows, step by step, how this beautiful territory became the "Golden State" of the Union. All the old voyages, with their interesting incidents; the story of the early settlers and their heroism; the establishment of missions; the character and acts of the old Spanish and Mexican governors; the changes wrought in the revolution against Spain and Spanish ideas; the growth of the civil as opposed to the ecclesiastical, and the popular as opposed to the monarchical power; the struggles of individuals and factions; the small beginnings, gradual increase, and final overwhelming flood of American immigration, with its wonderful effects, and the evolution from these heterogeneous elements of a new commonwealth are all presented in the most picturesque manner. The first volume contains fourteen chapters, admirably arranged in relation to subjects, and of the most intense interest. Mr. Hittell has not done his work hurriedly, but every page bears the evidence of study and conscientious research. One of the specially engaging chapters in this first volume is the "Foundation of Monterey." The author says: "It was on June 3, 1770, that the ceremonies were performed. On the morning of that day all the people, including the crew of the *San Antonio*, the governor and soldiers in their uniforms, and the fathers in their robes, met together on the beach near Viscaino's oak. After throwing up a hastily constructed booth of branches, raising an altar and hanging their bells, they commenced the celebration with loud, vigorous chimes. Junipero in alba and stole then advanced and invoked the blessing of Heaven upon the kneeling congregation and the work upon which they were entering. The hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus" was next chanted; the place with its surroundings was consecrated, and a great cross, which had been prepared, was elevated and adored. The fields and beach were also liberally sprinkled with holy water for the purpose of putting to flight all infernal enemies. The mass, in the absence of the usual instrumental music, was accompanied by repeated salvos of artillery and musketry from ship and shore. The civil and military ceremonies of advancing and planting the royal standard and taking formal possession of the country for and in the name of Charles III., King of Spain, were next gone through with. Thus at one and the same time were founded the royal presidio and the mission of San Carlos de Monterey; and the settlement thus commenced immediately became and for many years thereafter continued to be the capital of Alta California."

THE CAMPAIGNS OF STUART'S CAVALRY. The Life and Campaigns of Major-General J. E. B. Stuart, Commander of the Cavalry of the Army of Nothern Virginia. By H. B. MCCLELLAN, A.M., late Major-Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief-of-Staff of the Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. Large 16mo, pp. 468. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This handsome volume is easily among the best—considered in a literary point of view—of all the war memoirs that have appeared from Confederate sources. It is in marked contrast with many of the earlier works in that its tone is calm, gentlemanly, and, so far as can be expected from a participant in the contest, impartial, a qualification not in the least intended as a slur. It is impossible that one who takes part in a fight can be as just in his views of the encounter as one who looks on from some safe vantage-ground, but Major McClellan never suffered the bitterness of defeat to influence him against giving credit to the other side when such credit was its due. In this particular the book is almost unique. Nearly all the Confederate writers have seemed to take especial delight in conveying the impression that the Federals were everywhere and always inferior to their opponents in pluck, daring and endurance, but Major McClellan, whatever his private opinion may be, gives us the impression that even such a dashing *sabreur* as Stuart, occasionally found foemen worthy of his steel. The fine portrait of General Stuart, that serves as a frontispiece, at once prepossesses the reader in favor of the book. General Stuart was in many respects the ideal cavalry leader in the Southern Army. In his picture he appears as a handsome, soldierly man in the prime of life, jauntily dressed in a gay uniform with sash and huzzar-jacket. Just the type of man whom one would select as the leader of such a gallant corps as the Virginian cavalry proved itself to be. As a contribution to history the volume is of considerable value. The maps are one and all admirably clear and well executed, having been prepared from the War Department maps by the author's brother, Carswell McClellan,

civil engineer, formerly on the staff of Major-General A. A. Humphreys. In connection with the account of the Gettysburg campaign, Major McClellan gives what is probably the fullest and most authoritative Confederate report of Stuart's raid to the rear of the Federal army. In the course of this he remarks that a considerable number of prisoners were captured and paroled, but that the validity of the parole was not admitted by the Federal authorities, the men being at once ordered back to duty. If this be true, and there were not good and sufficient reasons for setting aside the parole, it is the only case that we have heard of where bad faith has been charged against the North in this particular. Indeed, bad faith, *as such*, is not charged here, the statement is simply made without comment. The author points out some nearly fatal mistakes that his superior made during this very brilliant and dashing raid which actually brought the Confederate troopers to the very confines of the Capital, and gave the government a fright that was hardly allayed by the subsequent disastrous repulse of the Confederates at Gettysburg. The book is well written, in a clear, narrative style, and is in many respects a model of what such a biography should be.

ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS. Being Part VI. of the Principles of Sociology. By HERBERT SPENCER. 16mo, pp. 182. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Any system that savors of shams is justified in feeling an inward tremor when Herbert Spencer holds it up for examination. That some ecclesiastical institutions have been and are open to suspicion in this regard is no proof that others are not entirely above such suspicion. These last have nothing to fear from Herbert Spencer, and their disciples may without hesitation order *Ecclesiastical Institutions* for their church libraries. Perhaps, however, it would be well for them to examine the book first, since the author treats of what we may term the evolution of priest-craft, and ends with a chapter on religious retrospect and prospect. Herbert Spencer's philosophy has made him many enemies and many friends, but his enemies are mainly among those against whose pet theories he rides a tilt, with a very sharp lance, and his friends, or at least his admirers—for many read and admire who do not wholly agree—are among the most enlightened and progressive of the children of Adam.

A HISTORY OF FARMINGTON, Franklin County, Maine, from the earliest explorations to the present time. 1776–1885. By FRANCIS GOULD BUTLER. 8vo, pp. 683. Farmington: Knowlton, McLeary & Co., 1885.

Among the many town histories that have been produced in recent years the one before us is pre-eminently valuable. Farmington is an agricultural town, and probably the best agricultural town in the State of Maine, and with varied mechanical industries, and mercantile and professional interests, it affords a prolific subject for the pen of the author. The records of the town are complete and full from the date of its incorporation in 1794, and the records of churches, parishes and other organizations have been found in good condition. Farmington is eighty miles north of Portland, and eighty miles west of Bangor. It is built on both sides of the Sandy River, and the author very justly remarks: "No description would be complete without reference to the beauty of its scenery. The broad belts of green interval, with here and there glimpses of the river winding and glistening like a silver thread, the hills above with the blue background of the distant mountains—Mt. Blue towering like a sentinel above them all—combine to form as fair a picture as New England can boast."

The genealogical features of the work, which occupy half the volume, are of great interest and importance. First upon the Register we find the well-known name of Abbott, and as we turn the leaf an exquisite portrait in steel of Reverend Jacob Abbott, the author and scholar meets the eye. There is a well-written sketch of Reverend John S. C. Abbott, who was the author in rapid succession of fifty-two volumes, nearly all of a historical character; and sketches of varied length of other members of the Abbott family. The genealogical tables are admirably well-arranged, and the numerous biographical sketches, in many instances accompanied by portraits, should render the book a necessity in all the families of the descendants throughout the country. These local histories are filling gaps in our general history and cannot be too highly commended, particularly when executed with such care, research and ability as this of Farmington.

THE DELSARTE SYSTEM OF DRAMATIC EXPRESSION. By GENEVIEVE STEBBINS. Large 16mo, pp. 271. New York: Edgar S. Werner.

The reader who opens this book at almost any of the illustrated pages will encounter a set of technical terms not to be found in their entirety in any dictionary, and not suggestive at first sight of any very intelligible meaning. When we see a double-page chart covered with feet and legs in different positions, and are told that the first of these is "Concentro-con-

centric" and the last "Excentro-excentric," we are not much the wiser, but a few pages farther on we find a series of hands, the first a clenched fist, and the last a wide-opened palm with all the fingers divergent, and we understand that the one may properly be termed concentro-concentric, and the other excentro-excentric.

These terms are the extremes, of the gamut of expression which ranges through normo-concentric, excentro-concentric, concentro-normal, normo-normal, excentro-normal, concentro-excentric, normo-excentric, and ends as has been said with excentro-excentric. These terms are applied to the various possible expressive postures of the limbs and features, and when fairly comprehended express admirably the intended meaning. The volume, as a whole, is a conscientious attempt to preserve for the English-speaking public Delsarte's famous system of dramatic expression, a system which has been followed with marked success by many distinguished actors. The "profession" will, we fancy, not look upon the work with unanimous favor. but to students and amateurs it will at least afford an opportunity to study what is universally accepted as the creation of a wonderful intellect.

Delsarte has been misunderstood and laughed at, and this attempt to preserve the traditions of his genius is assuredly deserving of praise.

LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D., First Senator in Congress from Connecticut, and President of Columbia College, New York. By E. EDWARDS BEARDSLEY, D.D., LL.D., Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo, pp. 225. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1886.

A more welcome contribution to American history than this scholarly production could not well be received. The scholar and jurist of whom it is the subject, early became distinguished at the American bar by his eloquence and ability. He was one of the founders of our republic, and we sympathize in the sentiments of Dr. Beardsley, when he says: "It seems strange that a name so distinguished should have been left for more than half a century with no other record of its deservings than brief sketches in periodicals or meager notices in biographical dictionaries." Dr. Johnson was in the habit of preserving the original drafts of many of the letters and documents which he penned, thus the learned author of the work has been able to present a rare and interesting picture of his life and times. From the correspondence during Dr. Johnson's long residence abroad, at a critical period of American affairs, much fresh light is thrown upon the blind and impolitic course pursued by the government of Great Britain toward the aggrieved colonies. But Dr. Johnson lived nearly fifty years after his return from England, and the largest share of the more dignified and interesting events of his public life falls within that epoch, and blends with the sources of our national history.

Dr. Beardsley, writing with Dr. Johnson's Diary before him, says: "According to Johnson, who carefully noted the drift of Parliamentary measures, this second taxation originated in a peculiar and unexpected manner. Lord Chatham was Prime Minister at the time, and it is well known, opposed to raising a revenue in America by the imposition of duties; but, unfortunately, at the opening of Parliament (1767), he was seized with a fit of the gout and went down to Bath, and was confined there and at Marlborough during the whole session. The leadership in the House of Commons was intrusted in his absence to Charles Townshend, one of the ministry, a young man of fine talents, and an able speaker and manager—but full of fire and frequently off his guard. Whether designedly or not is uncertain; but Grenville took advantage of his impulsiveness, and one evening when he was declaiming as usual on American affairs, he went so far as to say, addressing himself to the minister: 'You are cowards; you are afraid of America,' repeating the taunt in different lauguage, upon which Townshend took fire, rose, and said: 'Fear, fear, cowards, dare not tax America. I dare tax America.' For a few moments Grenville stood silent and then said: 'Dare you tax America? I wish to God I could see it.' And Townshend replied: 'I will, I will.' 'Next morning,' wrote Johnson, 'I knew from an American and member of Parliament—a friend of Townshend, with whom he and others had supped—that at supper Townshend said: 'I have done a very foolish thing to-night, which Mr. Grenville's impetuosity has driven me into, to promise to tax America. I love America, and don't wish to harass them; but cannot you gentlemen tell me of some paltry tax to impose, by which I can get out of the scrape, and stop the mouths of these wrangling disputants?' Thus the tax upon tea, which was thought least calculated to be disagreeable to the American people."

Dr. Johnson was a conspicuous and influential member of the Convention that framed the Constitution. The author says: "From the time he took his seat to the close of the session, September 17, he does not appear to have been absent from the proceedings. It is known that the deliberations were frequently impeded by jarring interests and local feelings, and his views, being wholly liberal and national, and 'seeking peace in the spirit of peace,' he was occasionally the happy instrument of conciliation between the fears and jealousies of the smaller States and the claims and assumptions of the larger ones. It is

understood that the most original and peculiar feature of the government was due to his suggestion and urgency. He first proposed the organization of the Senate as a distinct body, in which the State sovereignties should be equally represented and guarded, while the weight of population might be felt in the House of Representatives. It was the morning after Dr. Franklin had made his celebrated speech in the Convention, acknowledging the difficulties which surrounded them, and closing with a proposition to seek the guidance of Divine wisdom in prayers, at the opening of each day's session, that Johnson rose in his place and said: 'The controversy must be endless whilst gentlemen differ in the grounds of their arguments; those on one side considering the States as districts of people composing one political society, those on the other considering them as so many political societies. The fact is, that the States do exist as political societies, and a government is to be formed for them in their political capacity, as well as for the individuals composing them. Does it not seem to follow, that if the States, as such, are to exist, they must be armed with some power of self-defense? This is the idea of Colonel Mason, who appears to have looked to the bottom of this matter. Besides the aristocratic and other interests, which ought to have the means of defending themselves, the States have their interests, as such, and are equally entitled to like means. On the whole, he thought that as, in some respects, the States are to be considered in their political capacity, and in others, as districts of individual citizens, the two ideas embraced on different sides, instead of being opposed to each other, ought to be combined—that in *one* branch the *people* ought to be represented, in the *other*, the *States*."

THE GLASSE OF TIME. In the First Age. Divinely handled by THOMAS PEYTON, of Lincolnes Inne, Gent. Scene and allowed. London: printed by Bernard Alsop, for Lawrence Chapman, and are to be sold at his shop over against Staple Inne. 1620. 16mo, pp. 177. New York: John B. Alden. 1886.

Forty years before *Paradise Lost* was given to the world this little work was written and printed, and it is believed to have inspired the genius of the greater poet in the production of the immortal poem which it so much resembles. It begins like *Paradise Lost* with the beginning of human existence, and treats mainly of the fall of man; but it takes a wider range, follows the descendants of Adam to the time of Noah, and promises a continuation of the story, which promise, through the early death of the author, was never fulfilled. It displays no little knowledge of classical lore, and a remarkable familiarity with the Scriptures. "It is quaint, rough, sincere, and devotional, abounding in odd conceits and infelicitous expressions, yet sometimes rising into sublimer strains the influence of its divine subject. In its narrative it takes Milton's view of the origin of sin, the agency of Satan, the consequent depravity of the race, and the hope of the sinner through redemption. In placing the two works side by side, the noble simplicity of Milton's design stands out more clearly than ever before. While Milton's subject is illustrated with the full glow of the poet's fire, and enriched with the varied splendor of a world-wide knowledge, still the unity of the idea remains intact."

Peyton died at the early age of thirty-one, in the year 1626. A copy of the little book, elaborately bound in vellum, ornamented with gold, with coat of arms and regal device, illustrated with curious cuts, and quaintly printed, had been kept in the possession of some English family, and was buried in the chest of an illiterate descendant until his death created a train of circumstances which brought the treasure to light. About seventy years ago Lord Bolland purchased the copy now in the British Museum at the sale of the late Mr. Brindley's library (February 22, 1816), paying for it £19 5*s*., about $97, and the title-page of the second part or volume at the sale of the same gentleman's prints for £22 1*s*. 6*d*. It appears to have been unknown to Hallam and other writers on the literature of England. The encyclopedias do not contain the poet Peyton's name. The place of his grave is unknown. The writer of the Introduction, to whom the public is indebted for this reprint, copied it with great care from the solitary printed copy in the British Museum, adhering strictly to the spelling, punctuation, italicization, and capitalization of the original edition. In the extracts contained in the Introduction the orthography was corrected so as to conform to present usage. It is a literary curiosity indeed.

Winfield S. Hancock

GEN. WINFIELD S. HANCOCK

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THE NEWGATE OF CONNECTICUT

THE OLD SIMSBURY COPPER MINES

A CONSIDERABLE portion of the early settlers of this country were drawn hither in the expectation of finding it another Mexico in its yield of the precious metals. The discovery of these, however, was to be preceded by that of the more useful minerals. About the year 1700 a deposit of copper ore was discovered in Connecticut, at a place nearly eighteen miles north-west of Hartford, in what was then the town of Simsbury, but which now forms a part of East Granby. Mining operations were soon commenced, and in 1707 a working company was formally organized under a charter, said to have been the first granted for mining purposes in our country.

The site of the mine is upon the west flank of the high Trap Range which stretches from Holyoke, in Massachusetts, to its terminus at East Rock, in New Haven, and has long been known familiarly as Copper Hill. The neighboring region is very picturesque, and the old mine is a place of resort both on this account and for its historical interest. The mining company, as such, undertook only to secure the crude ore, most of which was shipped to England, though a small portion was smelted here under contract with a separate company. It is a significant evidence of the general lack of scientific knowledge in our country at that time, as well as of the limited development of the arts, that the persons with whom this contract was made were all clergymen. It shows also the great regard in which learning was held in the New England of those days that the contract with the smelting company required it to reserve one-tenth of its product for the town, of which two-thirds was to be given for the maintenance of "an able schoolmaster in Simsbury," and the other third to the "Collegiate School," by which name Yale College was then known.

As early as the year 1709, on the ground of its being a "public benefit," the General Court of the colony passed an act for the encouragement of the copper mines at Simsbury. Under this and some supplementary acts the business was carried on for about sixty years. Leases of different por-

tions of their mineral land were made from time to time by the company, and among the lessees were some of the wealthiest capitalists and most noted men of the country. The names of Winthrop, Cradock, Bowdoin, Winslow, Quincy, and Pemberton, of Boston, Brenton of Rhode Island, Crommelin and others of New York, attest the wide-spread interest in the mines on Copper Hill. A company was formed in London also, and another in Holland, for the purpose of carrying on mining operations here, and in 1723 it was stated that "the copper works had brought into the Plantation from foreign countries about ten thousand pounds." Jonathan Belcher, afterwards Colonial Governor of Massachusetts, was interested in the mines, and reports a disbursement by him in the course of twenty-three years, of more than £15,000. The success of the Simsbury mines led to much exploration in other places for indications of mineral wealth, especially along the same mountain range, and as far south as New Haven. But nowhere, except at Bristol, midway between Hartford and New Haven, was a deposit found which warranted the labor and expense requisite for successful operations. While the ore was mined at several points on Copper Hill, the principal operations were at a place which afterward became celebrated on account of the use of the vacated mines for more than half a century as a State prison, which bore the name "Newgate," from the well-known English prison. Here two shafts were sunk in the rock, one forty, the other about seventy feet in depth. At the bottom of these galleries extensive excavations were made. They followed the dip of the ore veins, which was usually at an angle of about twenty-five degrees, the veins varying in thickness from eight feet to a mere thread. Its present appearance is that of a series of low rooms or caverns of various shapes, branching off from one another in every direction; but many of the caverns are now inaccessible on account of the influx of water, which is no longer removed as it was when mining operations were in progress. The business was nearly abandoned about the time of the beginning of our Revolutionary war, and the mining companies were one after another disbanded.

It is an interesting fact, in connection with the mines at Copper Hill, that here the first coinage of money in this country took place. It was the private enterprise of one Samuel Higley, an ingenious and skillful blacksmith, who had a mine about a mile south of the principal one. The colonies then had no metallic coinage of their own. The first issue by them of paper money dates only from the year in which the act was passed for the encouragement of the Simsbury mines. What little metallic money was then in circulation was chiefly British coin. Specie, at the best, was

ENTRANCE TO PRISON GROUNDS, THROUGH ARCHWAY IN EASTERN WALL.

[*From a recent photograph.*]

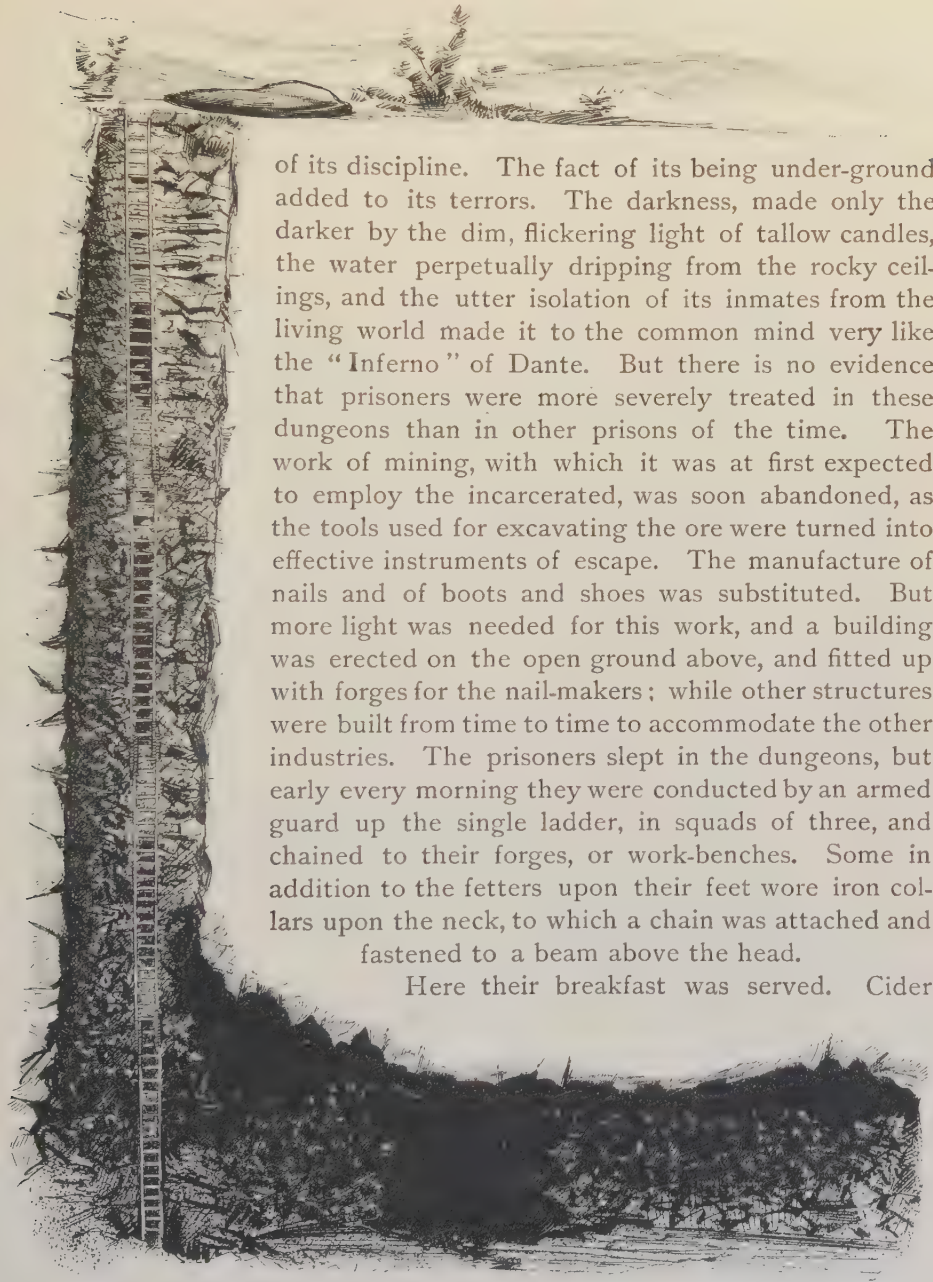
very scarce. Prior to 1709 "Provision Pay," as it was called, was the common medium of exchange. Rye, corn, oats, pork, etc., passed at so much a bushel or pound in payment of debts or for the purchase of whatever one needed. Salaries of clergymen and others were paid in this way. At the settlement of a pastor in this very town of Simsbury, in the year 1688, the agreement was that he should have a salary of fifty pounds a year "in good current pay, to wit: one-third in good merchantable wheat at four shillings

per bushel; one-third in pease or rye, at three shillings per bushel; and one-third in Indian corn or pork; the corn at two shillings and sixpence per bushel and the pork at three pounds ten shillings per barrel."

The mining interest having declined from about the year 1750, the proposal was made to convert the principal mine at Simsbury into a State prison for criminals, whose labor might be turned to profitable account in mining. In 1773 the General Assembly of Connecticut appointed a commission, consisting of William Pitkin, Erastus Wolcott, and Jonathan Humphrey, "to view and explore the copper mines at Simsbury—their situation, nature and circumstances, and to examine and consider whether they may be beneficially applied to the purpose of confining, securing and profitably employing such criminals and delinquents as may be committed to them by any future law or laws of this colony, in lieu of the infamous punishments in divers cases now appointed, and at what probable expense the said mines may be obtained for the purpose aforesaid," and to report to the Assembly then in session. They reported that the unexpired lease, having twenty years to run, could be purchased for about sixty pounds, and that by the expenditure of less than forty additional pounds, the caverns could be made so secure that it would be, to use the language of the Commissioners, "next to impossible for any person to escape." The gentlemen of the Commission were accordingly invested with full powers to lease the mine and fit it up for a State prison.

The Committee reported at the next session of the Assembly that they had purchased the lease and blasted out in the rock a suitable lodging-room, about fifteen feet by twelve in size, and had fixed over the west shaft a large iron door, the total expense of fitting the mine for its new use being only three hundred and seventy dollars. It shows the comparatively slow growth of the country during the first century and a half, not only in population but in other respects, and not least in the ideas relative to penal treatment, that by such a small expenditure in such a place, it was then deemed possible to establish a prison fit for State purposes. At the same session of the Legislature an act was passed "constituting the subterranean caverns and buildings, in the copper mines at Simsbury, a public gaol and workhouse for the use of the colony." There was then nothing above ground, not so much even as the enclosure of a fence, to mark the site of the State's prison. It was simply an underground cavern or series of caverns, connected with the open world through a couple of shafts, in one of which was a perpendicular ladder.

For half a century this "Connecticut Newgate," was associated with much that was distressing in the extreme, and culprits had a salutary fear



of its discipline. The fact of its being under-ground added to its terrors. The darkness, made only the darker by the dim, flickering light of tallow candles, the water perpetually dripping from the rocky ceilings, and the utter isolation of its inmates from the living world made it to the common mind very like the "Inferno" of Dante. But there is no evidence that prisoners were more severely treated in these dungeons than in other prisons of the time. The work of mining, with which it was at first expected to employ the incarcerated, was soon abandoned, as the tools used for excavating the ore were turned into effective instruments of escape. The manufacture of nails and of boots and shoes was substituted. But more light was needed for this work, and a building was erected on the open ground above, and fitted up with forges for the nail-makers; while other structures were built from time to time to accommodate the other industries. The prisoners slept in the dungeons, but early every morning they were conducted by an armed guard up the single ladder, in squads of three, and chained to their forges, or work-benches. Some in addition to the fetters upon their feet wore iron collars upon the neck, to which a chain was attached and fastened to a beam above the head.

Here their breakfast was served. Cider

ENTRANCE TO THE UNDER-GROUND PRISON. THE PERPENDICULAR LADDER.

was provided as a part of the ration, each man having a pint daily. By bartering pork or potatoes for cider, some would get enough of the liquid to become intoxicated, and for the time incapacitated for work. After the hours of labor, the prisoners were allowed to work for themselves, and in this way they often earned considerable sums of money which they were permitted to expend at the neighboring store. The result was, not unfrequently, the importation into the prison of something stronger even than cider.

With such a commingling of exasperating severity and easy indulgence, it is not surprising that the prison abounded in scenes of turbulence compelling harsh and summary measures on the part of guards and keepers. A gentleman now living, who in early life was one of the guards, says that there were insurrections on foot all the while. One can hardly forbear smiling at the frequent escapes which were effected, remembering the Commissioners had so confidently said, "it would be next to impossible for any one to escape." The first convict was received at this stronghold on the 22d of December, 1773, and made his escape on the 9th of the following month. He was drawn up through the eastern shaft, a simple well-hole seventy feet deep, by a woman. Soon after this, a successful attempt was made by the whole body of prisoners. The keeper, Captain John Viets, resided a little distance from the prison, and no guard above ground was kept during the day, two or three sentinels being on the watch at night only. The convicts contrived to unbar a door which led from the inner caverns to a passage connected with the outer door. They then secreted themselves in a recess near the door, where, owing to the general darkness, they could not easily be seen. Here they waited until the keeper came, at the usual time, to bring their food, when, immediately on his opening the door, they sprang upon him, took his keys, locked him in the dungeon, and went out themselves. His family noticing his unusual absence, came to the prison before much time had elapsed and released him. The people living in the vicinity very soon learned of the outbreak and started in pursuit of the fugitives, nearly all of whom were retaken. The attention of the prison Commissioners and of the General Assembly were thus called to the inadequacy of "Newgate" as a place of confinement for criminals, and the deepest shaft was speedily closed by an iron door with heavy blocks of stone, and over the west shaft a strong log-house was built. Scarcely, however, had these precautions been taken, when the keepers were surprised by the discovery of another attempt at escape. From the bottom of the mine a drift had been run for the purpose of draining off the water. This came out to the surface on the western slope

KEEPER'S HOUSE AND ENTRANCE TO THE PRISON. RUINS OF OLD NAIL-SHOP IN THE FOREGROUND.

of the hill, and the opening was barred by a stout wooden door well fastened. The prisoners undertook to burn this door, collecting various combustible materials and piling them against it, and then with flint and steel lighted their fire. But the result was different from what they expected. The fire, in the close and dripping cavern and with the damp

materials they were obliged to use, made but little impression upon the door. There was more smoke than flame, and the whole body of prisoners came near being suffocated. One man was killed, and five others were resuscitated only by considerable effort. But ill-success in this endeavor to burn the barricade of the water-level did not discourage the convicts. Ere long they made a similar attempt upon the newly-erected block-house over the west shaft. This was actually consumed, but the prisoners did not escape. The Assembly directed a new block-house to be built and in connection with it a dwelling-house for the keeper of the prison. A year had not elapsed, however, after the erection of these buildings, before the block-house was again swept away by fire. It was built a third time, and a third time destroyed. These frequent conflagrations and escapes were so discouraging that for several years nothing seems to have been done to repair the buildings, and the prisoners were removed to the county jail at Hartford for safe-keeping. But at the session of 1779 the Assembly made one more effort to render the much 'vaunted stronghold worthy of its name. The overseers were ordered to erect new buildings, with "a block-house on the surface of the ground over the mouth of the cavern, suitable and convenient to secure and employ the prisoners in labor in the day time." The new buildings were completed in 1780, and with their occupancy the character and management of the prison were changed.

In place of the single keeper by day and two or three ordinary watchmen by night, the prison was placed under a strictly military guard, consisting of a lieutenant, sergeant, and twenty-four privates. At the same time the prison was surrounded with a substantial fence, and bastions were erected at the corners for additional security. The prisoners worked above ground and only went into the caverns to sleep, or after work was finished. But they slept and worked alike under the eye of the soldier and within easy range of the loaded musket. The Tories of the Revolution were confined here in great numbers. At one time the larger portion of the inmates were Tories, some of them men of wealth and prominence. Within six months after the new buildings were erected and the military guard established, "Newgate" was the scene of a desperate conflict, attended with blood-shed, and nearly all the twenty-eight prisoners escaped. They were chiefly Tories, and, in accordance with a concerted plan, rose upon the guard and succeeded in accomplishing their design. At ten o'clock in the evening the wife of one of the prisoners applied for permission to visit her husband in the caverns. As this privilege had been many times granted, it was not refused now, though sought at such an unusual hour. All but two of the guard were off duty, and had retired for the night. As the

REMAINS OF WORKSHOP AND BARRACKS. KEEPER'S HOUSE ON THE RIGHT.

hatches were raised for the purpose of allowing the woman to descend the ladder in the shaft, the prisoners, who were on the ladder and near the door, rushed up, seized the muskets of the two officers on duty, and made themselves masters of the guard-room before the sleeping guards were aware of the situation. One officer, by the name of Sheldon, did his duty and fought most valiantly. He was killed, thrust through by a bayonet. Six others were wounded more or less severely. But the prisoners were soon triumphant and succeeded in shutting the guards, except those who had taken flight, into the caverns and making good their own escape. Every prisoner fled, and only a few, such as happened to be wounded in

the conflict, were retaken! The outbreak took place on the 18th of May, 1781, and three weeks afterwards Rivington's *Gazette* contained a notice of the arrival in New York of two of the escaped Loyalists,* giving their account of "Newgate" and the manner of their escape. They speak of their "horrid dungeon" and of "hinges grating upon their hooks and opening the jaws and mouth" of what they call "Hell," and of the "bottomless pit," from which, at the hazard of life, they had made their escape. A committee of the General Assembly in session at the time was appointed to visit the prison and make a careful examination. They reported the discipline of the prison defective and the conduct of most of the guard cowardly, one of whom, at least, was bribed and favored the escape of the prisoners: he was afterwards prosecuted and convicted. This official report on a matter of so much gravity partakes not a little of the humorous. It says: "Jacob Southwell was awakened by the tumult, took a gun and run out of the guard-house, and durst not go back for fear they would hurt him. N. B.—A young man *more fit to carry fish to market* than to keep guard at 'Newgate.' Nathan Philps was also asleep, wak'd but could do nothing, the prisoners having possession of the guard-house. (A small lad just fit to drive Plow with a very gentle Team.) He went to Mr. Viets' and stayed till morning (poor boy!)."

In November, 1782, the prison buildings were burnt for the third time, and it is a remarkable fact that during the nine years that the mines had been used for the purpose of imprisonment more than half of those confined there had escaped. In the present instance, as in the last, there was a plan to effect the release of the Tories. During the fire, one Abel Davis, sergeant of the guard, opened the hatches and allowed all the prisoners to escape who wished to do so. A large number improved the opportunity, but most of them were afterwards captured. Davis was convicted of aiding in the escape, and subsequently presented the following petition to the General Assembly, which is worth preserving as a curiosity:

To the Hon. General Assembly:

The humble petishen of Able Davis—whare as at the honerable Supene Court houlden at Hartford in December last I was confictid of mis Deminer on the Count of newgate being burnt as I had comand of said gard and was orded to bee confined 3 month and pay fourteen pounds for disabaing orders. I can't read riten, but I did all in my power to Distingus the flame, but being very much frited and not the faculty to doe as much in distress as I could another time and that is very smaul, what to do I thot it was best to let out the prisoners that was in the botams as I had but just time to get the gates lifted before the

* Ebenezer Hathaway and Thomas Smith. See *Magazine of American History*, Vol. xi., pp. 247, 248, 249.

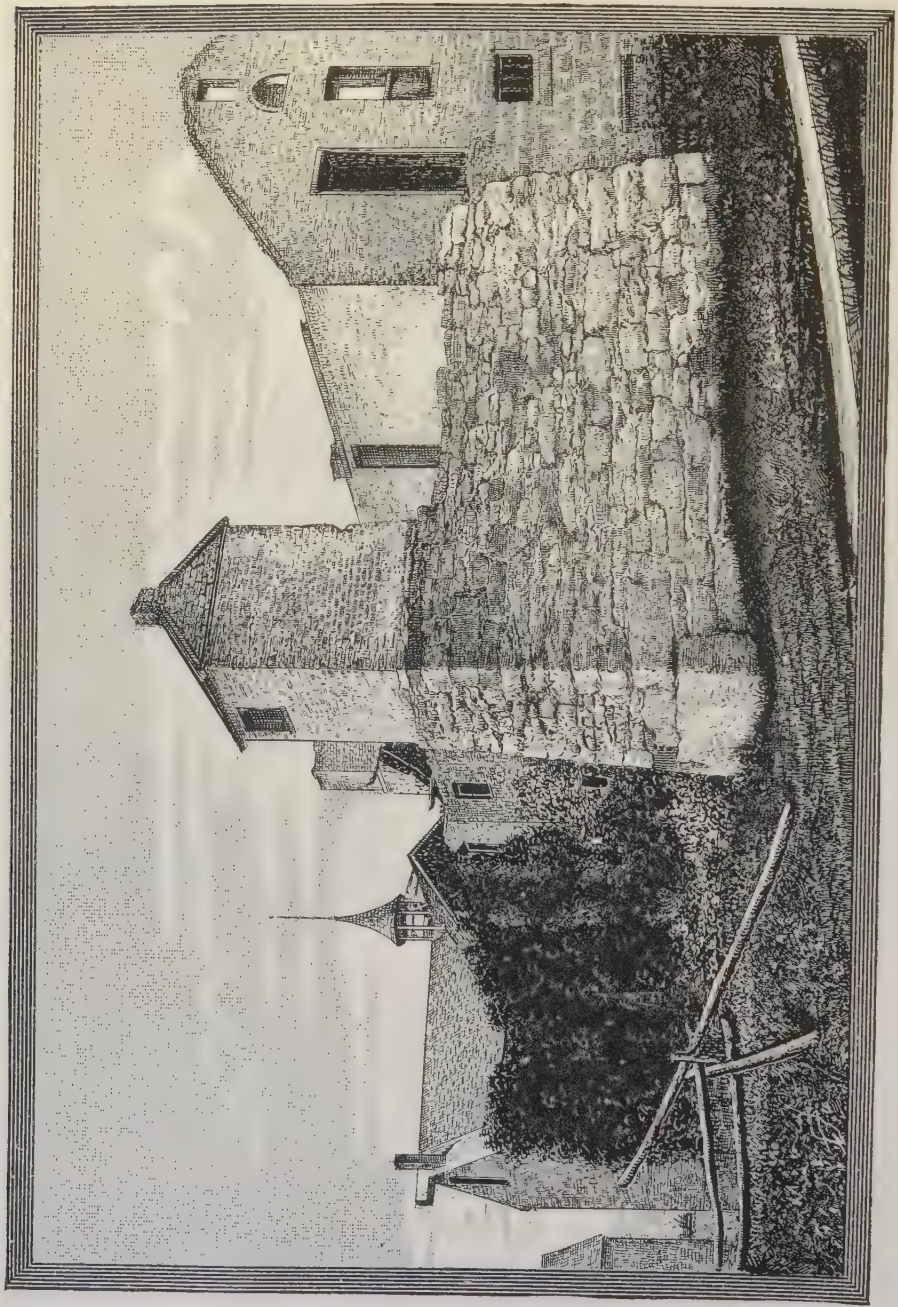
REAR OF THE OLD PRISON, LOOKING UP THE HILL FROM THE WEST, SHOWING KEEPER'S HOUSE AND THE BARRACKS.

hous was in flames, and the gard being frited it twant in my power to scape them. I now pray to bee Deflehaned from further imprisment, and the coust of said sute as I hante abel to pay the coust, or give me the liberty of the yard as I am very unwell as your petishener in Duty bound will for ever pray.

ABEL DAVEIS.

Hartford Goal, January 14th, 1783.

Among the Tories confined at "Newgate" was a clergyman, the Rev. Simeon Baxter, who was a most uncompromising Loyalist, and made no concealment of his opinions. He preached a sermon to his fellow prisoners, which was afterwards printed in London. It advocated in the strong-



SENTRY'S TOWER, SOUTH-EAST ANGLE OF PRISON WALL. BARRACKS ON THE LEFT. REMAINS OF CHAPEL AND WORKSHOP ON THE RIGHT.

est manner the assassination of Washington and the whole Continental Congress.

In 1781 Congress applied to Connecticut for the use of "Newgate" for the reception of British prisoners of war, and for "purposes of retaliation." The subject was taken into favorable consideration; but the war was drawing to a close, and after a brief period negotiations ceased. When the wooden palisade was built for the better security of the convicts, it was surmounted with iron spikes, and enclosed the various buildings which had been erected above ground. A deep trench was also dug upon the western side of the inclosure. This remained until the year 1802, when the Commissioners were ordered to replace it with a high stone wall. The wall was quite a massive structure, and still remains in place. The prisoners aided in its construction, and on its completion were allowed to be participants in the festivities with which the completion of the work was celebrated. An Irish prisoner, embracing the temporary liberty and license of the occasion, offered the following toast: "Here is to Lieutenant Barber's great wall. May it be like the wall of Jericho, and tumble down at the sound of a ram's horn." An old negro named Dublin also offered a toast which had more of the Irish than the African flavor. "Here's health to the Captain and all the rest of the prisoners." The keeper or overseer of the prison always bore the title of "Captain," and Lieutenant Calvin Barber was the principal commissioner at the time the wall was built.

"Newgate" continued to be used as a prison until the year 1827, when, a new penitentiary having been built by the State, at Wethersfield, the prisoners at "Newgate" were removed to the new, and the old prison was abandoned. In 1830 the property was sold to a chartered company, by whom mining operations were resumed for a time. Financial embarrassments soon caused the suspension of the work, however. Twenty years elapsed and the miner's tools were again heard in the old caverns, but only for a short period. The discovery of the larger and richer deposits of Lake Superior rendered the working of the Simsbury mines unprofitable. The place is now a picturesque ruin, of great interest on account of its historic associations. The high walls, no longer needed as safeguards against the escape of prisoners, have not been cared for by the later proprietors, and portions of them have tumbled down. The old smithy, where the convicts stood fastened to their forges by chains depending from iron collars about their necks, has become a dilapidated mass, its sides having fallen out, and a portion only of its roof remaining. The floor is heaped with the ore which the more recent miners brought up from the cavernous depths below. The clank of the chains is no longer heard, nor the ring of the

many hammers upon the anvils. The old treadmill is silent. The various shops where work of one sort and another was done, and the chapel where religious services were maintained for the benefit of the convicts, are now empty. Doors and windows, to a great extent, are gone. The stair-cases are broken down, and one makes his way among the apartments with difficulty. The sentry's box still stands high on the parapet, but no sentry's tread is heard, nor is the gleam of his musket seen in the sunshine. Grass and weeds have overgrown the court-yard. One building only has been kept in sufficient repair to be occupied. In this, situated in the center of the inclosure, a family dwell, guarding the premises from ruthless depredation, and furnishing candles and needful guides for those who desire to explore the dungeons below. The bell, which originally came from Rouen, in France, and long summoned the prisoners to their work, to their meals, and to their quarters at night, has been transferred to the roof of a factory a few miles distant.

N. H. Egleston

Agricultural Department,
Washington, D. C.

WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK

In the death of General Hancock the nation has lost a tried and brilliant soldier and a sterling citizen. Born February 14, 1824, and entering West Point at the age of sixteen, he had been in the service of his country for a quarter of a century at the time of his lamented death, when, although his years were sixty-two, he might have reasonably looked forward to a longer career of usefulness. He graduated with an enviable record in 1844, and was assigned to frontier duty in the Indian Territory, where, in the round of a soldier's routine, the rudiments of his profession were learned. Among the names that appear on the rolls at West Point during Hancock's term, are Grant, McClellan, Rosecrans, Longstreet, Buckner, and Jackson; but no oracle foretold that the time would come when these cadet-comrades were to meet as foes in the shock of civil war. When the Mexican War came on, the rank of Hancock was that of second lieutenant. He participated in the four principal battles of General Scott's campaign — namely, Contreras, Cherubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec — and for gallant and meritorious conduct in the first two, won his brevet as first lieutenant. Grant, two years his senior, was brevetted captain for gallantry at Chapultepec. A season of comparative inactivity followed the close of the war with Mexico until 1855, during which period the frontier at various times was his field of service, when he served under General Harney in Florida, in his operations against the hostile Seminoles, and also accompanied the same officer in his expedition to Utah. The opening of the Civil War found him located at Los Angeles, his official station being that of chief quartermaster of the Southern District of California.

Notable qualities had been displayed by the young officer in the situations to which duty had called him up to this time; and now it was seen that in him were combined the daring spirit of the soldier and the business aptitude and method of the man of affairs. He had the faculty of organization, and a comprehension of details in general, which bore the happy issue of well-ordered dispatch. In the peaceful exercise of these qualities he heard around him the expression of secession sentiments, and realized that an effort would be made to induce California to forsake her allegiance and follow the lead of South Carolina. He belonged to the Democratic party but more than a Democrat he was a patriot; and no sympathy with the secession cause could be wrung from him, nor did the advocates of it ever gain his affiliation. On the contrary, all his influence and power of

persuasion were exerted on the side of the Union, and we may well believe that his loyal action was not unavailing in saving the Golden State.

> "Once, to every man and nation, comes the moment to decide,
> In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side."

He chose the good, and, longing for active service, wrote to that effect, and was ordered to Washington, where his experience and knowledge were of signal service in organizing the Army of the Potomac. From that moment to the close of the rebellion he was identified with nearly every movement of that army. He was commissioned as brigadier-general of volunteers, September 23, 1861, and served under McClellan through the Peninsula campaign, greatly distinguishing himself at the battle of Williamsburg, where his strategy, courage and resource commanded the victory. He was actively present at the battle of Chickahominy and other engagements, to Harrison's Landing; then at South Mountain and Antietam, where his ability was again distinguished. Then came Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville, where, having been made major-general, he commanded a division, and at the last-named battle won his corps command. In the decisive conflict at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, he held the left center and bore the brunt of battle, gaining by his valor and intrepidity the thanks of Congress "for his gallant, meritorious and conspicuous share in that great and decisive victory." He was severely wounded at Gettysburg and disabled for many months, though during his sick leave he employed himself in recruiting the Second Army Corps which he commanded later. He took the field again when the campaign opened in 1864, and added to his renown by his prowess in the bloody battles of the Wilderness. He especially distinguished himself at a critical juncture in the desperate struggle of Friday, May 6, when the main weight of the Confederate attack fell upon his lines. "The heroism and skill of Hancock, and the valor of his command saved our army," wrote William Swinton in his account of the battle, dated Sunday, May 8, 1864. He was active at Spottsylvania Court House, North Anna, Cold Harbor, and in the movement against Petersburg, until the coming of summer, when the breaking out of his wound obliged him to take a short rest. Resuming command later, he continued in active service until autumn, when a requisition to organize a corps of veterans called him to Washington. He was placed in command of several successive departments at the end of the war, succeeding General Meade in the department of the East, and at his death was senior major-general with head-quarters at Governor's Island.

Brief as is the foregoing with reference to the military achievements of Hancock, it will at least give an idea of his martial energy, courage and

skill, and his unfaltering spirit in all the emergencies of war. The history of the contest must be read to fully realize and appreciate the importance and splendor of his services.

General Hancock was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidential nomination in the Democratic Convention of July, 1868, which resulted in a unanimous vote for the late Horatio Seymour. Until that unanimous ballot, however, he was honored with a larger number of votes than any candidate of the Convention with the exception of Pendleton, and his majority was but a single vote. The General again loomed up as a candidate for a Presidential nomination in 1880, and perhaps in the twelve years of non-participation in active politics he had made some study of state-craft, and was not deaf to the whisperings of ambition. There was no reason why he should not walk the same path that many a General had trodden before him. He was a successful soldier; a man of unblemished character; his intellect was cultivated though not brilliant; his deportment was dignified yet winning; and he had a talent for administration in certain directions. He proved a popular candidate. The Democratic Convention in Cincinnati nominated him on the second ballot, though his competitor was no less a statesman than Thomas F. Bayard, and in the ensuing election he received a popular vote of 4,422,033, against Garfield's popular vote of 4,442,950. Without doubt his military reputation was his chief source of strength in the popular view, for he was untried in statesmanship; and that he was unskilled in the art of political management and lacking in political tact, the canvass humorously testified. His personal share therein was not marked by the acumen exhibited by Horace Greeley during his memorable campaign. The General was not apt at speech-making, and was more at home in battle than on the stump. Yet he might have made an excellent and efficient Executive, for his many qualities were genuine and admirable, and experience teaches that great developments of attributes and character may spring to noble life under the pressure of responsibility. It was not impossible that had Hancock been elected his presidential record would have justified the admiration and confidence of his constituency. It was not vouchsafed him, however, to rule the nation, and speculation now as to what might have been his civic success is unprofitable. He has gone to his honored grave with an unclouded name, and the moralist will tell us that it was better so, than that the soldier and patriot should risk the temptations and pitfalls of political preferment.

General Hancock was a fine example of a soldier-citizen. He was far from being

> "The red-coat bully in his boots,
> That hides the march of men from us."

He was in the march of men himself, and war was not his trade. The armor was donned when needed; it was not worn to intimidate. In the performance of his duties as commander of a department he was painstaking and energetic. His talent for administration was seen in the thoroughness with which all details of his office were mastered and managed. No duty was ever done by him in a perfunctory spirit. He often attended personally to matters that might very properly have devolved on members of his staff; but it was his way to see to things himself. And fresh in the remembrance of the public is the perfect manner in which, when ordered by the President, he conducted from first to last the elaborate arrangements of the obsequies of General Grant.

As a man, he deserved the love and esteem which has been so warmly expressed by his friends and comrades-in-arms. He was endowed with features of character that impressed all who came in contact with him, and that were as noble as his physical presence. He was of a kind and generous disposition, and his gifts of charity have sown in many breasts the seeds of gratitude.

As a soldier of the Republic his fame is flawless and secure. What he might have done under other circumstances or in another sphere of action, it is useless to inquire. Possessing human attributes that largely influence the race, he would have earned a distinction in any department of life. But it seems to us that nature and inclination fitted him for the part he was destined to play, and such was the united testimony of those who gathered around his vacant chair at the meeting of the Military Service Institution on Governor's Island, on the night of February 26. No one who looked on the funeral procession of General Grant last August will soon forget the striking appearance of General Hancock at the head of his glittering staff, leading the impressive pageant. The memory will long hold that picture of military splendor, and he who there rode the conspicuous figure seemed born to it, and was in truth what his superb bearing suggested, and what his admirers called him—an ideal soldier. He was as inspiring as Murat and as brave as Ney; and his deeds of dauntless valor will gild the nation's annals, while by those who knew him he will be remembered as a chivalric gentleman, a genial companion, and loyal friend.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF CANADA

When the British North American provinces confederated in 1867 the only thing they seemed to have in common was an attachment to British institutions and British connection, and even that did not unite them very closely, for, wedged in between the British provinces by the sea and the British province on the Great Lakes, was the French Quebec. The central provinces, Ontario and Quebec, then known as Upper and Lower Canada, were connected by the Grand Trunk Railway which at that time had no competitor, but the maritime provinces were separated from the rest of the Dominion by an almost unexplored wilderness. To the north-west of Ontario lay the great lone land called the Hudson Bay Territory, known only to Indians and hunters, and generally supposed to be a land of eternal ice and snow. West of that again, and separated from it by the Rocky Mountains, was the province of British Columbia, with its head in the snow of the mountains and its feet in the warm waters of the Pacific.

The confederation scheme was the outcome of a parliamentary deadlock between the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, which, although geographically as dependent upon one another as Siamese twins, were separated by race hatred and differences of language and religion. It was carried by a narrow majority in most of the provinces. In Nova Scotia the majority of the people were opposed to it, and British Columbia was only induced to join by the promise of a railway through Canadian territory connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Before the American colonies confederated they had fought together and grown enthusiastic in a common cause. There was no war to weld the Canadian provinces together. Linked to Britain but separated from one another they had no community of interest, and nothing had been done to encourage trade between them. The people of Ontario hated the *habitants* of Quebec, and the "Bluenoses" down by the sea disliked all Canadians, whether they lived along the banks of the St. Lawrence and talked a French patois, or on the shores of Ontario and Erie speaking English like themselves.

Naturally, many citizens of the young Dominion had no faith in its future. They predicted all kinds of disasters and declared that the consolidation of Canada could never be anything more than a name. There were others, however, who argued that the natural resources of the Canadian provinces were fully equal to those of the Northern States, that

lying in a direct line between Europe and Asia nearer to both continents than the United States and possessing the finest harbors on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, with immense deposits of coal in close proximity to them, they must, in time, control the commerce of the world, and nothing but a century of disunion prevented them from making equal progress with the United States. They pointed out that ocean vessels from Europe passing up the St. Lawrence to Montreal could go nearer to the heart of the continent than by any United States route, while Louisburg, Canada's most eastern port, with one of the grandest harbors in the world and unlimited deposits of coal close at hand, was 750 nautical miles nearer to England than New York. They showed that a line of railway through Canadian territory connecting Montreal with the Pacific Ocean would be the shortest possible route across the continent of North America, and that Canada was especially favored by the Pacific Ocean, the Japan current carrying all vessels bound from Asia to America toward British Columbia. They declared that the internal water system of the Dominion was far superior to that of the United States, the most important connecting links between the Great Lakes being in Canada, and that by improving these water-ways Canadians could secure a large share of the American export trade. In short, they said that all that was necessary to the making of a mighty nation was a national policy which would develop interprovincial and international trade by constructing railways and canals.

So the people formed themselves into two parties, the Dominionists and Provincialists, the one having unbounded confidence in the future of the enlarged Canada, and holding that where the interests of one of the provinces conflicted in any matter with those of the country at large, the province must give way to the Dominion; the other taking a most gloomy view of the future of the confederation and insisting that the autonomy of the provinces should be restored in part, at least. Most of the Dominionists allied themselves with the Conservatives, while the Provincialists joined the Reformers, and thus, while the names Dominionist and Provincialist have never been used to designate the two parties, the distinguishing characteristic of the one is nationalism and that of the other provincialism. No review of Canadian history since the confederation that ignores this distinction can satisfactorily explain the present situation, and no forecast of the future is reliable unless it takes this into account.

The Dominionists have been in power at Ottawa ever since confederation, with the exception of the five years between 1873 and 1878, and while

all their hopes have not been realized much has been accomplished, and nothing but a one-sided study of events could make any unprejudiced person believe that the Dominion is undergoing a process of disintegration, as Dr. Bender seeks to prove in the February number of this Magazine. The political consolidation of the country is fast bringing about material consolidation, and the growth of national sentiment is commensurate to the progress that has been made. The maritime provinces have been connected with central Canada by the Intercolonial Railway; British Columbia has been brought into close communication with the sister provinces by the Canadian Pacific Railway which has also opened up the North-west to settlement; the great Welland Canal has been constructed; other waterways have been improved, and the older provinces have been covered with a net-work of railways. At the time of confederation Canada was almost without railways. Now there are over ten thousand miles in operation, and at least a thousand more will be open for traffic before next Dominion Day. Following are railways now in operation, with the mileage of each: Canadian Pacific with its branches, 3,678; Grand Trunk, 2,694; Intercolonial, 830; New Brunswick, 397; Northern and North-western, 382; Canada Southern, 376; Prince Edward Island, 196; Quebec Central, 148; South-eastern, 185; Windsor and Annapolis, 130; Canada Atlantic, 135; Manitoba and North-western, 130; Central Ontario, 104; Western Counties, N. B., 67; Quebec and Lake St. John, 46; St. Martins and Upham, N. B., 30; Kingston and Pembroke, 61; International of Quebec, 69; Eastern Extension, 80; Grand Southern, N. B., 82; Erie and Huron, 36; Cumberland, N. S., 32; Napanee, Tamworth and Quebec, 28; Albert, N. B., 45; Bay of Quinte Navigation, 15; Cobourg, Peterboro' and Marmora, 15; Chatham, N. B., 9; Carillon and Grenville, 13; Elgin, Petitcodiac and Havelock, 14. Of all these railways the Canadian Pacific is the most necessary to the consolidation of Canada, and its construction has been most strenuously opposed from the first by the Provincialists, who declared that it would be far better to let British Columbia go than to undertake such a stupendous work. When they found that the majority of the people favored the construction of the railway they proposed to compromise the matter by building the prairie section and making connection with the American railways at the Manitoba boundary line. They said that the section along the north shore of Lake Superior would never pay expenses, that the cost of constructing it would be enormous, and that it could not possibly be worked in winter. But the Dominionists argued that not only was an all Canadian route necessary to the integrity of the Dominion but the trade of the North-west would be lost to Eastern Canada

if the only means of communication was through the United States. Well, the railway was built from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, and has been successfully operated throughout during the past winter. Passenger and freight trains have run between Montreal and the Rocky Mountains regularly and no difficulty has been experienced in operating the Lake Superior section.

The growth of interprovincial trade since confederation has kept pace with the construction of railways. The wholesale trade of the maritime provinces which once centered in Boston now largely centers in Montreal, and the interests of the different provinces are growing more identical every year. Many of the older men in the maritime provinces still cherish their dislike to the Dominion, but most of the young men now call themselves Canadians, and are growing proud of the name. There are still more anti-confederationists in Nova Scotia than in any other part of Canada, and some of the Reform papers even advocate secession, but the Conservative papers are all strongly Canadian in tone, and whatever grumbling there may be between times in that province, the Dominionists are always sustained when an election comes. In the North-west the Hudson Bay Territory has been divided into the Province of Manitoba and the Territories of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabaska. Manitoba already has quite a large population, and its capital, Winnipeg, has about 30,000 inhabitants, while the territories are being rapidly settled and thriving towns are springing up all over the country. Winnipeg's population has not greatly increased during the last three years, but its character has greatly changed. In 1883 it was almost the only town of the North-west, being the head-quarters of the contractors, who were rapidly pushing forwerd the construction of the prairie section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was overrun with speculators and land-grabbers, land sold at enormous prices, and the value of everything was highly inflated. Now the boom is over, but an era of quiet prosperity and steady progress as the commercial metropolis of the Canadian North-west seems to have set in, although some people predict that the great city will be farther west. Immediately after the collapse of the boom there was some wild talk about seceding from the confederation. People spoke of Canada *and* the North-west as if they were separate countries, and the Provincialists in all the provinces began to think that the long expected collapse of the confederation was to be brought about by the people of the North-west. But with the completion of the railway came renewed prosperity, and there are to-day no more enthusiastic Canadians than the people of Manitoba and the North-west, although those in the Territories, of course, demand more rep-

resentation at Ottawa, just as Dakota is demanding admission as a State of the Union. They will all be admitted as regular provinces of the Dominion long before their population equals that of Dakota, and it is expected that at the next session of Parliament provision will be made for the representation of the Territories by members who will have the right to vote as well as speak, which will be in advance of the American system of territorial representation.

The strength of Canadian national sentiment was evidenced by the promptness with which the volunteers all over the country sprang to arms at the time of the Riel rebellion, and the enthusiasm that greeted their home-coming. They received ovations all along the line of railway, the townsmen crowding to the stations to cheer them, the ladies boarding the trains with coffee, baskets of provisions and button-hole bouquets. All Winnipeg was out-of-doors to welcome the boys; Montreal forgot that its population was divided and showed that even if the people spoke two languages they all cheered the same way; and Toronto went crazy with enthusiasm. There was never anything like it. A gentleman, who saw the victorious German troops enter Berlin after the Franco-Prussian war, informed me that the reception could not be compared with that given by Toronto to its returning volunteers. It is true that much ill feeling was afterward generated by the discussion of Riel's punishment, but the gravity of the situation is much exaggerated by Dr. Bender. In discussing the relations between the French and English-speaking citizens of Canada, Dr. Bender always refers to the latter as British. This is a mistake. The majority of English-speaking Canadians are not of English descent. According to the Dominion census, which classes the people according to their origin, the French rank first in numbers, Irish second, English third, Scotch fourth, and German fifth; but the English-speaking population are now almost as mixed as the Americans. In taking this census, descendants of United Empire Loyalists who emigrated from the American colonies after the Revolutionary war, were nearly all ranked as English, although they are generally of mixed race, and as like as can be to descendants of old American families in the United States. The accent of English-speaking Canadians is American, their appearance is more American than English, and since confederation, British sentiment has been, to a great extent, displaced by Canadian sentiment, especially in Ontario and the North-west. The most intelligible terms are Canadians and French-Canadians, for the French are the only section of the community that do not intermingle with the rest. The French-speaking population of Canada has greatly increased since confederation, but it

cannot be said to have grown more Frenchified. In Montreal nearly all the French-Canadians can speak English, while comparatively few Canadians can speak French. English is taught in all the French schools, and while French is likely to be the language of the home in Quebec province for generations, English is certain to be the language of commerce. If the chief cities of the province derived their importance from local trade, the French language would undoubtedly prevail in the end, but the manufacturers and importers depend more upon the maritime provinces, Ontario and the North-west for trade, than on their own province. The geographical position of Quebec province is such that it cannot become commercially isolated from the rest of the continent, and the people trading continually with English-speaking people must gradually become Anglicized. It may be said that so little has been accomplished in that direction in the past that nothing can be expected from the future, but it must be remembered that the era of railroad construction in Canada has just begun, and that the whole railroad system of the country will always be to a great extent tributary to the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railways, which have their termini in this province. As the North-west becomes populated with millions of English-speaking people and Ontario's population increases, the volume of trade pouring down the St. Lawrence will be enormous, and having such close commercial relations with the rest of the Dominion, the people of Quebec must in time become assimilated. Socially the Canadians and French-Canadians do not intermingle as they should, but the lines are not as rigidly drawn as they were at one time. In business no distinctions are made, as a rule, and those Americans who imagine that a war of races is liable to break out at any time in Canada, would be surprised at the amicable relations that really exist between the French and English-speaking citizens of Montreal. Undoubtedly it would be far better for Canada if the French-Canadians would intermarry with the rest of the population and adopt the English language, but there are no indications that the isolation of the French is likely to bring about the disintegration of Canada. Some of the minor French politicians and newspapers may declare that the French-Canadians are more French than ever, but there is no doubt that English ideas have made considerable headway. Moreover, they are not now confined to one province, although the majority are in Quebec, and the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy is always on the side of the Dominion government. This generation certainly will not see a fusion of the two races, but there is no reason to expect that the people will not live amicably side by side in the future as they are doing at present and have done in the past, mu-

tually dependent upon each other. There has been no approach to a deadlock in Parliament since confederation, and while charges of French aggression have been made in some quarters, no case has ever been instanced in which the interests of one race were sacrificed to satisfy the other by Dominion legislation. It is true, the French-Canadians have opposed the incorporation of Orangemen, being supported in this by Mr. Blake, the leader of the Reform party, and many of his followers, but that was a question of religion rather than race, and Irish members also voted against it. The only question that ever threatened trouble was the hanging of Riel, and the excitement over that has almost entirely subsided, without any evil effects. Indeed, the effects of the agitation are likely to be beneficial. The French have been taught that they are only a part of the Canadian people, and that the laws of the Dominion will not be set aside at the dictation of mob orators; moreover, they are likely to take more interest in the management of North-west affairs in the future, and this will be the means of lifting them out of their narrow, provincial rut. There is nothing alarming in an occasional wordy conflict between the two sections of the people. It shows that they are rubbing together instead of drifting apart, and while neither may admit that the other is right, the arguments advanced are not without effect.

The Riel agitation took much larger dimensions on paper than it ever had in fact. The members of the French-Canadian wing of the Conservative party are known as Bleus and the French Reformers as Rouges. While the rebellion was in progress a few Rouge politicians, hoping to make party capital, held meetings in Montreal justifying the action of the half-breeds, comparing them to the patriots of 1837, and denouncing the government. Their meetings were poorly attended at first, and were laughed at by newspapers of the Bleu persuasion; but after the rebellion was suppressed and the lower classes of French-Canadians became excited against the English-speaking people by the enforcement of compulsory vaccination laws, to which they were opposed, the attendance at the meetings greatly increased, and a number of Bleu politicians, growing alarmed lest their constituents might be carried away by the eloquence of the Rouges, joined them in demanding the commutation of Riel's sentence, threatening to establish a new party and assist the Reformers in ousting the Conservatives from power unless their demands were granted. It was a crisis in the history of Canada. Had the government yielded to a demand made in such a way, there would have been just grounds for Dr. Bender's gloomy predictions. But the course of justice was not interfered with; Riel was justly punished, and the agitation has already subsided,

largely owing to the vigorous action of the Roman Catholic clergy in upholding the action of the Dominion government and denouncing rebellion and sedition. Of the twenty French Conservative members of Parliament who joined the Rouges in forming the so-called National party, all but seven are said to have returned to the support of the administration, and even should the twenty join the Reformers in a vote of want of confidence, the government would still have a large majority. Much has been said about the demonstrations in Montreal against the government, but the great body of French-Canadians took no part in them. The effigy-burning was mostly done by medical students of Victoria University, who gladly seized the opportunity for a lark. They good-humoredly sang songs as they marched through the streets, and the only occasion when trouble was feared was the night that the medical students of McGill University turned out in a body, and being joined by a number of other young men, some of whom were members of the volunteer regiments in civilian dress, paraded the west end of the city, threatening to attack the Victoria students if they entered the English section. Mr. Beaugrand, the energetic Mayor of Montreal, addressed both bodies of students, exacting from each a promise not to cross Bleury Street, the dividing line between the English and French sections, and so a fight was avoided. On the following Sunday afternoon ten or fifteen thousand people crowded to Champ de Mars square and listened quietly to the speeches of the French-Canadian orators. They had nothing to do after church in the morning, the day being generally regarded as a holiday by the French, and it was a pleasant way to pass the afternoon, for these French-Canadian politicians are all fine speakers. But the agitation was carried on most hotly in the newspapers. The circulation of the French papers depends upon the encouragement of French sentiment, and they kept the excitement up as long as possible. That the French-Canadians in general were not very greatly interested in the matter is shown by the fact, that notwithstanding all the efforts to raise a Riel fund, before and since the execution of the rebel leader, only about $250 was collected, which was recently sent to Madame Riel.

There never was anything more absurd than this Riel agitation in Quebec province, and many French-Canadians are now ashamed of their part in it. In the first place Riel had very little French blood in his veins. He himself claimed that his Scandinavian ancestors, the Rielsons, emigrated to Ireland and intermarried with the Irish, that afterward, emigrating to Canada and dropping the termination "son," they intermarried with the French and Indians. The French-Canadians are Roman Catho-

lics, but Riel's avowed object was to establish a new Church. He denounced the Roman Catholic priesthood and the Pope, and treated the priests in his power with great indignity. Moreover, two French-Canadian priests were massacred by the Indians whom he incited. The French-Canadians were well represented in the Dominion Parliament and the Dominion Cabinet, and had they interested themselves in the alleged grievances of the half-breeds before the rebellion they could easily have secured the granting of the petitions. Riel must have known this, for he was an educated man and well acquainted with many of the Quebec politicians. But he never appealed to them, the half-breeds never appealed to them, and they did not take the slightest interest in the matter in or out of Parliament until the first shot was fired by the rebels at Duck Lake. There was nothing heroic in his conduct of the rebellion to excite the sympathies of the French-Canadians, and it was proven at the trial that he offered to leave the country if the government would pay him $35,000, intimating that he was the half-breed question and that no further trouble would occur if he was satisfied. It is true that when he found death inevitable he renounced his heresies and died bravely, but that did not entitle him to be ranked as a hero. A few days afterward there died on the scaffold at London, Ont., a man who had brutally murdered his paramour because she refused to give him ten cents to buy liquor; he, too, died bravely and calmly, making an earnest profession of religion. And what were the grievances of the half-breeds? By the laws of Canada a half-breed in the North-west Territories could class himself either as an Indian or a white man, having all the privileges of either. As an Indian he would be subject to Indian treaties, would have his share in the Indian reserves, and receive Indian rations from the government. As a white man he would have exactly the same privileges as any other Canadian. He could locate a free claim of 160 acres and obtain a title to it after performing settlement duties for three years, and he could preempt 160 acres more, paying for it at the rate of two dollars and a half per acre on time. But this did not satisfy the half-breeds; they wished to have the privileges of both white men and Indians; they demanded that their farms be surveyed in long narrow strips instead of according to the system of both the American and Canadian governments; they insisted that they should be given scrip for 240 acres of land which they could sell at once to speculators, instead of obtaining titles to their land in the regular way by performing settlement duties; and asked to be exempted from the restrictions regarding the cutting of timber, to which white settlers were subject. After some delay the government agreed to

survey the land according to their peculiar method, but refused to grant them greater privileges than the whites in other respects. They continued to agitate and, finally, wearied by their importunity, the government, very injudiciously it seems to me, decided to grant scrip to all half-breeds in the North-west Territories who had not already received it in Manitoba, and on the 4th of February, 1885, notification of the appointment of a commission to settle the claims was forwarded to the half-breeds. There was some delay in sending the commission, and the rebellion broke out in the following March, the first shot being fired at Duck Lake on the 26th of the month. An explanation of the origin of the demand for scrip is necessary to an understanding of the matter. Prior to its annexation to Canada the North-west was a British Territory under the jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company, which held its charter from the British Government. Many people suppose that this company sold the lands of the North-west to Canada. This is a mistake. The company never had any title to the lands of the North-west, and the charter by which it secured jurisdiction over the country had expired when the territory was transferred to Canada by the British Government. The company had no legal claim for compensation, but its influence in the North-west was great, and to avoid trouble the Dominion Government agreed to give it £300,000 and a large grant of land. The Indians were recognized to be the real land-owners of the country, and the government negotiated directly with the Indian tribes for the transfer of their title, excepting in the old Red River settlement where the white employees of the Hudson Bay Company had generally intermarried with the Indians, forming a half-breed population. After the suppression of the first Riel rebellion this old district was formed into the Province of Manitoba, and the Indian claim was extinguished by granting to each half-breed scrip for 240 acres of land, those who had settled on farms being also granted titles to them as regular settlers. Many of the half-breeds at once sold their scrip to speculators, and some of them moved north to Prince Albert, in Saskatchewan Territory, where, encouraged by white speculators, they again demanded scrip. The delay in settling the matter, after it was decided to grant scrip to all half-breeds, was partly due to the difficulty expected in distinguishing between those who had already received scrip in Manitoba and those who were in the Territories at the time the Manitoba allotment was made. That is the history of the half-breed question and the second Riel rebellion. It is difficult to understand what excited the sympathies of the French-Canadians in Riel's favor, and yet there is no doubt that the feelings of many were so wrought upon by Rouge orators that for a time they

regarded him as a hero and a martyr who had been sacrificed to Orange prejudice. Possibly an explanation may be found in the fact that Riel put the Orangeman Scott to death during the first rebellion, and they believed that the Orangemen were demanding his execution on that account, although there is no evidence that the Orangemen interfered in the matter in any way. The Riel agitation was merely an ebullition of feeling which was soon worked off by a little speech-making, a number of hot editorials, and the burning of a few effigies. Everything is moving smoothly now.

There is no reason to suppose that absorption of the French-Canadians would follow annexation. Politically, Canada is more of a consolidation than a federation, the prerogatives of the Provincial legislatures being much more limited than those of the State legislatures, so that the powers of the French majority in Quebec province would be greatly increased by annexation, although their influence in the Federal Congress might not be so great as at Ottawa. In those New England towns where French-Canadians are numerically strong they maintain the same policy of isolation as in Canada. Where they are numerically weak they become Anglicized as readily in one country as in the other. French-Canadians are absorbed as quickly in Toronto as in Detroit or Buffalo. English, Scotch, Germans and Irish intermix as freely in Canada as in the United States, and some of the most enthusiastic Dominionists are Irish-Canadians.

Canada is not a paradise, nor will it ever be. It has its peculiar troubles as other countries have, but nowhere else are prosperity and liberty without license more general, and in no country are the laws more wisely administered. The standard of the judiciary is very high, lynch law is never heard of, even in the new settlements, and divorces are almost unknown. American sketches of Canadian life are almost always taken from the most unprogressive towns of Quebec province, which are no more representative of Canada than the smaller towns of Louisiania or Alabama are typical of the United States. Quebec province, as a whole, is certainly behind the age, but it occupies only a small space on the map of Canada.

Doctor Bender is altogether wrong in saying that "however sore the feeling of any race minority, and however apprehensive as to possible aggression or injustice, in future, by the majority, the kindred and sympathizing majority of no other province can help it; each province, which means each majority, is entirely independent of all the rest in regard to local and municipal affairs." The fact is, that every act passed by the Provincial legislatures must be submitted to the Dominion ministry before it becomes law, and may be vetoed at any time within a year of its pas-

sage, so that if the minority in any province is treated with glaring injustice, sympathizers in the other provinces have a whole year in which to agitate for the disallowance of the objectionable act, and as the Dominion ministry is responsible to Parliament, which represents the people of all the provinces, it is very susceptible to public opinion. No provision of the Canadian Constitution has given rise to so much public discussion as this. It is intended not only for the protection of provincial minorities, but also to prevent sectional legislation injurious to the Dominion at large. Quite a number of provincial bills have been disallowed since confederation during both Conservative and Reform administrations, but of late years the Reformers, or Provincialists, have advocated the abolition of the veto power, declaring that it is an encroachment upon the rights of the provinces, although their old leaders, Mr. George Brown, the founder of the Toronto *Globe*, and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, strongly favored it. It is hardly worth while to notice the clerical error in Doctor Bender's article which makes the population of Ontario over 200,000 instead of over 2,000,000; but the statement that the value of real estate in Ontario fell $30,000,000 last year, cannot be allowed to pass without challenge. Neither the Dominion nor Provincial Government published any statistics bearing on the value of real estate in Ontario last year. The last government estimate showed a very great increase instead of a decrease. The municipal assessments throughout the Province of Ontario last year showed an increase. In Toronto, the capital of the province, over three million dollars' worth of buildings were erected last year. The growth of this city well illustrates the progress of the country. In 1861 the population was 44,821; at the next census it was 56,092; in 1881 it had increased to 86,415; and now it is about 123,000.

Sir Richard Cartwright's comparison between the cost of government in the United States and Canada, quoted by Dr. Bender, is very misleading. It is true the debt of the Dominion has increased while that of the United States has been reduced, but this debt has been incurred in the construction of the most stupendous public works ever undertaken by any country of equal population—works that are not only bringing about the material consolidation of the country, but which must be the means of doubling the population in a few years, and so greatly reduce the debt per head as well as the rate of taxation, for it will cost very little more to administer the affairs of the country when the population is twice as large, while the revenue will be greatly increased. The cost of maintaining post-offices, custom-houses and other government offices is necessarily much greater per head of population in a sparsely settled country than in

one that is densely populated, and increase of population makes little difference in parliamentary expenses. But even at present Canada need not fear comparison with the United States as regards taxation. Sir Richard Cartwright and Dr. Bender overlook the fact that in Canada the cost of provincial government is defrayed by annual subsidies from the Dominion treasury, and that there is no direct taxation except for municipal purposes, the revenue being raised by customs and excise duties. Before making a comparison between the two countries, the whole cost of the various State administrations should be added to the Federal expenditure of the United States. The customs tariff of Canada is much lower than that of the United States, averaging about eighteen per cent., and the only articles upon which excise duties are imposed are liquor, tobacco and vinegar. The rate of taxation in the city of Toronto in 1883 was 15½ mills on the dollar; in 1884, 15½ mills; in 1885, 17 mills, the increase being due to a special tax for the establishment of a public library. If Toronto were situated in an American State instead of in a Canadian Province the State tax would be added to this direct tax, while the indirect taxes, in the shape of customs and excise duties, would also be increased.

The idea that Canadians generally are looking to Washington for relief is purely imaginary. There are among the Provincialists of Canada many who would like to see annexation brought about, but so sure are they that the majority of the people are strongly opposed to it that not a single politician or newspaper can be found to openly advocate the change. This aversion to annexation does not result from any dislike of Americans; it is the natural independence of a self-reliant, energetic people, who believe that there is room for two great liberal nations on the North American continent.

Watson Griffin

MONTREAL, CANADA, *March* 5.

THE CONVENTION OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1788

WHEN the Convention of North Carolina was organized, Galloway moved that the Constitution be discussed clause by clause.

Willie Jones moved that the question upon its adoption, be immediately put. It had so long been the subject of the deliberation of every man, that the members of the Convention were (he believed) prepared to vote.

Iredell was surprised at the motion. "A Constitution has been formed after much deliberation. It has had the sanction of men of the first characters, for their probity and understanding. It has also had the solemn ratification of ten States in the Union. It ought not to be adopted or rejected, in a moment. Shall the representatives of North Carolina, assembled for the express purpose of deliberating upon the most important question that ever came before a people, refuse to discuss it, and discard reasoning as useless? I should not choose to determine on any question without mature reflection; and on this occasion my repugnance to a hasty decision is equal to the magnitude of the subject. I readily confess my present opinion strongly in its favor, but notwithstanding, I have not come here resolved, at all events, to vote for its adoption. I have come to learn, and to judge. The Constitution ought to be discussed in such a manner that all possible light may be thrown on it. If they who think that it would be a bad government will unfold the reasons of their opinion, we may all concur in it. Can it be supposed that any here are so obstinate and tenacious of their opinion, that they will not recede upon reasons to change it? Has not every one here received useful knowledge from communication with others? Have not many of the members of this house, when members of the Assembly, frequently changed opinions upon subjects of legislation? If so, surely a subject of so complicated a nature, and which involves such serious consequences, requires the most ample discussion. I hope, therefore, that we shall imitate the laudable example of the other States, and go into a committee of the whole house, that the Constitution may be discussed clause by clause."

Jones, if members differed from him as to the propriety of his motion, submitted to their views.

Rev. Mr. Caldwell, in order to obviate the difficulty attending discussion, conceived it necessary to lay down certain fundamental prin-

ciples of free government, compare the Constitution with them, and judge it, by its consonance to them.

Davie observed, that to lay down a number of original principles would require a double investigation, the principles would have to be established, and then the comparison would have to be made.

Caldwell presented his principles. "A government is a compact between the rulers and the people. Such compact ought to be lawful in itself. It ought to be lawfully executed. Unalienable rights ought not to be given up, if not necessary. The compact ought to be mutual. It ought to be plain, obvious, and easily understood."

Iredell. "The first principle is erroneous. In other counties, where the origin of government is obscure, and its formation different from ours, government may be deemed a compact between the rulers and the people, with the consequence, that unless the rulers are guilty of oppression, the people, upon the principle of contract, which cannot be annulled without the consent of both parties, have no right to new-model their government. Our government is founded upon much nobler principles. Our people are known with certainty to have originated it themselves. Those in power are their servants and agents, and the people, without their consent, may new-model their government whenever they think proper; not merely because it is oppressively exercised, but because they think another form will be more conducive to their welfare. It is upon the footing of this very principle, that we are now met, to consider this Constitution before us."

Caldwell admitted that the government proposed did not resemble the European governments, but thought it yet partook of the nature of a compact.

Macklaine said the "principles" were taken from sources which cannot hold here. In England the government is a compact between the people and the King.

Goudry thought that there was a quibble upon words. Compact, agreement, covenant, bargain, or what not, the intent of the instrument was a concession of power, by the people to rulers. We know private interest generally governs mankind. Power belongs originally to the people, but if rulers are not well guarded, that power may be usurped from them; hence the necessity of general rules.

Iredell said, "the line between power which is given, and which is retained, ought to be as accurately drawn as possible. In this system, the line is most accurately drawn, by the positive grant of powers to the general government. But a compact between the rulers and the ruled is certainly not

the principle of this government. Will any man say that if there be a compact it can be altered without the consent of both parties? Those who govern, unless they grossly abuse their trust, which is held an implied violation of the compact, and therefore a dissolution of it, have a right to say that they do not choose that the government should be changed. But have any of the officers of our government a right to say so, if the people choose to change it? Surely not."

Spencer: "I conceive that it will retard business to consider the proposal. It does not apply to the present circumstances. When there is a king, or other governors, there is a compact between the people and him. In this case, in regard to the government it is proposed to adopt, there is no ruler or governor."

The previous question being put, was carried by an immense majority, then the motion to consider the Constitution, clause by clause, was debated and carried, by a great majority.

Caldwell inquired the meaning of "We, the People."

Davie supposed the question to be prompted by the assumption that the Federal Convention had exceeded its powers; as a member of that Convention, he could answer for its action. Its mission was "to decide upon the most effectual means of removing the defects of our Federal Union. That was a general discretionary authority, to propose any alteration thought necessary and proper. The State Legislatures were afterwards to review the proceedings. Through their recommendation, the plan is submitted to the people, and it must remain a dead letter or receive its operation from the fiat of this Convention. The general objects of the Union are to protect us against foreign invasion, internal commotions and insurrections, and to promote the commerce, agriculture, and manufactures of America. To neither was the Confederation competent; and as it would have been dangerous to lodge additional power in a single body, a different organization was necessary. To form some balance, the departments of government were separated, and the Legislature divided into two branches. The House is immediately elected by the people, the Senate represents the sovereignty of the States. The difference of the States, in point of importance and magnitude, was an additional reason for the two branches. The protection of the small States, against the ambition and influence of the larger, could only be effected, by arming them with equal power in one branch of the Legislature. Without that check, the consent of the smaller States could not have been obtained. The Executive is separated in its functions from the Legislature, as well as the nature of things would admit. A radical defect of the old system was, that it legis-

lated for States, not individuals, and that its powers could only be executed by military forces, instead of by the intervention of the civil magistrate. Every one acquainted with the relative situation of the States, and the genius of our citizens, must acknowledge, that if the government was to be carried on by military force, the citizens of America would be rendered the most implacable enemies to one another, and if it could be thus carried into effect against the small States, it could not be put in force against the larger and more powerful. The Convention knew that all governments merely federal, had been short lived, or had existed from principles extraneous to their constitution, or from external causes, which had no dependence on the nature of their governments; therefore it departed from that solicism in politics, the principle of legislation for States, in their political capacity. The great extent of country appeared a formidable difficulty, but a Confederate government appears, at least in theory, capable of embracing the various interests of the most extensive territory. There was a real difficulty in conciliating a number of jarring interests, arising from the incidental, but unalterable, difference, between the States, in point of territory, situation, climate, and rivalship in commerce. Each, therefore, amicably and wisely relinquished its particular views. I hope that the same spirit of amity, of mutual deference, and concession, to which the Federal Convention attributed the Constitution, will govern the deliberation and decision of this Convention."

Taylor returned to "We, the People." He saw in these words an intention of consolidation. Maclaine was astonished to hear objections to the preamble. "Is not this a dispute about words, without any meaning whatever? This Constitution is a blank until it is adopted by the people. When that is done here, is it not the people of North Carolina that do it, joined with the people of the other States, that have adopted it? The expression, then, is right."

Caldwell remarked that while all legislative power was placed in the Congress, the Vice-President was associated with the legislative power by his casting vote.

Davie stated why the Federal Convention imposed that duty on the Vice-President. "The commercial jealousy between the Eastern, and Southern States had a principal share in this business. It might happen in important cases, that the voices would be equally divided. Indecision might be inconvenient, and dangerous to the public. The Vice-President, in consequence of his election, is the creature of no particular State or district. He must possess the confidence of the States in a very great degree, and is consequently the most proper person to decide on cases of

that kind. It is impossible that any officer could be chosen more impartially." Maclaine added, that a provision of the sort was to be found in all legislative bodies, was useful, expedient, and calculated to prevent the operation of the government from being impeded.

Lenoir observed, that the President was also connected, to some extent, with the legislative powers; whereupon Iredell attempted a distinction between the power to legislate, and the power to prevent legislation. There are no two provisions in the Constitution more wise, than the casting vote of the Vice-President and the veto of the President, and none more defensible; but to contend that the power which enables something to become, or forbids it to become law, is not a legislative power, is to juggle with words. The impolicy of not meeting an issue squarely, was demonstrated on the next objection; that the executive was blended with the legislative power, as the Senate acted upon treaties. The answer might have been: this is a government *sui generis*. There is in it, an association to some extent, of the legislative and executive functions, very prudent and proper. There is an agency for making statutes, and an agency for making treaties, the functions are different, if the persons are the same. Instead of which, a verbal distinction was drawn, which did not satisfy inquiry, and increased suspicion. Upon the word "sole," in the clause which gives to the House of Representatives the power of impeachments, debate was sharp. No one contended that the word was not superfluous, although it was claimed that the surplusage could not injure, as by the context it was plain that impeachment was limited to officers of the United States. The answer in substance was: every unnecessary word in a Constitution is dangerous; casuistry can find exercise enough in the imperfection of language, without extraneous aid. "Sole" may contain danger. Upon the Federal regulation of the time, place, and manner of elections, Governor Johnston was forced to say: "Although a great admirer of the Constitution, I cannot comprehend the reason of this part. This power in Congress appears useless, so long as the State Legislatures have the power not to choose senators; but I do not consider this blemish in the Constitution sufficient for rejection. I observe that every State which has adopted, and recommended alterations, has given directions to remove this objection."

Spencer, conscious as he was of the excellencies of the Constitution, and reluctant to find fault, could not consent to a provision which sapped the foundations of those governments on which the happiness of the States, and of the general government must depend. Iredell appealed to the candor and moderation of the last speaker to consider the language in connec-

tion with the rest of the instrument. Representatives were to be chosen every two years; they must be chosen. Whether in January, March or any other month, was all that was left for future Congressional regulation. He could see in the possibilities of a State legislature being unable to act in case of war, or in the combination of some great States not to send representatives, the reasons which prompted the clause.

He was careful not to touch upon "place and manner." Spencer responded: "I only meant to say that the words are exceedingly vague. They may admit of the construction just given; they may admit of a contrary construction. In a matter of so great moment, words ought not to be so vague and indeterminate. No man wishes for a Federal government more than I do. I consider it necessary to our happiness, but at the same time when we form a government which must entail happiness or misery on posterity, nothing is of more consequence than settling it, so as to exclude animosity, and a contest between the Federal and the individual governments. The words under consideration are words of very great extent, and so vague and uncertain that they must ultimately destroy the whole liberty of the United States."

Davie asserted two reasons for the existence of the clause. If he was justified by facts, they must be part of an unwritten history of the Federal Convention. The principal reason was to prevent the dissolution of the government by designing States. Without this control in Congress, the large States might successfully combine to destroy the Federal government. Another principal reason was, that it would operate in favor of the people, against the ambitious designs of the Federal Senate. He next inquired as to the effect of the clause. A fundamental principle beyond the reach of the general or the State government, is that representatives shall be chosen every two years; that the qualifications of these electors shall be the qualifications of electors to the most numerous branch of the State legislature, and that senators shall be chosen for six years. All the power of a State legislature is to regulate the when, the where, and the how; that was equally the power of Congress, no less, no more.

Bloodworth said: "It was easy to mention that the control of Congress should be exerted when a State neglected, refused, or was unable, in case of invasion, to regulate elections. If that was the meaning, why was it not expressed? If more was meant, that was a sufficient reason to reject the Constitution. There seemed to be a strange inconsistency in the arguments adduced."

Spencer, willing to give the general government impost, excise, and direct taxation, in case of war, was unwilling to concede the latter power

during peace, until requisitions had been made, neglected or refused. The power of direct taxation should be kept as near to the people as possible.

Whitmill Hill remarked that while the general wish was to empower Congress to raise all necessary sums, there was a great difference of opinion as to the better mode. Two circumstances might weigh with the committee. First, that the people of North Carolina had the honesty, and the ability, to pay any reasonable tax; secondly, that when it was once known to foreign nations that the government and its finances were upon a respectable basis, money for any emergency could be borrowed on advantageous terms.

Governor Johnston denied the assumption that, under the proposed system, the power of taxation was taken out of the hands of the people. "Taxes must be voted by their representatives. If there were danger from that source, where can political security be found. It is said that our proportion of representation is small; then our proportion of taxation is small, and unless we suppose that all the members of Congress will combine to ruin their constituents, there can be no reason for fear."

Goudy and McDowell disclosed the reasons for the overwhelming opposition to the grant of power of direct taxation. "Some represent us as honest, but not rich; others as rich, but not honest. The fact is, we are very poor, and not able to bear taxation for more than one government. If there are two, with equal right to tax, one must give way. The tendency of the Constitution to destroy the State governments must be clear to every man of common understanding."

Other clauses were read without debate, until that which admitted the slave trade was reached.

McDowell asked the reasons of the Federal Convention for that exception.

Spraight answered, that it was the result of a compromise between the Eastern and the Southern States. South Carolina and Georgia had lost a great many slaves during the war and wished to supply the loss. As North Carolina had not passed any law to prohibit the importation of negroes, her delegates had not felt authorized to contend for an immediate prohibition of it.

By both sides the utmost repugnance was manifested to the clause. The Convention only yielded its detestation, to the reasoning of Iredell, that the Constitution really presented the only means, so far as Americans were concerned, of terminating an odious traffic. On the subject of slavery itself, the sentiment of North Carolina and Virginia appears to have

been identical. Two difficulties stood in the way of manumission: a right of property, which had been universally recognized up to that period, and a repugnance of race. Perhaps both were never more clearly and calmly stated, than in this discussion, by Galloway. After expressing his horror of an "abominable traffic" he continued: "With respect to the abolition of slavery, it requires the utmost consideration. The property of the Southern States is principally in slaves; if slavery is done away with, this property will be destroyed. If we must manumit our slaves, to what country shall we send them. It is impossible for us to be happy, if after manumission, they are to stay among us." The aversion of race is to some extent cruel, and to some extent silly, but it is not a mere prejudice; it has some reason in the nature of things.

The clause which vested executive power having been read, and no observation made, Davie expressed "surprise at the silence and gloomy jealousy of the opposition. Out of doors, no feature of the Constitution had met with such violent, indeed, virulent censure."

Taylor thought that even if the Convention possessed the power to amend the Constitution, every part need not be discussed, as some were not objectionable; his objection was to the power of Congress to determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they should give their votes. His meaning, that everything which could be, should be definitely fixed, beyond the future passions of men, was mistaken for concern as to a detail, not as to a principle.

The answers, with justice, applauded the detail, but the scruple was not obviated. Upon the association of the Senate with the President, in treaty-making, and appointments to office, Spencer detailed the grounds of opposition, which, if neither acceptable, nor accepted, were based upon a careful study of political science. It is an essential article in our Constitution, that the executive, the legislative, and the supreme judicial powers of government ought to be forever separate and distinct from each other. The Senate, in the proposed plan, are possessed of legislative power in conjunction with the House. They are possessed of the sole power of trying impeachments, and by this clause, in effect, they possess the chief executive power. They form treaties which are to be the law of the land. They control the appointment, practically, of all the officers of the United States. The President may nominate, but they have a negative upon his nomination. He will be obliged, finally, to acquiesce in the appointment of those whom in reality the Senate will nominate, or else no appointment will be made. Hence, it is easy to perceive that the President, in order to do any business, or to answer any purpose in this department of his office, and to

keep himself out of perpetual hot water, will be under a necessity to form a connection with that powerful body, and be contented to put himself at the head of the leading members who compose it. I do not expect at this day, that the outline and organization of the proposed government will be materially changed, but it would have been infinitely better, and more secure, if the President had been provided with a Standing Council, composed of a member from each State, whose term of office might have been the same as his own. Two very important consequences would result, which cannot result from the present plan. The first, that the executive department being separate and distinct, the President and his Council, any or either, would be amenable to the justice of the land. As it is, I do not conceive that the President can even be tried by the Senate, with any effect, or to any purpose, for any misdemeanor in office, unless it should extend to high treason, or unless they should wish to fix the odium of any measure upon him, in order to exculpate themselves. The other important consequence is, that the President would have an independence which he does not have in this plan. If no other argument for a council could be urged, the diminution of the power of the Senate would be sufficient. Davie admitted that a total separation of the branches of government was desirable, but it has never been found entirely practicable. So far as it was departed from in this system, the causes would be found in the extreme jealousy of executive power in the American mind, and the difference in size, wealth, and population of the States. The smaller States had a disproportionate influence in the government which they insisted was necessary to their safety. That influence is exerted in the Senate. The difficulty could not be got over. It arose from the unalterable nature of things. Upon some subjects the smaller States would not agree that the House should have a voice, and upon the same subjects none of the States would agree that the President should have an exclusive voice. Not only the present distribution of power is good in itself, but no one can suggest a better. A council would be open to every objection that can be urged against the Senate, and to other objections which cannot be urged against the Senate. The Senate represents the Federal principle of the government and is the safeguard against consolidation. Its great power is commensurate with its functions. Iredell added, "God forbid that in any country a man should be punished for want of judgment. For errors of the heart, should any be committed here, there is a ready way to punishment. That is a responsibility which answers every purpose a people jealous of their liberties can ask. Parties must exist, and may be bitter; the malignity of party will interpret difference of opinion, as deliberate wickedness."

Upon the judiciary clause, debate was not conducive to harmony. Davie urged the undeniable political truth, that the judicial must be co-extensive with the legislative power. The proposition was not denied, the contention turned upon the point whether the judicial was not, or might not, become more extensive, and the Constitution become judge-made, not convention-made. The object of a constitution being to fix the meum and tuum between the States, and between the general government of the States, the judiciary, it was conceded, might be qaulified and trusted to decide whether either was invaded, but not to determine whether the meum and tuum had been properly partitioned. This course of reasoning led, naturally, to the consideration of the necessity for a Bill of Rights. Davie and others insisted that, though necessary in a monarchy, it was unnecessary in such a government, the Constitution itself being a Bill of Rights, as it excluded whatever was not included.

Spencer answered: "It is said that what is not given up to the United States will be retained by the individual States. I know it ought to be so, and should be understood so, but it is not declared, as it was in the Confederation. What is not declared is apt to be overlooked. The language in the Articles of Confederation was the equivalent of a Bill of Rights."

Iredell asked what more could be necessary when the people declare how much they give. The Constitution may be considered as a great power of attorney. If we had formed a general legislature, with undefined powers, a Bill of Rights would not have been not only proper, but necessary, to operate exceptions to the legislative authority. Spencer's belief that what is generally understood ought to be distinctly stated, seems to be approved by events. Had the friends of the Constitution embodied in it, or in an amendment, the declarations they made in conventions, the epithets of their posterity might have been differently distributed. The omission of mention of a jury in civil cases, while specified in criminal cases, excited great alarm.

Iredell stated the cause of the omission. "Let any gentleman consider the difficulties in which the Federal Convention was placed. A union was absolutely necessary. Everything could be agreed upon, except the regulation of the trial by jury in civil cases. All were anxious to establish it on the best footing, but found that they could fix upon no permanent rule that was not liable to great objections and difficulties. If the delegates could not agree among themselves, they had still less reason to believe that all the States would have unanimously agreed to any one plan that could be proposed. They therefore thought it better to leave the regulations to the legislature. It has been said that the objection might have been ob-

viated by the addition of five or six lines. If, by the addition of five or six hundred lines, this invaluable object could have been secured, I should have thought the Convention criminal in omitting it."

Among the amendments to the Constitution, a few lines dissipated doubts and dispelled fears upon that point.

Iredell explained the reasons for the "Fugitive Slave" clause. "Some of the Northern States have emancipated their slaves. If any of our slaves go there, and remain a certain time, they would, under present laws, be entitled to their freedom, so that their masters could not get them again, to prevent which this clause is inserted." The reasons for the prohibition to the States, of issuing paper money, and making anything, save gold and silver, a legal tender, were asked of those members who had been delegates to the Federal Convention. The answer was, mischief had been done, it could not be repaired, but some limitation to that great political evil had to be formed. The people of Massachusetts and Connecticut had been great sufferers by the dishonesty of Rhode Island, and similar complaints existed against this State. The clause became, in some measure, a preliminary, with the delegates who represented the other States. You have, said they, by your iniquitous laws, and paper emissions, shamefully defrauded our citizens. The Confederation prevented our compelling you to do them justice; but before we confederate with you again, you must not only agree to be honest, but put it out of your power to be dishonest.

Galloway asked if the inhibition on a State to pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts applied to the public securities of a State. Davie answered, "In no part of the Constitution is power vested to interfere with the public securities of a State. The clause refers to contracts between individuals."

Abbot wished to know, as treaties were to become the supreme law of the land, whether a treaty could engage to some particular religion, and also, as no religious test was required, whether in the oath to support the Constitution, Juno, Minerva, or Pluto, might not be the deities invoked.

Iredell answered, "The question has also been asked whether the Pope may not be elected President." With polite circumlocution, he suggested that the assumption of sanity, as the normal condition of mankind, was the only possible answer to some questions. The absence of any religious test was the glory of the Constitution. Men are left to believe as they can; admit the least difference, and the door is opened to persecution. Whatever form binds the conscience, is the essence of an oath. Abbot further asked the import of the guaranty of a republican form of government.

Iredell replied, "With thirteen States, confederated upon a republican principle, it was essential to the harmony and existence of the Confederacy, that each should have a republican government, and that no one should have a right to establish a monarchy, or an aristocracy."

The reading of the Constitution finished, the question next in order was, What will be the relation of North Carolina to the other States, if she refuses to adopt? "She will be a foreign State," said Davie, "and can communicate with the United States only through ambassadors." "What then," it was asked, "becomes of the faith plighted by the Articles of Confederation? If some States can absolve themselves at will from the obligations of those, why not from the obligations of the Constitution." In the Federal Convention the same inquiry had been made: "If nine States can withdraw from thirteen, why not six from nine, four from six?" Answer was avoided there, but not in the Convention of North Carolina.

"The great principle," said Iredell, "the fundamental principle upon which our government is founded, is the safety of the people. For their welfare government is instituted, and this ought to be its object, whatever its form. Our governments have clearly been created by the people themselves; the same authority that created can destroy, and the people may undoubtedly change the government, not because it is ill-exercised, but because they conceive that another form will be more conducive to their welfare. It is suggested, that though ten States have adopted the Constitution, they had no right to dissolve the old Confederation, that the Articles still subsist, and the old Union remains, of which we are a part. That this is true, may well be doubted. All writers agree that if the principles of a Constitution are violated, the Constitution itself is dissolved, or may be, at the pleasure of the parties to it. The principles of the Confederation have not seldom been violated, and North Carolina, as well as others, has been an offender. This Constitution is proposed to the thirteen States. The desire was, that all should agree, but if not, care was taken, that at least nine might save themselves from destruction."

Davie took other ground. "It is said that it is a rule of law that the same solemnities are necessary to annul, as were necessary to create, or establish a compact; and, that as thirteen States created, so thirteen States must concur in the dissolution of the Confederacy." This may be the talk of a lawyer or a judge, but is not the talk of a politician. Every man of common sense knows that political power is political right. In every republican community, whether confederated or separate, a majority binds the minority. The voice of the majority of the people of America gave

the Confederation validity; the same authority can and will annul it. Adoption places us in the Union; rejection extinguishes the right."

If Iredell was right, the claimants under the Articles of Confederation had no cause of complaint; if Davie was right, it made no difference if they had, and therefore both, with Johnston, urged adoption by arguments which reason could not answer. "You will, you admit, be satisfied with this Constitution if amended; adopt, and your strength, added to that of those States, eager for the same amendments, can carry them; reject, and your weakness will count against you, in place of your strength counting for you. Adopt, and you can help shape the new government and share in the feast; reject now, and when you adopt, as you eventually must, you will have to accept the shaping of others, and find only the crumbs."

Upon the motion to ratify, the yeas were 84, and the nays 184. Upon the motion neither to adopt nor reject, the yeas were 184, and the nays 84. By the same vote any impost passed by the United States was recommended to be passed by the Legislature of North Carolina, the proceeds to be held at the disposition of Congress.

The motive of the majority, if surmise be permissible, was to serve the desire for amendments, the difference of opinion between the majority and minority being as to whether such service would be more efficient by presence in, or absence from the councils of the new Union.

On the 11th of January, 1790, the President communicated to both Houses of Congress the ratification of the Constitution by North Carolina. At the first session of Congress, held in the city of New York, 4th March, 1789, twelve amendments were proposed to the legislatures of the States, of which ten were adopted.

A. W. Olason

THE OVERCROWDING OF CITIES

The overgrowth of our principal cities, of late years, is a phenomenon patent even to the dullest, and one which occasions serious thought to citizens in the habit of reflecting upon matters of public and future concern. The last national census immensely enhanced the sensation produced by those of the three preceding decades, not only as regards the enormous, the almost magical increase of the total population, but of that urban population which, from its character and circumstances, most challenges the attention of the visitor or the native student of American social and material problems. Perhaps no phase of our national development would produce a greater feeling of astonishment in one of the founders of the Republic, permitted to revisit its chief scenes, in this year of grace, than the marvelous uprise of the vigorous, bustling towns which intersect our northern continent in all directions, studding every railway route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the northern lakes to the Mexican gulf, but particularly the development, within a lifetime, from village proportions, of cities rivaling the richest and greatest capitals of the Old World.

Making every allowance for the mighty stimulus of efficient and far-reaching railroads, with powerful steamship lines at each end, as well as for an immigration of all races, larger than those vast barbarian movements which shook to its foundations the power of Rome and changed the course of history, the problem still presents elements well calculated to bewilder as well as to excite the most serious thought in relation to its future bearings. With a whole continent to scatter over and innumerable tracts of the most fertile and inviting land to chose from—every species of agriculture and out-door industry, with all varieties of climate presenting their respective attractions—the most devoted Cockney or sanguine denizen of the cities could hardly have anticipated their development on the present scale by this time, with the establishment of a set of conditions guaranteeing still further extraordinary progress of the same description. Does it not seem difficult to believe that, with all the varied kinds of competition put forth by the West and South, not to particularize the potent charms of the Pacific coast, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Boston and New York should have doubled their population in the last forty years simultaneously with the upstart of scores of manufacturing towns which,

for population and business transacted would have ranked as influential cities in the early part of the century? To think of New York already boasting of nearly a million and a quarter, Chicago, with her five hundred thousand, Philadelphia her eight hundred and fifty thousand, and Boston approaching four hundred thousand, is enough to justify the most extravagant expectations, not unmingled with serious reflections as to the nature of our growth and the condition of our civic population toward the close of this century.

Young as is the Republic, and vast as its extent and resources, it is but right to admit that our people find themselves confronted with social problems such as have long taxed the material and philanthrophic resources of the Old World and which more fitly characterize its age and peculiar conditions. In short, our cities and large towns are suffering from that overcrowding which has ever been a leading reproach of even the most advanced of the European nations, and for which emigration to the New World has long been recommended as a salutary remedy. At first sight the spectacle appears painful and discouraging, since the poor and hopeless of other lands have been accustomed to look to America as the Canaan alone adequate to the banishment of their sorrows, and which it should be their dearest object to attain. What a sad surprise the thought of so early a failure of this promised land, cherished by the suffering masses of Europe as much for its shelter from the oppressor as for the glorious opportunities of self-help.

Such a conclusion, however, is as yet not quite warranted by the facts that our country may, for ages, with wisdom and patriotism at the helm, continue to lead the world in the greatness and true worth of its enterprises, no less than in the number and value of its attractions to humanity. Everything peculiarly distinctive of the national position and reputation belongs to such an attitude: and every American citizen worthy of the name will earnestly hope that the day is far distant, indeed, when this Republic shall cease to challenge universal affection as the best and the noblest home of the poor and the oppressed.

But while it seems just to record, at the outset, such historical facts and reflections, it is none the less advisable to consider some of the more prominent evils of our actual condition as a people, with a view to the prevention of their enlargement, if not their material diminution. Nor will it be disputed by the intelligent observer that certain social evils may assume an aspect, in this country, somewhat exceptional on account of the continuous in-pour of population to the cities.

Our peculiar position as the asylum for all nations explains the most

important difference between this Republic and even the most populous of the Old World countries, which may naturally complain of the menacing or troublesome tendency of the masses to the great business centers; for the emigrants we annually receive, in such immense swarms, largely flock to our towns, besides the considerable numbers constantly tending in the same direction from all our own agricultural districts. Among the various interesting considerations involved in this question are some materially affecting the condition of the latter element, the native American, including the settlement of the wages paid in various factories and workshops. However substantial the protection afforded the workman of this country, by a paternal government, through a high protective tariff, it is obvious that he must always reckon upon the keen-edged competition of the immigrant class, which must accept the first employment offered, however low the remuneration. Nor is it likely, till we approach much nearer the millennium, that employers, individuals or corporations, will neglect any advantages which this or other facilities may place within their reach. Of course, in close connection with the wages question stand the issues affecting the health and material and moral advancement of the working classes, with which the national progress itself is bound up. Now, the flow of our rustics to the cities has long attracted the attention of social observers, who have not seldom expressed apprehension in regard to some of its probable results. The chief sources of anxiety concern the health, morals and comfort of the masses which, for a generation or more, young as is this country and vast its extent and resources, have had hardships and perils to struggle against little if at all less trying than those encountered by the same class in France and Great Britain. To the foreign observer the American citizen may appear well off by comparison with his compeers abroad, and in some respects and particularly in good times, this is a correct view. But, on the other hand, the subject has to be considered in a relative light, in connection with American experience hitherto, with the great natural advantages of this continent and the liberal expectations formed, of its opportunities in favor of people possessing sufficient intelligence and enterprise to make the venture of emigration thereto. It is natural that these emigrants should look for a considerable amelioration of their condition, by their labor in the United States, for which they have had to sacrifice, among other things, the advantages of native climate, with friendships tender and long standing. Nor can there be a doubt that the denizens of the cities of Great Britain and other countries considerably north of our chief manufacturing and commercial centers, do suffer seriously by the greater summer heats of the western side of the Atlantic.

We should always be glad, therefore, on philanthropic no less than on patriotic grounds, to see the working-man of this country the envy of the European in regard to material circumstances and those other advantages favoring education and easy social advancement.

Regard for the welfare of the people, both in town and country, would seem to dictate, at least under anything like present circumstances, all reasonable discouragement of the influx to the cities. Its evils include, unquestionably, the economic one of the disturbance of the labor-balance; while the city markets are over-stocked, the country—particularly the newer regions—are continually uttering the apostolic cry: "Come over and help us." It is no trifling misfortune to this country to be afflicted with large masses of idle people in its towns, while its farms east and west, upon which life and prosperity mainly depend, suffer through lack of adequate cultivation. Not only do our agriculturists raise considerably less produce than they might, but, of late years, they pay more than their help is worth, this evil extending as far north as the Canadian provinces. Indeed, good farm hands were never better treated than of late, the past year, so far, offering no exception to the rule, despite the serious drop in the prices of farm produce. Why do so many of the sons of our farmers, strong, healthy young men, who constitute striking examples of the advantages of country birth and training, desert the old homesteads to seek work in town, for which they are not fit, and for which there is only petty remuneration? is a question often asked in town and country alike. The explanations given are the force of example, the well-known histories of a few celebrities, who have gained wealth and fame in the cities, and which powerfully excite the most ambitious rustics, who would fain as did Cæsar, and, regardless of the melancholy result

> "Bestride the narrow world,
> Like a Colossus,"

leaving humbler people, as in the first instance, to

> "Walk under the huge legs."

To be sure, suspicion will attach to some of the motives of the adventurous rustic, whose antipathy to farm work is not seldom fully proportioned to his great physical qualifications for it, the fact recalling an Irish by-word: "He's big and lazy enough to join the police." But while such muscular heroes may have for a chief object the proper husbanding of their own strength, regardless of the demands upon that of their venerable and youthful relations at home, there will be others moved by lofty aims, such as

"The applause of list'ning senates to command,"

and who may also wish, some day, to

"Read their history in a nation's eyes."

In some breasts, no doubt, the *auri sacra fames* will have consumed all trace of any refined, unselfish feeling, leaving an abyss of plutonic desire that all Vanderbilt's millions would not suffice to fill. Between such spirits and nature there is no sympathy whatever; the loveliest landscape that every thrilled poet into divine song touches no chord in their earthly organism; their souls never rise above speculations and premiums, while the sweetest breeze that sways the forest and billows the corn-fields speaks only to those dry-as-dusts of probable fluctuations in the markets. Fortunately, on the other hand, even our cities, with all their absorbing interests and corroding cares, possess many to whom the very sound of "the country" comes a pure pleasure and an inspiration, esteemed among the highest joys of life. To them it is an unspeakable delight to share the emotions of the poets and admirers of nature, of every age and clime, whose genius has ever blossomed into the most witching forms of beauty in loving attempts to do justice to her manifold charms.

Though America cannot point, like European nations, to moss-grown ruins of remote antiquity or ivy-mantled relics of feudal wars, we can boast of natural wonders and scenery which, for extent, grandeur, infinite variety and beauty, may justly claim to rival and epitomize the beauties and the glories of all the rest of the world. Only the most unworthy clod could be insensible to the natural greatness and countless attractions of such a land. But though the age of sentiment as regards the majority may, like the Age of Chivalry, be "gone," we may count upon a wise and worthy element in town and country, of respectable proportions, which will continue alive to the superior charms and advantages of the country on the important grounds of health, pleasure, and business. Promising openings for ventures in agriculture will continue to be seized by city men and immigrants of rural tastes, who, though often at the cost of a tedious apprenticeship and considerable outlay, will ultimately make successful husbandmen as well as influential members of society. A proportion, morever, of the young farmers who have passed the wild-oat stage in town, the least profitable of all agricultural experiences, and who have given up the hope of attaining, early, colossal fortunes, will always be found returning to the old or some adjoining township sadder as well as wiser men.

Prosper Bender

CHANCELLORSVILLE

In April, 1863, the Army of Northern Virginia was encamped south of the Rappahannock River, in the vicinity of Fredericksburg.

Lee's lines of defense were of such natural and fortified strength, his troops so disposed as to be easily concentrated on any threatened point, that Hooker did not purpose attempting to force them. The experience of the army under Burnside, when the enemy's preparations were far less complete, had caused such a conviction to exist in the mind of every private in the ranks.

The river flows through a deep channel, and from its high and precipitous banks admitted of fording at but few places. From Bank's Ford to Skinker's Neck—twenty miles—there was a continuous line of infantry parapets; and at all places where crossing would have been practicable, the enemy's position had been strengthened during the winter months by two, and at the more exposed places, three additional lines. Abatis—of felled trees, the branches cut, sharpened and turned outward—and in places impassable swamps, further strengthened his lines and decreased the number of assailable points. The crests of the more prominent hills, where he had carefully prepared to receive us, were from three-quarters to a mile and a half from the river bank; but the river was effectively guarded by men sheltered in rifle-pits. Along these lines were battery epaulements, so located that artillery would sweep the hill-sides and bottom-lands, over which troops must have marched to an assault, which effectually protected *his* artillery from *ours*. Between the river and the hills, every little rise of ground that could protect the enemy and enable him to check an advance was intrenched. To gain the banks opposite the centre of his line was practicable in several places where high ground on our side approached the river and enabled us to command it and the adjacent lands with artillery.

The problem would have been, not to cross the river, but to force the defenses.

Our troops would have been exposed to a concentrated artillery fire for a long distance, and afterward met fresh infantry behind parapets. To turn Lee's right and gain the heights below his intrenchments, would have required a secret movement of pontoon trains and artillery for more than twenty miles, over clay roads and a broken, wooded country, the condition

of which at that time rendered it impossible. To construct roads toward King George Court-House was almost impossible, as the streams running into the Potomac interlaced near their sources so as to destroy the continuity of the dividing ridge. To such an extent is that section of Virginia cut up, that it seems as though former geological influences—that shaped the course of the streams and ravines—had almost caused the Rappahannock to flow into the Potomac at the narrowest part of the neck which separates them. On every road were transverse ravines and steep hills. Oozing springs, which animals and wheels soon mixed with the clay and turned to sloughs of mud were numerous. If a movement to turn Lee's right *could* have been made, his system of spies was such that he would have been informed of it immediately and could have extended his works as fast as we built roads. To these difficulties must be added, that at the first available place below Skinker's Neck for throwing a pontoon bridge over the river, more than a thousand feet of bridging was required. Two and a half miles above Fredericksburg—above Beck's Island—the bluffs close in upon the river, having a height of about one hundred and fifty feet, with slopes well-wooded, very steep, and deeply cut by side ravines. Bank's Ford was the nearest point where the conditions of approach to the river were at all favorable.

Lee considered it a most important point of defense and constantly kept there a large force, rendering surprise impossible. Could Hooker have gained a position upon the hills on the south side of the river, at that place, he would have commanded the enemy's lines. The bend in the river between Fredericksburg and Bank's Ford is such, that while it is six miles by the road on the north side from Falmouth to the ford, it is but three miles on the south side from Fredericksburg—over a good plank road. Lee's parapets, so located as to sweep with musketry and artillery every crossing place and every slope, were in three lines, and traversed to protect the defenders from our artillery fire. Two of the lines were so near together that their fire could be concentrated upon any force crossing the river, the steep hill permitting the rear line to fire over that in front. Had the first line been carried by assault—as retreating men would have masked the fire of the other, so that pursued and pursuers might have entered the second together—its defenders would, without doubt, have surrendered, as such were the enemy's tactics; thereby producing no confusion in the succeeding lines.

The difficulty of forcing a passage of the river was so great, that Lee did not deem it necessary, at that time, to construct redoubts upon the summit of the hill. About seven miles above Bank's Ford was United

States (Mine) Ford, or, as the Confederates called it, Bark Mill Ford, easily approached, but not fordable so early in the season. There the enemy had built long lines of infantry parapets, with battery epaulements, and two brigades of Major-General Richard H. Anderson's First Division, Third Corps—those of Brigadier-Generals William Mahone and Carnot Posey—were encamped near to occupy them. A short distance above United States Ford, the Rapidan, a river which equals the other in size, flows into the Rappahannock. Thirty miles above Falmouth, on the Rappahannock, was Kelly's Ford, pitted and abatised, but held by a small force.

The passage of two rivers, neither being fordable, and each from two to three hundred feet wide, both mountain rivers and sensitive to the slightest rains—by a flank movement, with heavy pontoon and artillery trains, at so great a distance from our base, over almost impassable roads and through interminable forests—seemed so improbable, that Lee gave himself no uneasiness concerning it, nor adopted sufficient precautions against an attempt.

Hooker's plan of operation—which he succeeded in keeping secret until its initiative disclosed it to both armies—was that his cavalry should move rapidly up the Rappahannock and, crossing, sweep down in rear of Lee's position and sever his communication with Richmond; the infantry then to cross below Fredericksburg and attack or pursue as occasion should require. The roads having become sufficiently dry to warrant such a movement, though not hard enough for much artillery, he directed Major-General Stoneman to move with all his available cavalry at 7 A.M., April 13th; turn the enemy's left, place his command between Lee and Richmond, thus cutting off his supplies, and inflict every possible injury which would tend to his discomfiture and defeat. To accomplish this he should ascend the Rappahannock by the different routes, keeping out of the enemy's sight and throwing well to the front and flank small parties, to mask his movement and cut off communication with people living on the north side of the river. He should cross at some point west of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, to be determined by circumstances.

In the vicinity of Culpepper he would probably strike Fitzhugh Lee's brigade of cavalry, numbering about two thousand, which he was expected to disperse or destroy without delay to his advance, or detriment to any considerable number of his command. At Gordonsville was a small provost-guard of infantry which he should destroy. From Gordonsville he should reach the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad at Saxton's Junction, destroying bridges, locomotives, cars, depots of supplies, and

telegraph lines. As that railroad presented the shortest line of retreat, the enemy was expected to avail himself of it and the highways each side; in which case Stoneman should select the strongest positions—the banks of streams and commanding heights—to check or prevent his retreat. If unsuccessful in holding him he should fall upon his flanks, attack his artillery and trains, and harass him until he should be exhausted and out of supplies; bearing in mind that moments of delay to the enemy would be hours and days to the army in pursuit. If Lee were to retreat by Culpepper and Gordonsville, Stoneman should keep in his front and harass him day and night, on the march and in camp, unceasingly. To quote instructions:

"If you cannot cut off from his column large slices, the general desires that you will not fail to take small ones. Let your watchword be *fight*, FIGHT, FIGHT; bearing in mind that time is as valuable to the general as the rebel carcasses. . . . It devolves upon you, general, to take the initiative in the forward movement of this grand army, and on you and your noble command must depend, in a great measure, the extent and brilliancy of our success. Bear in mind that celerity, audacity, and resolution are everything in war, and especially is it the case with the command you have, and the enterprise in which you are about to embark."

If an opportunity occurred to detach a force to Charlottesville, which was almost unguarded, and destroy depots of supplies said to be there, or along the line of the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad toward Richmond, to destroy bridges; or the crossings of the Pamunkey, in the direction of West Point, destroying ferries, felling trees to prevent or check the enemy in crossing, he should do so; as any one of the diversions would contribute toward the general success. He should rely upon Hooker being in communication with him before his supplies were exhausted, and keep him advised of his movements as often as practicable and necessary. A brigade of infantry and one battery of artillery was to proceed to Kelly's Ford, and a regiment each to Bank's and United States Fords, the morning after the departure of the cavalry, to hold and threaten those places.

The object of the movement was to sever the enemy's communication with Richmond by the Fredericksburg route, and check his retreat over that line. Everything else was to be subservient thereto. It was believed that Lee could not keep more than about four days' rations on hand; and therefore, if Stoneman's movement was successful he must of necessity abandon Fredericksburg and fall back upon his source of supplies. Could Stoneman keep Lee's army from Richmond, it must inevitably surrender to Hooker.

Stoneman moved promptly, with about thirteen thousand mounted

men, and the next day had placed one division over the river, which had reached Brandy Station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, when a violent rain caused the river to rise so suddenly and to such an extent, that crossing the other divisions was suspended. The advance division recrossed with great difficulty by swimming its horses. All day of the fifteenth the rain poured in torrents. Stoneman was therefore directed to hold his command within easy reach of the ford and await orders.

On the 23d of April, Hooker would lose two regiments by expiration of service, and soon after the first of May many more. The Second and Tenth Maine regiments of infantry, all the New York regiments numbered from One to Thirty-eight—except the Third, Sixth, Ninth, Eleventh, and Nineteenth—and the Eighth New York Independent Battery, having a total strength of 20,927 men, would lose 16,480, enlisted for two years. Some of the regiments would be mustered out entire. The 122d, 123d, 126th, 129th, 131st, 133d, 134th, and 153d Pennsylvania regiments—having a total strength of 6,421 men—were nine months regiments, and would go. In the aggregate, 27,348 men must be discharged.

Hooker was therefore anxious to make a forward movement, and modified his plan to compel the enemy to fight him in the open country. His new plan contemplated placing the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps over the Rappahannock at Kelly's, and the Rapidan at Germania and Ely's Fords, whence they should march upon United States and Bank's Fords; attacking the enemy's forces at those places in rear, and as soon as those fords were uncovered, reinforcing the column with the troops of the Second Corps and others, sufficiently for it to continue its march upon Lee's flank, until his whole army was routed and his retreat intercepted. At the time of the movement on the right, the First, Third and Sixth Corps were to cross below Fredericksburg and threaten Lee there, to prevent his sending an overwhelming force to his left. Accordingly, on Monday, April 20th, the infantry received orders to be ready to move the next morning with eight days' cooked rations. That night and all the next day it rained hard.

On the 21st, Major-General Abner Doubleday, was sent with his division, the Third of the First Corps, down the river to Port Conway, opposite Port Royal, eighteen miles below Fredericksburg, where he made a pretense of crossing in pontoon boats, and at night built fires in every direction to give the impression of a large command. A small force of infantry was sent to threaten Kelly's Ford. On the twenty-fourth, Brigadier-General James F. Wadsworth, with the First Division of the same corps, conducted a similar expedition, relieving Doubleday, and two regiments

sent over the river in pontoon boats entered the village of Port Royal and returned. "Stonewall" Jackson, who held the right of Lee's lines, was deceived by these movements and strengthened his force in that vicinity. Wednesday, the twenty-second, the weather was pleasant, but Thursday night it rained again. The many little creeks were swollen to rivers, and on Friday, the 24th, the well-remembered bridge over Potomac Creek was carried away. It was built by the engineers, and was so high, so shaky, and so long, that officers and men frequently left the cars, and while the train waited on the other side, walked over; and yet, it was supposed to be strong. The timber having been cut in duplicate it was quickly rebuilt. On account of continued rains, the army was now directed to consume its eight days' rations so nicely cooked and snugly packed for the expected campaign—again postponed.

The two succeeding days were bright and pleasant, and on Sunday, the 26th, orders were received by the commanding officers of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps to move at sunrise next morning, and encamp as near Kelly's Ford as practicable, without discovering themselves to the enemy, on or before 4 P.M., of Tuesday, the 28th; each corps to be accompanied by one battery and two ambulances to a division, and a pack-train of small ammunition. The wagon trains and surplus artillery were to be parked near Bank's Ford. The Second Corps was ordered to move on the morning of the 28th, at sunrise, two divisions to encamp near Bank's Ford, without exposure to view of the enemy; one brigade and one battery to take position at United States Ford. The division whose camp was most exposed was to be left behind to keep up appearances. All the artillery of the two divisions was to move with them and be ready to go into position to cover the passage of the river and drive the enemy from his defenses. The division left in camp, as well as those at Bank's and United States Fords, was to be in readiness to cross the river and follow up a successful movement.

The Fifth Corps was to march on the 28th, and take the route of the Eleventh and Twelfth under similar orders. The men were full of enthusiasm and anticipation over the commencement of the often-postponed campaign. The other corps were to be placed in position to cross the river as follows: the Sixth at Franklin's Crossing; the First at the next crossing below, Pollock's Mill Creek; the Third, as a support, to cross at either point. The movements were to be made so that the respective corps should be in position, the First and Sixth on or before 3:30 A.M., and the Third on or before 4:30 A.M. of the 29th. Two bridges were to be laid at each crossing. General Sedgwick was placed in command of the

three corps constituting the left wing of the army. The orders for the conduct of these corps were somewhat similar to those of the Second Corps, except that in the event of the enemy detaching any considerable part of his force against the troops operating west of Fredericksburg, Sedgwick should "attack and carry their works at all hazards, and establish his force upon the telegraph road, cutting off all communication by the enemy, in order to prevent their turning his position on that road. In case the enemy should fall back on Richmond, he will pursue them with the utmost vigor, fighting them whenever and wherever he can come up with them.

These troops were to be provided with eight days' rations.

Such batteries of the corps and reserve artillery as might be required, were to have been placed in position, under direction of the Chief of Artillery, to cover the crossings. Sedgwick was authorized to give such further instructions as he might deem necessary to carry out the plans and wishes of Hooker. The Fifth Corps anticipated its order, and striking tents at 9 A.M. of the 27th, marched at ten o'clock on the Warrenton Turnpike, bivouacking near Hartwood Church. It moved next day at 4 P.M., and marched to the vicinity of Kelly's Ford, and camped at Crittenden's Mills, at 9 P.M. The marching was very hard owing to muddy roads. Stoneman was at Warrenton Junction—his cavalry encamped along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad—when he received, on the 27th, a telegram to meet some one from head-quarters, at Morrisville next day at 2 P.M.

Arriving there, with his division commanders, he found General Hooker and staff, and was surprised to learn that a part of the army would cross the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford that day. He had been directed to be in readiness to move on the 29th, and had made no preparations to do so sooner—such as drawing in pickets and calling in scouting parties.

At 5:45 P.M. he received written orders to cross his entire force, at such points between Rappahannock and Kelly's Ford, including these, as he might determine, or, if impracticable, to bring it to the river and have it over before eight o'clock next morning; a portion to move in the direction of Raccoon Ford and Louisa Court-House, while the remainder should carry out his original instructions. From his camp to his extreme pickets was thirteen miles; so it was late at night before the command was assembled and ready to start. Owing to the bad condition of the roads from recent rains, and the darkness of the night—doubly dark by reason of a dense fog—he did not reach the river until nearly 8 A.M., on the 29th. He found but one ford fordable, and that not by pack-mules or artillery. By great exertion he had everything over by 5 P.M., when, assembling his division and brigade commanders, with maps spread upon the ground, it was deter-

mined where each was to go and what to do. Brigadier-General William W. Averell's * division, with Colonel Benjamin F. Davis'† brigade of Brigadier-General Alfred Pleasanton's ‡ division, and Captain John C. Tidballs' light battery "A," Second U. S. Artillery, was to go towards Culpepper.

Stoneman, with Brigadier-General David McM. Gregg's § division, including Brigadier-General John Buford's ‖ Regular Reserve Cavalry Brigade, to which had been attached the Sixth Pennsylvania (cavalry) Lancers and Captain James M. Robertson's light battery "E," Second U. S. Artillery, was to go toward Stevensburg.

Pleasanton, with Brigadier-General Thomas C. Devin's second brigade of his division, consisting of the Sixth New York, Eighth and Seventeenth Pennsylvania regiments, and Company "L," First Michigan Cavalry, was to report to Major-General Henry W. Slocum, commanding the right wing, for the march from the Rappahannock to Chancellorsville.

The three corps had successfully crossed the river by 11 A.M. of the 29th, over a canvas pontoon bridge,¶ laid by Captain Cyrus B. Comstock, with slight opposition by a small observing force. The Eleventh Corps, under Major-General Oliver O. Howard; the Seventeenth Pennsylvania Cavalry, under Colonel Josiah H. Kellogg,** and the Twelfth Corps, under temporary command of Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams, with the Sixth New York Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan McVicar, at once marched for Germania, while the Fifth Corps, under Major-General George G. Meade, with the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry, Major Pennock Huey, and Company "L," First Michigan Cavalry, marched for Ely's Ford.

Pleasanton accompanied the advance of Slocum's column, and directed the operations of the Sixth New York Cavalry in its skirmishes, while

* Captain Third U. S. Cavalry. † Captain First U. S. Cavalry. ‡ Major Second U. S. Cavalry. § Captain Sixth U. S. Cavalry. ‖ Major Inspector-General's Department, U. S. A.

¶ Very few citizens who have not served with an army in the field have an adequate idea of its impedimenta. On February 13, 1863, there were with the Army of the Potomac two bridge trains of forty-four boats, in charge of four companies of the Fifteenth New York Engineers, located about two miles from Falmouth, one-half mile west of the road from Falmouth to Stafford Court-House, and four miles from head-quarters of the army. To this train were attached 551 animals; two bridge trains of forty-four boats, in charge of six companies of the Fiftieth New York Engineers, in the same locality, with 591 animals. One train of thirty boats, mounted, but without teams, was on its way to a place on the right bank of Muddy Creek, about three miles from Seddon's place and two miles from head-quarters; one bridge train of twenty-two boats, without wagons or teams, and at Belle Plaine thirty boats afloat. A requisition had been made for 226 more animals. These wooden boats weighed 1,570 pounds each. The pontoon and trestle wagons had eight animals and two teamsters each; the other wagons six animals and one teamster each. The canvas pontoon boats laid by Captain Comstock at Kelly's Ford came afterward, twenty from Washington and sixty from New York, and weighed 640 pounds each. ** Captain First U. S. Artillery.

Colonel Devin directed the movements of the cavalry with the Fifth Corps. With so great rapidity was the movement made, that after the Fifth Corps had passed in rear of Richard's Ford, the enemy continued to picket it with his cavalry; and Devin, sending a squadron with Captain Alexander Moore, Aide-de-Camp to General Hooker, bearing dispatches to his chief, captured several officers and thirty-five men. Reaching Ely's Ford at 5 P.M., two squadrons of cavalry were sent over, which brushed away the small force guarding it. The cavalry was followed by Brigadier-General Charles Griffin's * First Division and Major-General Sykes' Second Division.

Under orders that no clothing should be removed, as it could not be expected we would be allowed to cross without opposition, the men arranged their cartridge-boxes, haversacks, knapsacks, blankets and valuables about their heads and necks and plunged into the cold water, which rapidly enveloped them, up to the breasts and chins of a large number. There were many ludicrous scenes, such as men bobbing about like tide-walkers, or barely touching bottom with their toes, as they struggled with the strong, swift current. Some were made short work of in their efforts for the mastery and swept away, to be picked up by the detachment of cavalry stationed below for that purpose. The music boys were carried over on the shoulders of tall, stalwart, good-natured men. It was a sight and experience not to be forgotten. After dark the river was lighted by large fires upon the banks. As my regiment—the Fourteenth Infantry—moved into the water about 9 P.M., the sight of the fires through the misty rain, blazing brightly beyond, cheered us forward. Out of the chilling water, we climbed the slippery hill-side, for to add to our discomfort it was then raining heavily, hunted fire-wood in the darkness, built fires, cooked suppers, pitched our little shelter-tents, dried clothes and shoes as best we could, and rolling up in blankets, feet to the fires, for a comfortless night, courted nature's sweet restorer. The men detailed for picket and guard duty were not *perfectly happy*, but too honorable and plucky to grumble. It happened to be their detail at an unfortunate time; that was all.

As General Slocum's command approached Germania Ford, two hundred of the enemy's engineers were engaged building a bridge for Major-General J. E. B. Stuart, who was preparing for a raid upon our army in the vicinity of Falmouth, and to facilitate communication between Culpepper and Lee's headquarters. The Sixth New York Cavalry dismounted and engaged them until the infantry arrived, when they were speedily dislodged and about one-half their number captured. Early on

* Captain Fifth U. S. Artillery.

the morning of the 30th, the three corps resumed their march toward Chancellorsville, the rallying-point designated by Hooker. Meade, having heard from Devin that he had driven the enemy's pickets about three miles on the road to United States Ford, and had encountered a brigade of infantry in line of battle, sent Sykes' Second Division to uncover the ford. The precipitancy of our advance took the Confederates completely by surprise, causing them to retire from the ford without a struggle, leaving a number of prisoners and yielding us undisputed possession of the important crossing.

Having heard, soon after he detached Sykes, that his cavalry had occupied Chancellorsville, after a slight skirmish with a small force of the enemy, Meade proceeded with Griffin's division to that place, where he arrived at 11 A.M., and was rejoined by Sykes about one o'clock. He directed Colonel Devin to send out all his cavalry—one-half on the turnpike or plank road, and the other on the Bank's Ford or river road. About 3 P.M. Devin reported he had pursued the enemy's pickets on the Bank's Ford road until he could see his line of battle; and from the wagons visible believed he was about to abandon the position. Meade directed Griffin to advance General James Barnes' First Brigade to support the cavalry, and if practicable, to drive in the infantry and uncover the ford. An hour later Griffin reported his brigade in the presence of a superior force and that it must have support if expected to maintain its position.

Meade now ascertained to his surprise, that the cavalry, instead of going down the Bank's Ford road, as reported and he had been led to believe, had gone down the *old turnpike*, which makes a *détour* at Chancellorsville, coming again to the turnpike or plank road in about five miles. Barnes' brigade had advanced on the turnpike or plank road about two miles, in the direction of Fredericksburg, when it met Mahone's and Posey's brigades, very advantageously posted on a ridge, with breastworks flanked by artillery, commanding the road by which the advance was to be made. The Twenty-fifth New York Infantry, Colonel Charles A. Johnson, and the Eighteenth Massachusetts, Colonel Joseph Hayes, were deployed as skirmishers into the woods on the left and right of the road, and the rest of the brigade held in reserve. Meade sent the second brigade under Colonel James McQuade, of the Fourteenth New York Infantry, along the Bank's Ford road to support Barnes, who, having inspected the enemy's works, had sent for artillery, which could not be furnished.

General Slocum had by this time arrived upon the ground and assumed command, to whom was referred the question of supporting or withdrawing Griffin's brigades. Unfortunately, he decided to withdraw

them. The campaign previous to that time had been a grand success—conducted with energy, decision, and great rapidity of movement. From and after General Slocum's decision to withdraw the troops it was quite the reverse. United States Ford had been uncovered. It remained to uncover Bank's Ford and success was virtually assured. In his official report, dated May 17, 1863, Slocum makes no mention of the occurrence, but says: "The two corps (Eleventh and Twelfth), arrived at Chancellorsville at about 2 P.M., on the 30th. . . . The Major-General commanding the army arrived at Chancellorsville on Thursday evening, the 30th, and I then resumed command of the Twelfth Corps."

At the time Meade's dispositions and purposes were superseded by higher authority, there was no obstacle—certainly but a very slight obstacle—to our triumphant forward march; the uncovering of Bank's Ford and a victory to the Army of the Potomac; not without a battle, probably, as Lee was not the kind of a soldier to retire without it; but the battle would have been fought on most advantageous terms—terms the Army of the Potomac had sought, and in exact accordance with the plan of its commanding general. When the troops of the Fifth Corps were withdrawn on Thursday afternoon, the three corps, according to the monthly returns made on that day, had an aggregate of 44,661 men for duty. Hooker so states in his testimony before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, but says:

"As the bulk of the latter"—the artillery—"did not march with the corps, and excluding heavy detachments left with the trains as well as regiments left behind for discharge, it is not probable that the whole force established at Chancellorsville exceeded 36,000 men."

Opposed to 36,000 men were Mahone's brigade of Virginians; Posey's brigade of Mississippians, and Brigadier-General A. R. Wright's brigade of Georgians, of Anderson's division, composed of six brigades. March 31, 1863, there were of that division 8,232 men present for duty, and on May, 31st, 7,440; so it is not probable the brigades opposed to us numbered more than 5,000 men. Slocum's instructions were:

"If your cavalry is well advanced from Chancellorsville, you will be able to ascertain whether or not the enemy is detaching forces from behind Fredericksburg to resist your advance. If not in any considerable force, the general desires that you will endeavor to advance at all hazards, securing a position on the plank road, and uncovering Bank's Ford, which is also defended by a brigade of rebel infantry and a battery. If the enemy should be greatly re-enforced, you will then select a strong position and compel him to attack you on your ground. You will have nearly 40,000 men, which is more than he can spare to send against you. Every incident of your advance you will communicate

to the general as soon as communication is established by the United States Ford. Two aides-de-camp are sent to report to you for the service. You are already advised of the operations going on below Fredericksburg."

In his official report, dated September 21, 1863, General Lee said:

"On the night of the 29th, General Anderson was directed to proceed toward Chancellorsville and dispose Wright's brigade, and the troops from the Bark Mill Ford to cover these roads. Arriving at Chancellorsville about midnight, he found the commands of Generals Mahone and Posey already there, having been withdrawn from the Bark Mill Ford, with the exception of a small guard. Learning that the enemy had crossed the Rapidan and were approaching in strong force, General Anderson retired early on the morning of the 30th to the intersection of the mine and plank roads, near Tabernacle Church, and began to intrench himself. The enemy's cavalry skirmished with his rear-guard as he left Chancellorsville, but, being vigorously repulsed by Mahone's brigade, offered no further opposition to his march. Mahone was placed on the old turnpike, Wright and Posey on the plank road.

. . . . . .

"The enemy in our front near Fredericksburg continued inactive, and it was now apparent that the main attack would be made upon our flank and rear. It was therefore determined to leave sufficient troops to hold our lines, and with the main body of the army to give battle to the approaching column. Early's division of Jackson's corps, and Barksdale's brigade of McLaw's division, with part of the reserve artillery, under General (W. N.) Pendleton, were intrusted with the defence of our position at Fredericksburg, and at midnight on the 30th, General McLaw's marched with the rest of his command toward Chancellorsville. General Jackson followed at dawn next morning with the remaining divisions of his corps. He reached the position occupied by General Anderson at 8 A.M., and immediately began preparations to advance."

Had General Slocum moved forward on Thursday afternoon he could easily have uncovered Bank's Ford and occupied the hills upon which Lee had neglected to construct redoubts; thus enfilading his line. The delay at Chancellorsville, from 2 P.M. on the 30th until nearly noon of May 1st, was as fatal to the campaign as anything that occurred afterward.

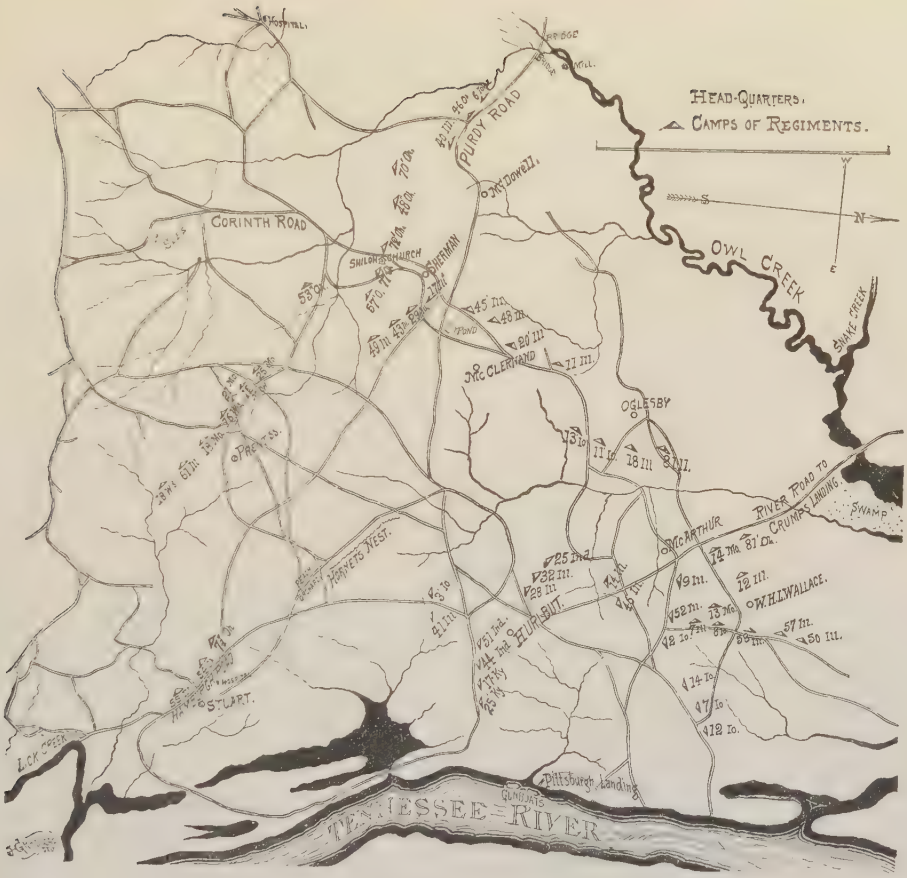
O. O. Howard Miles.

SHILOH

THE FIRST DAY'S BATTLE: APRIL 6

The dawn of a lovely spring morning was ushered in by a conflict between the pickets of General Prentiss and the skirmishers in the advance of the Confederate Army, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, which was moving to the attack of the Federal forces at Shiloh. The ordinary picket force at the beginning promptly strengthened, checked the advance on the front of Prentiss, and held it about half a mile in front of his line of encampments until he could throw his whole division, consisting of only seven regiments, forward to the improvised line. Before 6.30 A.M. the troops of Prentiss were all engaged, and he had sent to the 2d and 4th divisions (encamped near the river) for assistance.

The first line of battle of Prentiss had no inherent strength of position —was without a reserve, was unsupported on the flanks, and was, of course, turned as soon as the columns of the enemy could be developed. When that occurred, the division fell back and attempted to make a stand on the line of the camps. Being engaged in a fight without the co-operation of other troops, and again outflanked, the regiments fell back, and were of necessity thrown into confusion in retiring through their own camps. This time the disorder was not corrected until after the confused mass had drifted through the lines of the two brigades of the 4th division, then on the way from their camps toward the sound of battle. General Hurlbut, commanding the 4th division, on meeting the retiring troops of Prentiss, at once went into a position which, after some modification, happened to have strength, and was almost immediately attacked by the always advancing enemy. Prentiss, meanwhile, by energy and great personal magnetism, had rallied some 3,000 of his men, and formed them on the right of the 4th division. This was done at about 9 o'clock A.M. The 2d division, under General W. H. L. Wallace, leaving its camps about the same hour and moving in the direction of Prentiss' camps, was forced by the enemy to come into position near the line already taken by Hurlbut and Prentiss, and by throwing one regiment, the 8th Iowa, to the left of his division Wallace filled the gap between his command and the remnant of the 6th division (Prentiss'), and thus three division commanders fortuitously found themselves in a position so strong as to win for it



SHILOH BATTLEFIELD. 6TH OF APRIL.

from the enemy the name of the "Hornet's Nest." Its right and center were on a line of hills in the woods, and in a portion of the front was a dense growth of underbrush, making a natural abatis. On the left was a clearing, over which the enemy had to march against troops stationed in the woods. The position thus taken, as will hereafter be seen, exerted unparalleled influence upon the ultimate result. As it was firmly held for several hours, we can now pass to other points of the field. The resistance made by Prentiss on his picket line retarded the attack of Cleburne upon Sherman's front, the salient point of which was the 53d Ohio regiment, under Appler, encamped in a clearing some 1,200 feet in front of the left of Sherman's main line. Sherman says that early on the 6th the enemy drove in his advance guard, when he ordered the division under arms, and sent to

McClernand *asking* him to support his (unprotected) left and to Prentiss (who had already been engaged since daylight) giving him notice that the enemy was in force in front, and to Hurlbut *asking* him to support Prentiss. Of the nine regiments under Sherman's immediate command that morning, eight were encamped behind a branch of Owl Creek, and at a distance from it of from 500 to 1,200 feet. One brigade of three regiments was on the extreme right watching the bridge over Owl Creek on a road from Corinth and Purdy; five regiments were encamped on a line across the more direct road leading from Corinth at the Shiloh Church, and the ninth, as before stated, was in front of the left flank and *across* the branch of Owl Creek. This regiment had another branch of Owl Creek, about 1,200 feet in its front, which was lined with bushes affording a cover to the enemy; and a branch road led from the main Corinth road to the rear of the camp, and line of battle of the regiment. Sherman says about 8 o'clock A.M. all the regiments of his division "were in line of battle at their proper posts." That is to say, they were directly in front of their camps, where they could not maneuver to the rear without falling into confusion, and where, later on, the wagons blocked the road and delayed the 1st brigade in its effort to take up a new position under Sherman's orders. On visiting his lines before his troops were seriously engaged, Sherman gave orders to Colonel Appler, commanding the isolated regiment on his left front, to "hold his position at all hazards—that he had a good battery on his right, and a strong support to his rear." Of these strong supports General McClernand says: "Before my left, consisting of the 3d brigade, could form for the support of General Sherman the enemy had pierced Prentiss' line;" that is, had passed through the space between Sherman and Prentiss which was never occupied, " . . . and rapidly forcing back Sherman's left wing was pressing upon my left with a mass five regiments deep. . . . I ordered the 3d brigade to form in line of battle fronting the enemy's advance, nearly *at a right angle* with Sherman's line. . . . While the line was being formed, information was brought that the enemy were advancing in line of battle in strong force to the left of the brigade." The brigade commander ordered a charge which, though successful in front, left the flanks exposed and compelled the brigade to retire about 300 yards where it formed a junction, in front of McClernand's headquarters, with the other two brigades of the division, and the contest was continued for some time.

To return to Sherman's line. Sherman reports that "about 9 o'clock A.M. Appler's regiment broke in disorder, soon followed by fugitives from Mungen's regiment (57th Ohio) and the enemy pressed forward on Water-

house's battery, thereby exposed." * The falling back of the 3d brigade of the 1st division (McClernand's) soon brought the enemy upon Sherman's left and rear, and he gave orders for his command to retire to the "Purdy and Hamburg road, taking that for a new line."

Colonel McDowell commanding 1st brigade says this was accomplished with difficulty partly because *the trains of the brigade occupied the only passable road.* The colonel commanding the 4th brigade reports that in making this change the brigade was practically broken up "by the fleeing mass from the left" and out of the fight for the day, a part of one regiment joining McClernand's command and the colonel commanding, with the remaining colonel, having "very poor success" in his efforts to rally the men. The move of Sherman to the Purdy and Hamburg road brought his command (now consisting of one brigade) once more in connection with the line McClernand had established in front of his headquarters, and at this time we have upon the field two division commanders acting in concert on the right, parts of three divisions fighting in like manner in the center, one isolated brigade on the extreme left, and a second independent brigade, to be hereafter noticed, near McClernand's line. The time, according to Sherman, about 10.30. No two divisions, however, have as yet moved under the orders of a superior officer, and the fighting thus far has been due to no military knowledge in a leader but to the courage of the officers and men who held to their ranks and their colors.

We must now follow the fortunes of the two independent brigades which are struggling to do their best in this headless battle. The first is the 2d brigade of the 4th (Hurlbut's) division. A message came from Sherman early in the morning (about 7.30) that he was attacked heavily on his left, and Hurlbut ordered the 2d brigade under Veatch to march to Sherman's assistance. The colonel took his command promptly to the front and formed a line on the left of the first position of the 3d brigade of McClernand's division, having at that time the left of Sherman's troops in his front (at an oblique line), which were just becoming engaged. Very

* According to the report of the lieutenant colonel of the regiment two assaults of the enemy were repulsed before the regiment fell back. From the reports of General Cleburne it is seen that two regiments of his command were very badly cut up in assaults on some troops, the position of which can only be made by me to correspond to that of Appler's regiment. General Cleburne states that he did not drive the regiment back until he had turned its right flank. The position of the regiment was untenable at the outset, both flanks unprotected, and a stream behind it. Under the circumstances it held the position longer than could have been expected. When it broke it passed around the left of McClernand's line, carrying away some of his troops. The colonel commanding the brigade states that the two remaining regiments (57th and 77th Ohio) fought side by side for four hours against heavy odds.

soon the troops in the front line were thrown into confusion, and broke through the right of Veatch's command, carrying with them a portion of the troops belonging to McClernand.* Veatch's right regiment, after a contest in which it lost all its field officers, fell back, which at once exposed the next regiment on the right, and that was also thrown into confusion by the breaking of more troops from the front line (Sherman's 3d brigade), but was soon rallied by its gallant colonel (Davis) and fought until overpowered and borne back. The enemy then attacked the two remaining regiments of the brigade. These were well handled and for some time maneuvered fighting, thus keeping their flanks from being turned, and finally fell back to prevent being surrounded by a superior force. The first two regiments brought up in McClernand's command remained fighting. Colonel Veatch succeeded in getting the last two back, when they there joined the left of McClernand's line and remained with his command till the enemy turned the left flank of the army, and then the colonel fell back to the siege guns covering the Landing. The fight of the colonel throughout the day was entirely independent. The next independent fight to be recorded is that of the detached brigade of Sherman's division which was stationed to watch a ford at Lick Creek where a road crossed from Hamburg, a town on the Tennessee River three miles above Pittsburg Landing. Colonel Stuart, commanding this brigade, reports that before 8 A.M. he saw the enemy advancing *in rear* of Prentiss' headquarters, and sent the information to Hurlbut, commanding 4th division, and asked him to advance his forces. The colonel then formed his line of battle across the Hamburg road. Here he soon found himself with one regiment gone to the rear without orders, and the two remaining regiments, numbering about 800 men all told, engaged in front, and a large force moving to his right and rear.

This remnant of a brigade fell back to a hill behind a ravine, where he says he held the enemy at bay for two hours until his ammunition was exhausted, even to that in the boxes of the killed and wounded in his line. From this cause another retrograde movement began, which finally brought the brigade near the batteries at the Landing, where the command was halted by a staff officer of General Grant, with information that ammunition would be sent to them. This must have been between 2.30 and 3 P.M. General Grant soon after came up and ordered the brigade *to form a line near the batteries.*

Sherman, at 10.30 A.M., was on his new line along the Purdy and Hamburg road with McClernand on his left on a line running in front of Mc-

* Probably Appler's regiment.

Clernand's headquarters. The fighting here was severe for several hours. Sherman says during this part of the day two Iowa regiments came up from the rear, "but could not be brought up to the severe fire then raging." Two Iowa regiments, the 15th and 16th, landed from the transports after the battle had opened and were marched to the front. The regiments had never even loaded their muksets. They were pitchforked into some position by some raw staff officer, where it is probable the value of their services was not represented by their losses. The 15th lost in killed, wounded, and missing, 185, while the casualties of the 16th were 131, both colonels being among the wounded. No State in our whole country, from Maine to Texas, has a better record than that made for Iowa by its magnificent troops.

McClernand was finally driven from his position back to the camp of the 1st brigade,* thence across a ravine behind that point, where a good stand was made, and some good fighting done. Again outflanked, he moved to the road from Crump's Landing to Hamburg, where, at 4.30 P.M., the final assault and repulse on that part of the line were made.†

In looking over the day's work done by the 1st and 5th divisions, we find them heavily handicapped at the beginning of the battle by the thoroughly false line they were then obliged to take up. After freeing themselves from the consequences of that and coming together in line of battle, the fighting under the direction of the division commanders—deriving no orders from a common superior—was intelligent and severe. When forced back by superior numbers the men took up new positions always with crumbling of stragglers, but without demoralization on the part of those who remained by their colors. Always ready to take advantage of the repulse of an attack of the enemy, and assume the offensive, they re-occupied several times ground they had lost. Sometimes together, and at other times separated, the commands were united in the final attack on them at 4.30 P.M., and the troops had reason to be proud of their own conduct and the skill of their commanders. Their military organizations had been seriously damaged, if not destroyed, but at the last there was still a line of battle, held by brave men, commanded by indomitable officers.

The divisions of W. H. L. Wallace, Prentiss, and Hurlbut were, about

* Ogleby's on the map.

† General Sherman says that General Grant was with him about 3 P.M.; "but about 4 P.M. it was evident that Hurlbut's line had been driven back to the river and, knowing that General Wallace was coming from Crump's Landing with reinforcements, *General McClernand and I on consultation* selected a new line of defense with its right covering the bridge by which General Wallace had to approach."

9.30 A.M., as we have seen, in a strong position, and the enemy advancing to the assault. As the assaulting columns came up, they were received with a murderous fire which time and again sent them back in disorder. The best troops of the Confederate Army made the effort only to recoil from the terrible fire of the men who, feeling the strength of their position, took deliberate aim and did not throw away their shots. Bragg, after having, as he says, lost several hours in the vain endeavor to break this line, went to his right to try to turn the position he could not carry by assault. This was easily done, for but two small regiments covered the space between Hurlbut's left flank and the river, and they were soon maneuvered back to the siege guns. About 3 P.M. Hurlbut, finding no friendly support on his left and the enemy threatening that flank, and having no one to look to for orders, took counsel with himself and fell back, as he says, quietly and steadily *through* his camps, and to the rear of the siege guns at the Landing, where General Grant directed him to take "command of all the troops that came up." At the hour of 4.30 P.M. the 1st, 4th, and 5th divisions, with the army of stragglers, were all within the space bounded by the "River Road" over Snake Creek and the road from the Landing to Purdy. General Lew Wallace marched his division, about dark, across the Snake Creek bridge, and bivouacked in line of battle, thus giving some consistency to our right flank. At the hour of 4.30 there were two Confederate brigades across Dill's Branch, a short stream which runs into the Tennessee River nearly half a mile above the Landing. Its steep sides make a formidable obstacle, and it was an extraordinary oversight that its left bank was not held by some of the troops crowded at the Landing. Of those two Confederate brigades, however, one had no ammunition, and the other found the batteries in front too powerful to attack, and their companions in arms, who would have given them the support they required, were still back at the "Hornet's Nest."

After Hurlbut had withdrawn from the left, Prentiss made such dispositions as he could to protect his left flank, and then had a consultation with W. H. L. Wallace. They knew that of that magnificent army which at dawn stood equal to if not superior in numbers to the troops they had expected to attack at Corinth, these two worn-out remnants of divisions under them represented all of the army not at the last fighting line, and looking into the Tennessee River. They did not know that assistance from the Army of the Ohio was so near. They were not soldiers by education, yet instinctively felt that it was of vital importance to the army that they should "hold their position at all hazards," and agreed to stand by each other to the last. They could depend on their men, and so they fought on. They

fought till Wallace and Prentiss stood back to back; they fought until the Confederates battling against Wallace were firing into the Confederates fighting Prentiss. The contest did not close until after they were surrounded. At six o'clock Prentiss gave up his sword and Wallace his life, but the Army of the Tennessee was saved, for at five o'clock the head of the column of the Army of the Ohio, led by Colonel Jacob Ammen, of Nelson's division, marched up the bank at Pittsburg Landing and took its position in the road under the fire of Confederate artillery, and presented its strong front to the two Confederate brigades then looking down upon the Landing.

The instinct or genius to decide that self-sacrifice was necessary, and the courage and patriotism to make the sacrifice, were found in the commanders of the 2d and 4th divisions, and their story should be told throughout the length and breadth of our land.

In looking over the first day's battle on the field of Shiloh, as drawn from the official papers, it must be manifest, even to the reader least conversant with military positions, that at 4.30 P.M. of the 6th of April a grave disaster had happened, and capture was impending over the Federal Army, then crowded on the bank of the Tennessee River at Pittsburg Landing.

I propose in a few words to express my own opinions of the causes which led to such a perilous condition.

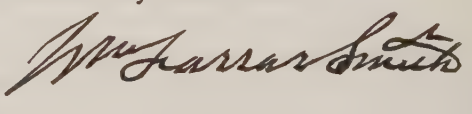
The first cause was that, resting in fancied security as to the danger of an attack, and not taking into consideration the fact that Buell's march to join Grant made an attack probable before the junction was effected, the Federal general laid out no fighting line on his front, and prepared no defenses; he did not use the ordinary precautions of one who thinks there is a possibility of his being thrown upon the defensive. Second, no instructions had been given to any of the division commanders as to where they should go or what they should do in the event of an alarm. Third, the fighting lines assumed by Sherman and Prentiss were faulty, as they were practically the lines of their encampments, which interfered seriously with any maneuvering. Sherman, McClernand, and Prentiss were all driven through their own camps. Fourth, no connected line was formed, and thus *every retrograde movement* made during the day by any organized body of Federal troops, so far as I can learn from close study, was induced by a turning of one or both flanks. The difference in the numbers of the two armies was not, perhaps, of importance, yet the tactical conditions which existed would show the greater numbers of Confederate troops massed at important points. Under a military axiom such conditions show good generalship on one side, or on the other side the reverse. Fifth, there was no

reserve on any line established by the Federal troops during the entire day. Sixth, it would seem that after the strength of the position at the "Hornet's Nest" had been established, it was then in the power of the commanding general to reduce some four or five independent battles then in progress to one by concentrating on a short line through the "Hornet's Nest," which should have military strength, and cover the Landing. The map seems to show such lines.

In looking at the battle as fought by the Confederate generals, it is, perhaps, not too much to say that, had the plan of constantly turning the left flank of troops opposed to them been steadily adhered to, and avoiding continued assaults on strong positions, the tendency of which was to drive the Federal Army to concentration on a shorter line, much time and strength would have been saved.

It seems reasonable to suppose that with such a plan kept steadily in view, the divisions of McClernand and Sherman should have been driven into a *cul-de-sac*, with their backs to Owl Creek, the divisions of W. H. L. Wallace, Prentiss, and Hurlbut cut off from the Tennessee River, and a strong body of the Confederate forces, comparatively fresh, as near the Landing at noon as they were at 4.30 P.M. Such a condition of affairs would have prevented the junction of Lew Wallace's division with the army, and also the landing of any of Buell's troops.

The battle of the 6th of April was a desperate fight, and placed the American volunteer at once in the front rank of the fighting material of the world. Knowledge and discipline could only come later.



OUR FIRST BATTLE

BULL PASTURE MOUNTAIN

Major-General Frémont assumed command of the Mountain Department on the 29th day of March, 1862, at Wheeling, West Virginia, relieving Brigadier-General Rosecrans. The new department comprised the following territorial divisions: District of the Cumberland, containing all territory east of the Alleghanies and west of the Department of the Potomac, commanded by Brigadier-General R. C. Schenck; the Cheat Mountain District, comprising all west of the Alleghanies, south of the railroad lines, north of the Valley of the Gauley, and east of the Weston and Summerville road, commanded by Brigadier-General R. H. Milroy; the Railroad District, comprising all north and west of the railroad lines, commanded by Brigadier-General B. F. Kelly; the District of the Kanawha, comprising all the valleys of the Kanawha and Guyandotte rivers and the mouth of the Big Sandy, commanded by Brigadier-General J. D. Cox; the districts of the Big Sandy-Valley and Gap, commanded respectively by Colonels Garfield and Carter.

Contemplating this interesting field, General Frémont laid out for himself a far-reaching and somewhat dazzling plan of operations. After collecting his forces, he proposed to move up the South Branch Valley, cross the mountains to Staunton, march thence, in conjunction with Banks, against the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Salem, establish a new base at Gauley, call forward General Cox to Newberne, and then, having "destroyed the connection between Knoxville and the [Confederate] army in Eastern Virginia, and perhaps seized some rolling stock, advance rapidly up the railroad toward Knoxville, turning the [Confederate] position at Cumberland Gap." After taking Knoxville, Frémont proposed to established "a third base of operations" at Nicholasville, and thus place his army "in a position to co-operate in any way in the general plan of operations for the prosecution of the war."

This ambitious and glowing scheme was approved at Washington, but with a final modification which contemplated the ultimate closing in of Frémont's columns toward Richmond rather than at Knoxville. To carry out these designs Frémont had, according to his own estimate, 19,000 effective men. To this force should be added the "German Division," about 8,000 strong, under Brigadier-General Blenker, which was to be transferred from

the Army of the Potomac, and assigned to Frémont's command. General Milroy had passed the winter at Monterey—a mountain station near the head-waters of the South Branch of the Potomac—and he had with him there about 3,500 men. General Schenck's force—to which the Eighty-second Ohio regiment, with which the writer was identified, was attached—was concentrated at Moorefield, in the South Branch Valley, and numbered about 3,000. Blenker's division quitted its camps at Fairfax Court House for its new field of operations early in April, but was fully a month in reaching its destination. Blenker was unfamiliar with the country, became confused with his maps, and seems to have lost his way. Though the weather was very inclement, his men marched without tents or other sufficient camp equipage, and were constantly exposed to snow and rain. On the 15th the division crossed the swollen Shenandoah at Berry's Ferry, in boats, one of which was swamped, drowning sixty men. To prevent further mishaps, and accelerate the movement of Blenker's command, the Secretary of War directed Rosecrans to hunt it up, take temporary charge of it and conduct it over the mountains.

The division was in a most wretched state of discipline and equipment. Many of the regiments were armed with old-fashioned smooth-bore muskets, and the whole command was deficient in necessary wagon transportation. The men suffered greatly for want of shoes, blankets and overcoats, and also for want of food. Many were sick by reason of exposure and privation and the number increased daily. The animals in the trains were in a starved condition, and fresh horses had to be procured before the batteries could be moved from Martinsburg. The division reached Petersburg on the 9th of May, but in an exceedingly unfit condition for active service.

Early in April, General Milroy, after routing a Confederate force which attacked him near Monterey, pushed across the mountains to McDowell. About the same time General Cox, in pursuance of Frémont's orders, moved in the direction of Lewisburg and Peterstown. Concurrently with these operations, General Schenck was directed to advance toward Franklin, so as to join Milroy, and co-operate with Banks in the Shenandoah Valley.

Owing to the bad condition of the roads, Schenck's forces at Moorefield did not break camp until the 25th of April, on which date they moved up the South Branch to Petersburg. Here the river, swollen by the rain, and very swift, was found to be three feet deep at its shallowest point, making it necessary to construct a temporary foot-bridge for the infantry, which was done with farm wagons, ballasted down with stones. The

artillery and cavalry managed to get over by fording. The movement was resumed on the 3d of May. Above Petersburg, the road, at best a primitive one, barely practicable for artillery and wagon trains, grew worse and worse as the column proceeded up the river, and penetrated the mountainous country from which the South Branch issues. The few people who dwelt in these elevated districts seemed to be as heartily and universally loyal as those in the lower valley had been unfriendly and rebellious, and they welcomed Schenck's soldiers with every demonstration of joy. They were generally poor, as was the soil they cultivated, and of course there were very few slave-holders among them. As the column neared Franklin, on the 5th, a courier arrived from Milroy with the news that Jackson, anticipating Frémont's advance, was coming over the range to meet him.

"There's work ahead, boys!" said Colonel Cantwell, of the Eighty-second Ohio, as he rubbed his mustache in a manner peculiar to him. The brave colonel knew from his own previous experience what "work ahead" meant, but there were few of his "boys" who, as yet, had ever heard so much as a picket-shot fired at an enemy. They were quite ready for the "work," however, and rather eager for it, although the colonel's manner did not indicate that he thought it was going to be in the nature of amusement. At Franklin, an old weather-beaten hamlet in a gorge of the mountains, a temporary supply depot was established, and on the 7th the column pushed on, through a rough and thinly settled country, toward Staunton. On the 8th, at 10 A.M., the command, having marched most of the night, arrived at McDowell, a village on the Staunton Turnpike, thirty-four miles south-west of Franklin. The village lies at the foot of Bull Pasture Mountain, on the upper slopes of which were descried (for the first time by Cantwell's men) the gray battalions of the Southern Confederacy. The Confederates in sight were the brigades of Edward Johnson's Division which were moving into position and forming a line sheltered by rocks and trees, and fronted by clearings extending well down the mountain.

Jackson had present with him, and near at hand, his own and Johnson's divisions, numbering in all about 10,000 men. Defeated (March 23) by Shields at Kernstown, and then pursued by Banks up the Valley to Harrisonburg, he had been re-enforced by Ewell's division from Gordonsville. Leaving that division to hold Banks in check, he had now turned to intercept and overwhelm Frémont's advance before it could arrive within reaching distance of our forces in the valley. Milroy had arrived at McDowell some days before, and had thrown forward part of his force beyond Shaw's Ridge, in the direction of Staunton. This force had fallen

back upon the main body, which was preparing to resist Jackon's further progress. Schenck, who was the ranking officer, had brought with him about 1,300 infantry, a battalion of Connecticut Cavalry, and De Beck's Ohio Battery. He saw, at once, that our position at McDowell was not tenable, but after consultation with Milroy, he resolved to put a bold face on matters, and assail the enemy. Under cover of this attack he proposed to get all the wagon-trains well out of the way, with a view to withdrawing, during the night, his entire force from its perilous position. About the middle of the afternoon the Third Virginia, and the Twenty-fifth, Thirty-second, Seventy-fifth and Eighty-second Ohio regiments moved to the attack, the Twenty-fifth and Seventy-fifth holding the right, the Thirty-second and Eighty-second the left, and the Third Virginia, moving by the turnpike, the center. Passing beyond the village, the Eighty-second crossed the Bull Pasture River and ascended a steep, timbered bluff, known as Hull's Ridge, where there was neither road nor path. A six-pounder of Johnson's Battery was dragged up after the regiment by hand, and directly opened fire with considerable effect from the summit, from whence the enemy's position, though in plain view, could not be reached by musketry. Intervening between ourselves (the Eighty-second Ohio) and Bull Pasture Mountain (the cleared part of which was known as Setlingen's Hill), lay a deep valley, along which the turnpike mounted the Shenandoah range. To get at our antagonists it was necessary to descend to the bottom of this valley, and climb the heights on its opposite side. Colonel Cantwell, therefore, started his men on the "double-quick" down the mountain, himself leading them on foot. The entire movement had to be executed in full view of the enemy, and it quickly brought us within range of his musketry. With a great shout the regiment rushed down to the turnpike, reaching which, the men scarcely stopped to take breath, before they began clambering up the steep slope of Bull Pasture Mountain.

And now the crash of their Enfields began to resound through the gorge! And, in spite of all the battles which have since intervened, how the bang of those muskets reverberates even yet in the living ears that heard them! The enemy's bullets, fired down the mountains, flew over us in myriads, but were not heeded. The Confederate fire seemed only to add to the exhilaration and *elan* of our charge. Up through the slanting meadows went the blue lines, with colors flying and Enfields crashing! No flinching! forward! Some soldiers fall, and lie motionless upon the grass, but there is no time to pay any attention to that! On the right the Twenty-fifth, Seventy-fifth and Thirty-second Ohio come up in splendid

style, their muskets crashing too! Up, still up go the steady lines, until they arrive within short range of the Confederates. The action is so violent all along the front that Jackson hurries up his reserves. Our men want to go at the enemy with the bayonet, and some of them even make a rush for that purpose, but are called back. It is not deemed prudent to advance the line farther against such superior odds, but the fight goes on unabated until the sun sets, and darkness hides the combatants from each other.*

Happening to look to the rear, I saw some men lying on the grass. My first impression was that they had lain down to avoid being hit.† But they were motionless. The truth flashed over me—they were dead! I had scarcely noticed, before, that anybody had been hurt, except that a bullet had struck the musket of a man next me, and glancing had wounded him in the wrist.

As darkness came on the firing slackened, and at length ceased. The troops were then recalled. The wounded had all been carried to the rear, but there lay the dead, and it seemed too bad to leave them behind. So two of us picked up one of the bodies, and endeavored to bear it away with the retreating line. But we had not realized until then how fatigued we were! The slain soldier was a young German, who had received a bullet full in the forehead. We laid him down gently by the stump of a tree, with his face upturned to the moonlight, and there we left him. A few minutes later I found myself trying to quench, in a muddy pool at the turnpike, the fever and thirst begotten of the extraordinary exertion and excitement.

"Men, remember that you are from Ohio!" had been General Schenck's admonition prior to the battle. We did not forget it. Jackson telegraphed to Richmond: "God blessed our arms with victory at McDowell yesterday." He would not have coveted many such victories. His loss afterward admitted was 71 killed and 390 wounded. Our total loss was 256. The enemy did not pursue. He did not even seem to anticipate our re-

* The battle raged with terrific violence from about 4.30 to 8.30 P.M.—*Report of Confederate General Edward Johnson.*

† Part of the Confederate troops appear to have resorted to this method of avoiding the effects of our fire. Colonel W. C. Scott, of the Forty-fourth Virginia regiment, who commanded one of Johnson's brigades, says in his report: "In firing, the front rank of my right flank, after delivering its fire, would retire some three or four paces to the rear, and lie down and load, and, as they were shielded from danger while loading, I allowed this system to continue. . . . But observing that some men retired farther to the rear than necessary, and were lying on their faces and taking no part in the battle, I attempted to rouse them by words, but finding that neither harsh words nor threats were of any avail, I commenced riding over them, which soon made them join the line of battle."

treat.* Returning to the village, our troops halted unmolested for supper and brief rest. Leaving their camp-fires burning, they then set forth, preceded by the artillery and trains, on the road toward Franklin. The wounded who could hobble along did so, and those who could not were carried in the ambulances. We marched all right, stopping seldom, and on the 10th the column arrived again at Franklin. Halting in the valley above the town the troops, half dead with fatigue and loss of sleep, stacked their arms, and lay down to rest. Suddenly a great cheer was heard in the direction of the town, and a horseman was seen galloping up the valley, and swinging his hat. One regiment after another took up the cry as he passed it, and as he approached ours we heard him shouting at the top of his voice;

"The *Monitor* has sunk the *Merrimac*! Hurrah!"

We had scarcely digested this welcome information when the enemy's cavalry appeared up the valley, and the troops were hurried into position covering the approaches to the town. Then came more news:

"General Frémont is coming, with Blenker's Division!"

Verily we had fallen upon eventful times! The *Merrimac* sunk, Blenker coming, and the Confederate cavalry bearing down upon us! However, the enemy, having arrived within hearing of the racket caused by the *Merrimac* news, seemed to be intimidated by "the thunder of the captains and the shouting." His squadrons displayed themselves very handsomely, with arms glittering and banners flying, but for the time-being they kept at a respectful distance. A few shots from our batteries made the distance still more respectful.

Blenker's Division came up according to announcement. At the same time Jackson's cavalry, with infantry supports, began to feel Frémont's lines, and for a few hours brisk skirmishing ensued. Meanwhile the woods on the mountains took fire from the musketry, or the camp-fires of the combatants, and at night the contour of the peaks and ridges was outlined against the sky in lambent flame.

On the 14th Jackson withdrew all his forces from Frémont's front, and rapidly disappeared again beyond the Shenandoah Mountain. We were destined to renew his acquaintance, however, further along.

Abner E. Doe

* Early the next morning Jackson rode to the front, expecting to renew the battle. He had made arrangements for sending a force across the mountains to our rear, and no doubt would have been glad to find us still at McDowell.

A POEM

IN RESPONSE TO THE TOAST

"OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE; MAY IT EXIST FOREVER"

Delivered at the meeting of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, at Delmonico's, Monday evening, February 22, 1886.

Once more we gather at the board with banner of our fame,
And bring the garlands of our love in memory of a *name;*
A *name* so proudly borne by time, that, as the years depart,
It still remains the first in war, in peace, and in the heart.

'Tis fitting that we thus should meet in celebration here;
Our lineage is beyond reproach; we read our title clear;
The Cincinnati's pedigree began when peace was young,
When War had smoothed his wrinkled front, and Freedom's bell was rung

What need to tell again the tale of those eventful years?
A story that perforce was writ in human blood and tears.
What need to fight those battles o'er of victory and defeat?
And all that Iliad of strife in numbers here repeat?

Enough, that through it all *he* moved, the master and the guide;
Unfaltering courage, patience, faith were his, however tried;
Not even dark mistrust could change his spirit or his zeal,
Till Yorktown's gates were open flung before the allied steel!

And when the dove of peace had come with healing on her wing,
Still looked the people up to him—their President, not king;
And Washington's immortal name is all the more adored,
Because he was as great a chief when he had sheathed the sword.

Thus out of war and sacrifice our Independence came,
A flickering light it was at first, but now a steady flame;
And art has symbolized its truth by raising fair and free
A figure with uplifted torch for all the world to see!

And may it shine forever, is our sentiment to-night:
That is the charge for us to keep, but only with the right.
The heritage our fathers left can only be retained
By stewards worthy of the trust, so precious and so gained.

Examples proudly cluster for the teaching of this age ;
Long is the line of patriot names embalmed in history's page ;
No country from its trophied past, no land beneath the sun,
Can call a more illustrious roll in Freedom's Pantheon.

We look back over twenty years to where the Statesman stands,
And see the tossing Ship of State obey his guiding hands :
No greater price for liberty a people ever gave
Than when they yielded Lincoln's form to fill a martyr's grave.

Last summer to eternal rest a hero's corse was borne ;
'Twas time, when that great soldier died, for liberty to mourn ;
For he had stood beside her shrine and all her foes defied ;
The foes that learned to know his heart—they met at Riverside !

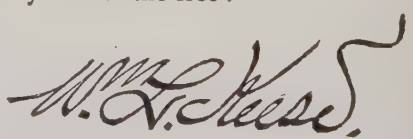
A grateful country on that mound its sacred vigil keeps ;
The anthem of the river sighs where painlessly he sleeps ;
The seasons come and go, the stars look down upon his rest ;
And pilgrim feet will make that spot the Mecca of the West !

And still again our ears have heard the solemn funeral chants ;
Another gallant warrior sleeps in " glory's marble trance."
It seems not long since he was here, our festival to grace,
And now the Nation's looked its last on Hancock's martial face.

But though the sorrows of this world come often thick and fast,
The blessings of adversity reveal themselves at last ;
And from the record of great lives that now have passed away,
An inspiration surely flows and gilds the darkest day.

So, with our living countrymen, and all that memory gives,
We may to-night feel well assured that Independence lives ;
And as we think of those whose minds our destinies have led,
We turn with reverence and with love to greet our honored head.*

Then let us ask, while here we meet to pass fraternal hours,
What would yon banner be to us if Freedom were not ours ?
Nay, let us hope, where'er that flag may float o'er land and sea,
Its stars and stripes may ever wave, the symbol of the free !



* Hon. Hamilton Fish.

MINOR TOPICS

A "JAUNT" TO PHILADELPHIA IN 1762

BY A DAUGHTER OF JAMES ALEXANDER

So graphically have the trials and sufferings of the Colonists been described (commencing with Mrs. Heman's "Breaking Waves" down to the pitiful condition of the soldiers at Valley Forge, with no suitable clothing to protect them from the winter's storm), that it is pleasant occasionally to find a silver lining to the dark picture. Old diaries and letters are found in unexpected places, and indicate that colonial life was not entirely colorless. Some extracts from a journal written in June, 1762, by a daughter of James Alexander, describes a "jaunt," as she calls it, from New York to Philadelphia. Then, as now, the Philadelphia housewife delighted in preparing a bountiful and attractive table, and it is evident the writer fully appreciated it. There is little or no sentiment in the diary, so the antiquarian can have his facts without note or comment. The names of the families mentioned are doubtless familiar to all readers of that period of our history. C. L. R.

"Thursday 3rd June 1762. Left New York at 11, o'clock, got to Douglasses at Quarter past 12 and dined, crossed Staten Island, the weather pleasant, neither hot, cold, wet, or dusty. Got to Amboy at ½ past 5, saw nobody but Miss Skinner, set out ¼ before 7, & arrived at Brunswick ½ past 8, slept, & sup'd at Duff's, a famous tavern, 3 large parlors, & dining room 36 feet long by 18 wide. The country thus far, but indifferent though thick settled. The town to the Raritan and neighbring country looked very pleasant. 4th Rose at 6, took a walk through the town; set out at ½ past 7, went to Rocky Hill farm, visited the copper mine, 8 men at work, drawing a level, sinking a new shaft, wages 6£ 13. a month, got to Princetown ½ past 11, the weather still pleasant, & country delightful, many beautiful & rich prospects, especially from the top of the college, which is well contrived, & under good management, 60 rooms, 120 closets, 100 windows in front, & above 100 students. After long waiting, got a good dinner, & the first green peas, proceeded ½ past 3 & reached Trenton at 5, met Sr John Clair who carried us forcibly to his house. The situation of Belmont charming, commanding a prospect of the Delaware up & down. The gardens large and laid out in fine taste, vast variety of trees, plants & flowers; a greenhouse 63 feet long with a room over the whole length except two small rooms for a bed, & study, a Pinery, ice-house, noble stables, & other conveniences. An agreeable and obliging family, left them with reluctance. 5th June, road to Bristol being mostly through one of Penn's uncultivated mauves was woody, the rest rich & well inhabited, from Frankfort

dusty for the first time, dined at Bristol. Tea at Halls, & arrived in Phil[a] at 6 o'clock. 6[th] Sunday—we went to Gov[r] Hamilton and Glenery, in the afternoon to St Peter's Church, was surprised and delighted with Mr Duché, eloquence that far exceeded anything I ever before heard. 7[th] Monday walked about the town—went to the State House a large and elegant building, & from the top a most commanding Prospect of all the Steeples, Squares and streets, & also of the adjacent country went to Mr Morris' gardens. Visitors Mrs Plumsted, Skinner, Mrs Stevens. Mr Inglis Mr Stevens, Mrs Gore. Mr M[c] Aul every evening. 8[th] we went to Glenery dined on Turtle ; numerous visitors Mrs & Miss Franks, Mrs & Miss Levi. Mrs C Stedman Miss Graeme, Mrs. Barclay, Francis, Miss Allen, Mrs Cluw Gov[r] Hamilton &c &c. 9[th] At six went to market, which out does every thing to be conceived in Quantity, Variety, & Cheapness, everything is at least a third cheaper than at New York, more cherries & strawberries from Mr Allen & the Gov[r] dined at Mr Plumsteds on Turtle, also an elegant dessert : sup'd at Mr Stevens. 10[th] In the morning, cherries & pine apples. (3 fine ones) dined at Mrs Swifts Tea at Schuylkill Ferry. Came home the five mile tour, the country flat, roads fine, and great number of little seats, & gardens that render it quite delightful, sup'd at Mr M[c] Auls. 11[th] Went in a party of 12 dined at the Falls of Schuylkill, no luck at fishing. Visited Smith's folly, crossed over the hill to Germantown, road pleasant, & great numbers of seats, company sup'd at Elliot's. 13[th] Heard Mr. Duché preach an Excellent Discourse—trout at dinner. Went with Mr Cox to the Romish Chappel, an ordinary Building fine organ an indifferent altar, & mean congregation sup'd at E's. 15[th] At ten went to the Proprietor's Gardens—green house, fine gravel walks, variety of shrubs, plenty of oranges, lemons, & citrons; went to Gov[r] Hamilton's was charmed with the situation, fine garden, statues, paintings, walks. House & all in good order, fishing house stands romantically in a wood over the Schuylkill on a projecting rock. A large company much at their ease, very sociable, various amusements. 17[th] At ten we went to Mr Graff miniature painter sat two long hours, saw a great many pictures, in general like, tho' flattered. In the afternoon went to Carpenter's Island, delighted with the road, & amazing fertility of that spot. About 1000 acres in fine order, 400 head of cattle in the fall, sometimes 1000. . . . Sunday, heard Mr Duché's farewell sermon which drew tears from most of the hearers. The matter, language, & delivery were equally & inexpressibly fine. After dinner went to M[r] Airy, the road through Germantown horribly dusty, the country & prospect fine, but little done, & nothing with the least taste. At supper the Stevens, Mrs Skinner, Plumstead, Mr Kearney & Mr M[c] Aul as usual. Monday left for home."

A PROFESSIONAL NUMISMATIST

REPLY TO A CRITICISM

Some anonymous correspondent, perhaps the author himself, has sent me advance sheets of an article on "The Glastonbury Penny," contributed to the *Canadian Antiquarian* by Mr. R. W. McLachlan. Mr. McLachlan objects to my statement in the October number of the *Magazine of American History*, that this copper, when I first called attention to it two years ago, simply "served as a text for an historical article published in an historical magazine." He is good enough to say that "the use of coins as texts for historical papers is highly to be commended," and "the use of one of old Avalon as a text for a history for [of ?] the new, may be pardoned," but he insists that in this case the penny was "more than a text." It is "the title of the article," he says, as if a text were usually to be found at the end of a discourse and not at the beginning.

Now, it is true that the medal, with its inscription, *Pro Patria et Avalonia*, led me to a consideration of the circumstances of Lord Baltimore's attempt to plant a colony in the American Avalon; but it is also true that I should never have thought of publishing my speculations about the medal by themselves. The thirteen pages containing the result of a conscientious study of the contemporary records of Lord Baltimore's adventure, seemed perhaps worth printing; the four pages of conjecture about the copper, with its curious emblems and inscriptions, appeared to me quite unimportant, save as they served to awaken a fresh interest in a memorable passage of American history; and I invite Mr. McLachlan's attention again to the fact that the article was sent to an historical magazine, and not to a journal of numismatics. When he contradicts my statement of my own motives in writing the paper, he passes the limit of good manners. When he further represents me as claiming to be "an authority" on numismatics, he commits a graver offense. No such claim has been made.

Mr. McLachlan is the author of a catalogue of Canadian coins, which he has been publishing in installments for years. In July, 1884, he catalogued this Glastonbury copper among the coins of Newfoundland, "thinking," he says, "that it was possibly the issue of a religious order or society in the city of St. John's." If his catalogue is made up of conjectures like this, it is a work which must be consulted with caution. He has since discovered and duly acknowledged his error. He has found the piece described, he says, in one of the "ordinary books on coins," to wit, in Batty's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of the British Empire*. It is pretty certain that Mr. McLachlan had never seen this "ordinary book" prior to January, 1885, for in an article printed at that time he misquotes the title, and besides, if he had been acquainted with the book, he would hardly have assigned a Glastonbury medal, there plainly described, to Newfoundland. He has seen it now, however, and finds that Mr. Batty places the piece among "Eng-

lish Tradesmen's Tokens of the Nineteenth Century." From this classification Mr. McLachlan infers that the Glastonbury token was issued in 1812, or about that time. It is incredible, but it is nevertheless true, that in the very article in which he records this discovery, Mr. McLachlan himself delivers the solemn judgment, that a collector "with some slight practical knowledge" could not have mistaken the location of a Glastonbury penny "by fifteen hundred miles."

Mr. McLachlan condemns himself too harshly. It is human to err, and he is not the first collector of coins who has missed the mark by "fifteen hundred miles" or more. In fact, the history of every science is a record of the gradual correction of errors. It was a professional numismatist who construed the words and characters, *Votis XXX Multis XXXX*, on certain Roman coins, to express a wish that the emperor might live thirty years, and forty years more! But everybody now knows that the inscription refers to the ten-years term of imperial power, and expresses a hope that the emperor, having served three terms, may graciously consent to serve for a fourth. It was a professional numismatist who explained the abbreviation *C O N O B*, on the Byzantine coins, by the words *Constantinopoli Officina B* (*secunda*), supposing that there were two mints in Constantinople, though no trace of *Officina A* was ever found on the coins. But it is now settled that the letters *O B* are both numerals, meaning in the Greek notation 72, and declaring the number of solidi, on which they occur, coined out of a pound of gold. It was a professional numismatist, Mr. W. S. Appleton, of Boston, who imagined that the Glastonbury token "possibly commemorates the establishment in Newfoundland of some musical society, apparently of Roman Catholic origin." Mr. Appleton asserted positively that the piece "*certainly* relates to music," and is "*certainly* not a coin." But Mr. McLachlan has shown, to his own satisfaction, that the Glastonbury "penny" does not relate to music, and was intended to circulate as money. In fact, he expressly and repeatedly calls it a "coin." Mr. Appleton remarked, for example, that "the medal, or token, is probably quite uncommon;" but Mr. McLachlan affirms that "the *coin* is common." "There is probably," he adds, "hardly any considerable collection of such tokens, which does [not] contain a specimen of this Glastonbury coin."

Mr. McLachlan systematically calls himself a "numismatician." The word is not to be found in any of the "ordinary" dictionaries. Webster, Worcester and Stormonth (the latest English authority) give only "numismatist." If "numismatician" means the same thing, as it doubtless does, here are two professional numismatists contradicting one another on three distinct points. Mr. Appleton declares that the Glastonbury medal is not a coin, but certainly relates to music and is probably quite uncommon; and Mr. McLachlan says it is a coin, has no relation to music and is quite common. What are the unlearned to think of such a spectacle? And what could be more humorous than the demure way in which both gentlemen suddenly face to the front and warn the public that "it is folly for any other than a professional to undertake to write on numismatics," because unskilled people are

liable to fall into errors! Are they both right then? or do they claim a monopoly of errors?

The professional numismatists ought to settle several matters relating to this medal. There is the question whether it is, in fact, a tradesman's token, as Mr. Batty appears to think, or a relic of the Glastonbury Orpheus Society, as the Glastonbury antiquarians believe. Then there is the Greek motto, which nobody has yet explained. Mr. McLachlan might tell us what that means. He does say that the Latin motto, *Spina Sanctus*, is "ungrammatical;" but that is a mistake. He might as well call Virgil's *jactatus vi superum* ungrammatical. *Sanctus* is not equivalent to *sacra*, as he evidently supposes; (*locus*) *spina sanctus* means the place "sanctified by the thorn." This slip was hardly to be expected from a gentleman who declares that "the true Numismatician [with a large N] should know, aye and does to a great extent know, the history of civilization, the customs and manners, the literature and art of all nations and ages." Apparently Mr. McLachlan is not the true "numismatician." He has "been told," he says, that Thomas Wyon was the engraver of the medal; but that is another mistake. The dies were cut by Thomas Wyon's uncle, Peter Wyon, as appears by Sharp's catalogue of Sir George Chetwynd's collection of provincial copper coins, tokens, tickets and medalets.

Mr. McLachlan observes, in closing his valuable paper, that "by no amount of reading, by no amount of deep study, without the constant handling, comparing and arranging of coins themselves, can any man become a professional." What he means is, that one cannot really study coins, unless he has the coins to study; and that is quite true. But we cannot all be numismatists; and it is sometimes necessary or convenient for those of us who do not enjoy that privilege, to mention coins in connection with the other and of course inferior matters with which we occupy ourselves. When we do, the professional numismatists should regard with toleration our natural errors, remembering that they themselves are not infallible. It is probable that a greater number of foolish books have been written by numismatists than by any other class of writers in the world; and the foolish numismatists have been notoriously bad-tempered and uncivil, as is the way of pedants and pretenders in all professions. But there are numismatists and numismatists. The mere collectors and compilers are apt to be narrow-minded and conceited drudges, though they also have their uses. The numismatists who study their coins in a scholarly way, as historical documents, show in all their relations with their fellow men the liberality and courtesy of scholars. May their tribe increase.

H. W. Richardson

Portland, Maine · *February* 22, 1886.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

TWO INTERESTING ORIGINAL LETTERS

[*From the collection of Ernest L. Merrill, Auburn, Maine.*]

(FIRST LETTER.)

William H. Winder to President Monroe.

Baltimore, May 3, 1818

Sir:

I have within a few days past received a communication from the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of South America, in which I am complimented with citizenship of those provinces, & with a request that I would accept the appointment of Deputy or Agent from that Government to the United States. These testimonies of respect from that Government, I understand proceed from representations made of some services which I had inopportunely [sic] rendered to some of the citizens of that country, and from information that I entertained sentiments friendly to the success of their struggle for independence. The communication was as unexpected to me, as it had been entirely unsought. I had therefore, never thought upon the subject, and am at a loss to decide what course to pursue on the occasion. I should never consent to accept any situation from any foreign government incompatible with my duties and obligations to my own & the only inducement which could lead me to listen to the proposal now made, would be that I might render mutual services to the two countries in a manner honorable to myself. It is with a view to ascertain how far this is practicable that I have taken the liberty to make this disclosure to you, Sir, and to solicit in return such suggestions as you should deem it proper to make on the subject. If you perceive that I can take any step mutually beneficial to both countries and honorable to myself, I shall be ready to adopt it so far as a just regard to my private duties will permit. I am at this time much occupied in my professional duties in court & could not therefore make a visit to Washington without giving rise to speculations and conjectures inconsistent with my desire that in all my steps in this business I should be certain not to counteract the views and wishes of my government. If you should however be of opinion that a personal conference would be useful or desirable, I will at the earliest possible moment accommodate myself to your suggestions in this respect. Together with the communications to myself, I received the enclosed packet directed to you, by the Supreme Director of the United Provinces. The purport of it, is, I presume to explain his views

in relation to myself & I take the liberty to enclose it to you, the better to enable you to judge on the subject. I am with the highest respect, Sir, your obt. svt.

Wm H. Winder.

The President of the United States.

(SECOND LETTER.)

Edmund P. Gaines to John McLean.

St. Louis, Missouri, September 30th 1841.

Private & unofficial

My dear Sir:

Believing your appointment to the head of the War Department will contribute more than that of any other statesmen to invite the attention of the people to the defence of the country, upon the true principal of combining in the most expensive and indispensible works for our protection in war, the means of commercial prosperity in Peace and War—and thus giving the Army and Militia the high character of an utilitarian Army and Militia, (We should work in peace to prepare for War); and moreover being convinced that you will prove yourself to be the War minister of the United States, and never the war minister of a Party;—I take much pleasure in assuring you of the high gratification which your appointment has afforded me, and every honest man whose opinion I have learned upon the subject. Desiring your attention to the enclosed papers, I am with affectionate respect your friend

Edmund P. Gaines.

The Hon'ble John McLean.

[NOTE.—General Edmund Pendleton Gaines received a gold medal from Congress for services in the war of 1812. Also served in the Creek and Seminole wars. He was the husband of Myra Clarke Gaines, who, after his death so persistently pressed her rights to a large estate in New Orleans. E. H. Goss.]

NOTES

THE GOLDEN CIRCLE—In "Uncle Daniel's Story," the anonymous work published by A. R. Hart & Co., is a graphic sketch of the formidable secret organization to destroy the Northern cities during our late civil war. Chicago was the main head-quarters, although lodges were formed among the Southern sympathizers in all the principal cities of the West. The following conversation between two of the leaders of the scheme who had met by accident is of more than ordinary interest: "Colonel Walters said that 'it was thought that it would require about one year to get the organization perfected and in good working order; that they had to work very cautiously, and would have considerable trouble in getting the right kind of arms into their hands. There was no trouble,' he said, 'in having them all armed with pistols; for,' said Walters, 'these Yankees are so fond of money that you can buy arms anywhere, if on hand. You can get them made at some private arsenals if you could assure them against discovery. The intention, however, is to get all things ready by the time of the next Presidential election, and if we do not whip them by that time we will resort to such methods as will insure the election of one of our friends, or one who believes that we can never be subjugated.'

The General responded to what he said, and remarked that it did seem that if those plans could be carried out that success must certainly follow.

"'Yes,' said Walters, 'we must not and cannot fail. I tell you, when these money-loving Yanks see their towns and cities threatened, prisoners turned loose, maddened by confinement, and commence applying the torch, you will hear 'Peace! peace! for God's sake, give us peace!' this will be the cry, sir. Mind *what* I say!'"

THE HARRIS COLLECTION OF AMERICAN POETRY—This magnificent gift of the late Senator Anthony to the library of Brown's University is in a fair way to have an annotated catalogue of rare excellence. The Rev. Dr. Stockbridge, of Providence, has been for some months engaged in this work. It is intended more especially as a memorial to Senator Anthony. It will, in the introduction, contain a sketch of his life; also extracts from his own poetical productions —as, for instance, a spirited poem which he wrote in his young manhood of a pleasant festive occasion in the city of Savannah, which was graced by his presence. Not many even of the personal friends of Mr. Anthony are aware of the existence of this poem, as but few copies were published at the time. There will be two editions of the catalogue—one in quarto form on fine paper, the other an octavo volume. As an indication of the general interest felt in this catalogue, we are permitted to say that requests have already been sent to the editor for copies to be reserved for the libraries of all the prominent universities and colleges of the country, for those of several of the State Historical Societies, for quite a number of public libraries, for the British Museum and the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, etc., and to a number of gentlemen, of whom are George William Curtis and George W. Childs.

QUERIES

THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763—The text of the Treaty establishing the Peace of Paris on February 10, 1763, may be found in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. XXXIII. pp. 121–126. This treaty, by which France ceded all her possessions on the mainland of North America to Great Britain, first made our Independence possible, desirable, certain and speedy. One would suppose it easy to find the words in which this treaty was couched. In fact, thanks to verbosity—1,491 lines in the preliminaries—I know not where to look for them outside the magazine above mentioned. Where else can they be discovered? In what American books can we read them? In what work most easily accessible? Parkman's *Wolfe and Montcalm* (II., p. 405), gives only a brief synopsis. I wish he had added it to his eleven appendixes.

JAMES D. BUTLER
MADISON, WISCONSIN.

WHAT was the first Club in the United States? ST. BOTOLPH
JANUARY 3, 1886.

DID the "Guards," that is, the Coldstream, Grenadier, Scots and Royal Horse Guards serve in America during the Revolution? "HALIFAX"
JANUARY 7, 1886.

EDITOR MAGAZINE AMERICAN HISTORY: I saw, a few days ago, in a *Memoir of General Moreau*, by John Philippart, (Philadelphia, 1816) the following statement: "*The Americans repeatedly offered General Moreau the Command of their Armies*, and the agents of Bonaparte were continually employed to induce him to the adoption of some step that might deprive him of his well-earned popularity, and they even flattered themselves with inducing him to become the ruler of North America, etc., etc."

Now I would like to know if there is any foundation for the statement given above that the "Americans repeatedly offered Moreau the command of their armies. He was with us until the June of 1813, and certainly up to that time the war, commenced the year before, had gone steadily against us. And I firmly believe he would have been a great improvement upon the Hulls, Winchesters, Wilkinsons, Dearborns, Winders and Hamptons, we were then sorely afflicted with. Can any of the readers of the Magazine give us some information on the subject? It is certainly a curious statement to appear in a work published in this country, and appears thus far to have passed uncontradicted.

DAVID FITZ GERALD
WAR DEPARTMENT LIBRARY,
February 10, 1886.

REPLIES

THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE [i. 180, ii. 533, iii. 453.]—In the first volume of this Magazine there appeared the translation of a narrative of a visit to this country in 1782 written by *the Prince de Broglie*, with a preliminary note on the family of the writer (vol. I., p. 180), written by my father, Mr. Thomas Balch. In the July number for 1879, there is a communication signed Charles Henry Hart (vol. III., p. 453) which has only come recently to my notice, or it cer-

tainly would have sooner been answered. In it is said that my father made two errors: first, in giving the title of *Prince* to Claude Victor de Broglie; secondly, in stating that "the second Duc de Broglie died at Münster in 1804—" and quoting as authority the "King's Secret," by the present Duc de Broglie (vol. II., p. 533) "He was still living in 1804 when the First Consul, re-establishing the dignity of Marshal of France, offered to reopen his country to him and to restore his military honors. He refused, and died in a strange land." Not having a copy of the *Almanach de Gotha* for the year 1858, in which is an historical notice of the family, I wrote to the Duc de Broglie telling him about these statements and asked him if he would tell me when his ancestor received the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and if the second Duc de Broglie did die in 1804. In his reply to me he says :

"Les renseignements donnés par Monsieur votre Père au sujet de ma famille, *sont absolument conformes à la vérité.* Le titre de Prince du Saint Empire Romain avait été donnée par l'Impératrice Marie Thérèse au Maréchal de Broglie en 1759, pour etre porté par lui et par *tous ses descendants mâles.* C'est en vertu de cette nomination que mon grand-père, Claude Victor de Broglie, portait ce titre, que je l'ai porté moi-même et que tous mes fils le prennent aujourd'hui.

Le Maréchal de Broglie est bien mort en 1804, très-peu de jours après le refus qu'il avait fait de rentrez en France, sur la proposition du premier Consul.

Il n'y a donc aucune modification à faire aux faits affirmés par Monsieur votre Père, et toute critique à cet égard est dépourvue de fondement.

ELISE WILLING BALCH

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 1, 1886.

[Translation of the above letter of the Duc de Broglie, in response to a request from one of our readers:

"The facts stated by your father in regard to my family, are in *absolute conformity with the truth.*

The title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire was given by the Empress Marie Theresa to the Maréchal de Broglie in 1759, to be worn by him and by *all his male descendants.* It is by virtue of this grant that my grandfather, Claude Victor de Broglie, carried this title, and that I have borne it myself, and that all my sons take it to-day.

The Maréchal de Broglie did die in 1804, but a few days after his refusal to return to France, at the proposition of the First Consul.

There is therefore no modification to be made of the facts stated by your father, and all criticism on this subject is entirely without foundation."—EDITOR.]

FROM BURNSIDE TO HOOKER [XV. 150] —*Editor Magazine of American History:* Permit me to call your attention to an article in your valuable Magazine of January last, with the above title, in which the statement is made that General Sumner was relieved from duty "at his own request," and "without having made such a request or said anything that could be so misconstrued," apparently because he was older than and su-

perior in rank to General Hooker, was ordered to his home at Syracuse, New York. General Sumner was relieved from duty "at his own request," and was assigned to the command of the Department of the Missouri, an independent command of great importance. On his way to the West he stopped at his home at Syracuse, New York, and died there after an illness of only a few days. General Sumner was selected by the President for this new command because he was regarded by the administration as one of the most reliable and distinguished general officers in the army, and had he reached his command would have verified the confidence placed in him. I was with the General, and think his desire to reach the West, and the exposure he endured at that time brought on his fatal illness. The service lost one of its most gallant and accomplished officers.

LAWRENCE KIP,
Late A. D. C. to Major-General Sumner.

The following general orders from the War Department tell their own story.

Colonel L. Kip,
452 5th Avenue,
New York City.

Sir:

In compliance with your request of the 15th instant, I am instructed by the Adjutant General to transmit herewith extract copies, General Orders No. 20, of Jany. 25, 1863, from this Office, relieving Major-General E. V. Sumner from duty in the Army of the Potomac, and General Orders No. 57 of March 9, 1863, from this Office, assigning him to the command of the Department of the Missouri.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient Servant,
Wm. I. Volkmar,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Washington, February 18, 1886.

War Department,
Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, January 25, 1863.

General Orders, No. 20. } Extract.

I. . . . The President of the United States has directed:

* * * *

Second. That Major-General E. V. Sumner, at his own request, be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

* * * *

II. . . . The officers relieved as above will report, in person, to the Adjutant General of the Army.

By order of the Secretary of War:
E. D. Townsend,
Assistant Adjutant General.

War Department,
Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, March 9, 1863.

General Orders, No. 57. } Extract.

* * * *

II. . . . Major-General Edwin V. Sumner, U. S. Volunteers, is assigned to the command of the Department of the Missouri.

By Order of the Secretary of War:
L. Thomas,
Adjutant General.

Official

A. G. Office, Feb. 18, 1886.

Wm. I. Volkmar,
Assistant Adjutant General.

SOCIETIES

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting on the evening of February 22, and listened to an interesting paper by Dr. J. V. Haberer, on local botany. Prior to the introduction of the orator of the evening, Secretary Bagg read the minutes of the last regular meeting and of the special meeting on the 15th instant, in regard to the death of Horatio Seymour, President of the Society. Corresponding Secretary Darling read a list of the donations to the Society received during the past month. Among the gifts was a scrap-book from Hon. C. W. Hutchinson containing a complete record of the affairs and transactions of the Society since its organization; also a United States cent dated 1803. The usual vote of thanks was tendered the donors.

Dr. Hartley, from the Special Committee appointed to arrange the relics and curiosities of the Society in new cases, reported that the cases had been procured but the work was not entirely complete. He said by the new arrangement the Society would have much more room than before. He said it had been suggested that further improvements could be made, but the committee had not received authority and could not go on unless they secured it. Some discussion on the subject followed and the matter was finally tabled till after the address, the hour for hearing which had arrived.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its twenty-eighth annual meeting at the Society's rooms, Wilkesbarre, February 11. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Hon. E. L. Dana; Vice-Presidents, Dr. C. F. Ingham, Rev. H. L. Jones, Captain Calvin Parsons, Hon. Eckley B. Coxe; Recording Secretary, J. Ridgway Wright; Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Sheldon Reynolds; Assistant Librarian, G. Mortimer Lewis; Treasurer, A. H. McClintock; Curators, C. F. Ingham, Curator of Conchology and Mineralogy; S. Reynolds, Curator of Archæology; H. E. Hayden, Curator of Numismatics; R. D. Lacoe, Curator of Palæontology. Meteorologist, E. L. Dana; Historiographer, Geo. B. Kulp.

Many donations were acknowledged. Twenty active members were elected. The librarian reported an addition to the library for 1885 of 497 bound volumes, and 40 pamphlets, etc. The Curator of Conchology reported that the collection contains 121 genera and 695 specie. The other curators reported valuable additions to their various departments.

The historiographer read biographical sketches of five members who died during 1885, *i. e.*, Harrison Wright, Ph.D., late secretary of the Society; Prof. J. L. Richardson, Frank Turner, Hon. Thomas Broderick and Dr. William Worthington. Wm. P. Ryman, Esq., read the second part of his "Historical Sketch of Dallas Township." After an address by the president, the Society adjourned.

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY —The annual meeting of this Society was held on Wednesday evening, Feb-

ruary 10, when the following officers were elected: President, John J. Loud; Vice-President, Herbert A. Newton; Secretary, Gilbert Nash; Treasurer, Charles T. Crane; Librarian, Miss Carrie A. Blanchard; Executive Committee, the before-named officers, *ex officio*, and Elias Richards; Committee on Nominations, John J. Loud, Samuel W. Reed, Thomas F. Cleverly; Library Committee, S. N. Reed, W. H. Clapp, Miss Louise Richards; Committee on Order of Business, J. J. Loud, B. F. Eaton, Gilbert Nash.

The reports of the officers show that the Society has just closed one of its most successful years of service, both in amount and quality of work done. The treasurer reports a balance on hand of $102.36, with all bills paid. The library committee report donations of 53 volumes, 34 pamphlets, besides papers and documents. Several additions have also been made to the cabinet.

At the beginning of the year, a "Sketch of the History of Weymouth" was published by the town historical committee, under the auspices of this Society, and compiled by its secretary, which, while it does not fully answer the demand for a complete history of this ancient place, the second English settlement in the State, fills a very important niche in the local history of the country. The further service of the Society promises well to furnish material to complete the work thus happily inaugurated. This sketch has called forth the universal approval of historical scholars who have examined it, in various parts of the country.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on the evening of February 23, and the cabinet of the organization was entirely filled, an unusual number of the audience being ladies. At eight o'clock Dr. Parsons, who occupied the chair for the evening, arose and introduced the lecturer, Professor Mathews, of Boston. For an hour and a half he described the battle of Waterloo, with the closest attention to details, and to presenting a map-like picture of its scenes. The language and thought was strong and lifelike throughout, the knowledge of the speaker being based upon a visit to the scene of the battle itself and examination of history in the best literature of Europe. He opened the subject by dwelling upon the remarkable importance of this great duel of nations, the position in the world of the leaders, Napoleon and Wellington, and the complete victory of the allied army. The French nation was a proud and grand reality one day, and the next but a name—a recollection. How could this happen to such a hero as Napoleon? The campaign was well planned, the troops under Napoleon the most tried and spirited in the world, but the French were inferior in numbers. The five distinct attacks of Napoleon's troops, up to the time when the Old Guard made its advance, were drawn clearly and fully to the minds of the audience. The conclusions arrived at concerning Napoleon's defeat made that defeat entirely due to plain blunders, the main of which have been mentioned. From this series of blunders, unparalleled in his entire career, and which another man would have ridiculed, Napoleon could not recover.

BOOK NOTICES

THE STORY OF CHALDEA. From the earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria. [The Story of the Nations.] By ZÉNAIDE A. RAGOZIN. 12mo, pp. 381. New York and London. 1886. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The enterprising publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons, have projected a series of historic studies for the young, under the general title of "The Story of the Nations," which, if we may judge from the volume just issued, will prove a most acceptable contribution to the literature of ancient history. It is proposed that the writers of the different volumes shall enter into the real life of the peoples, and bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored and struggled—as they studied and wrote, and as they amused themselves—and that the series shall present the results of the latest investigations in the progressive department of historical research.

The "Story of Chaldea" is treated as a general introduction to the study of ancient history. It begins with the destruction of Nineveh, about the year before Christ 606. It tells us of Xenophon, the noble Athenian, whose fame as a scholar and writer equals his renown as a great general, and of his entertaining book, "The Retreat of the Ten Thousand." Two hundred years only had elapsed since the destruction of Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, and yet when Xenophon discovered its ruins, and marveled over its great wall, twenty-five feet wide and more than a hundred feet high, he did not know even its name, "so effectually had the haughty city been swept from the face of the earth." The work is interesting from the very first page, and the reader is carried along as if by some magical power born of that remote age. Of Mesopotamia, the author says: "More than one and twenty centuries have rolled over the immense valley so well named Mesopotamia, 'the Land between the Rivers,' and each brought to it more changes, more wars, more disasters, with rare intervals of rest and prosperity. Its position between the East and the West, on the very high road of marching armies and wandering tribes, has always made it one of the great battle grounds of the world. About one thousand years after Alexander's rapid invasion and short-lived conquest, the Arabs overran the country, and settled there, bringing with them a new civilization and the new religion given them by their prophet Mohammed, which they thought it their mission to carry, by force of word and sword, to the bounds of the earth. They even founded there one of the principal seats of their sovereignty, and Baghdad yielded not greatly in magnificence and power to Babylon of old." One of the instructive features of the book is the pen and pencil illustrations of the modern processes of excavations in this region, together with the description in clear, terse language of the wonderful discoveries effected. The kings of Chaldea, Babylonia, and Assyria seem to have been absolutely possessed with a mania for building. Scarcely one of them but left inscriptions telling how he raised this or that palace, this or that temple, in one or another city, often in many cities. The "Library of Nineveh" is a chapter that will interest readers of all ages. The "Story of Chaldea" in itself covers eight chapters, and touches upon all its picturesque and noteworthy periods. In closing, the author says: "Until within a very few years, Egypt gloried in the undisputed boast of being the oldest country in the world, *i. e.*, of reaching back, by its annals and monuments, to an earlier date than any other. But the discoveries that are continually being made in the valley of the two great rivers have forever silenced that boast. Chaldea points to a monumentally record date nearly 4000 B.C. This is more than Egypt can do."

THE HISTORY OF ROCKLAND COUNTY. By FRANK BERTANGUE GREEN, M.D. Royal 8vo, pp. 444. 1886. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

The account of the beginnings and development of the now prosperous region of country covered by this volume is one of peculiar interest. The early purchasers of real estate in Rockland County were speculators who entertained no thought of personal settlement. As soon as practicable they resold the land, and the new buyer resold, till the era of speculation ceased and permanent settlers arrived. The author says: "The first vehicles which passed through this trackless wilderness bearing the settler's goods were driven through any opening that appeared in the direction toward which the immigrant was trending. The little travel which that immigrant had to perform, for the first few years after locating, was made on horseback or on foot. As the settlements grew more numerous and stronger, and as the land was cultivated further and further from the navigable waters and nearest hamlets, the demands of social or business life called for better paths. Passageways from settlements to the nearest church, to the nearest mill, to the most convenient outlets on the river, were made by each body of settlers for their own use. Sometimes a deer path through the woods became the line of a new road; sometimes the trail which the Indian had made from his village to that of his neighbors in days gone by; and not infrequently those domestic animals—the cows—laid out a future

highway by their daily journeys to and from the nearest good pasturing place."

Three chapters of the work are devoted to the stirring events of the Revolution; and one chapter to the condition of Rockland County at the close of the war, together with the energy of its inhabitants in trying to re-establish business. The early industries of the county furnish some interesting pages. The history of the various churches occupy two chapters. The period of the civil war, and the part taken in it by the people of this county, is elaborately presented. The closing chapters of the volume are devoted to the history of some of the principal towns. It is a creditable work throughout, bearing the evidence of painstaking research, and critical care in the arrangement of details.

AN IRON CROWN. A Tale of the Great Republic. 16mo, pp. 560. Chicago. T. S. Denison & Co.

A casual glance at the cover device borne by this volume does not reveal its ominous significance, but a closer examination, after the reader has grasped the aim of the book, brings out the details. Apparently it is a Crown such as monarchs are supposed to wear on state occasions, but inspection shows that it is composed of railroad iron, with appropriate accessories of spikes, ties, and the like. That such a crown is figuratively worn by the Great Republic is of course known to everybody, and most people are rather proud than otherwise of the magnificent enterprise and energy that has covered the continent with a net-work of rails. To such persons a perusal of this highly entertaining and powerfully written book is earnestly commended, for few of them realize the wholesale robberies that have been committed in the name of Enterprise. The scene opens in New York, and introduces a number of prominent capitalists, under fictitious names of course, and tells, under the guise of an entertaining story, how they systematically plunder right and left, not only individual pockets, but the public treasuries of state and nation. The reader of light literature need not be appalled at this array of weighty matter, for there is love and courtship, and beauty and villainy enough of the type usually found in the novel of the period. Moreover, there is what the playbills call an "*incidental divertissement*" in the shape of a Western mining episode which is altogether charming in local color, and really reads as though the author knows what he is talking about.

We need not attempt to identify the characters introduced by giving them their real names, for these, or most of them, appear in an appendix as well as in a certain chapter of the text.

It is significant that the dangers which threaten the future of the Republic are beginning to be ably treated in fiction. This is the third distinctly clever and noteworthy book that has appeared within a comparatively short time, having a similar motive. We refer to "On a Margin," and "The Money Makers," both of which, as well as "An Iron Crown," were published anonymously. Their authorship, however, with the exception of the last, is well known to all who care to know, and he of the "Iron Crown" cannot, in all probability, long hide his identity. That the authors of such books should hesitate to let their names appear known is excusable when one realizes the machinery that is brought to bear by the monopolist to crush individuals who dare oppose them. It is to the credit of the literary guild that only one of their number deliberately advocates modern American methods of acquiring wealth, and publicly bows down before the thrones of the Railway Kings.

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA. Edited by JUSTIN WINSOR. Illustrated. Vol. II. Royal 8vo, pp. 640. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

This notable work, of which the second volume is the first issued, is to include, when completed, eight royal octavo volumes. Its editor is one of the most accomplished scholars of the age, and its various contributors are from among the historical writers of deserved eminence in different parts of the country, chosen by the editor solely with reference to special fitness for the subjects of which they treat. The method embraces a series of historical narratives, each narrative serving as the text for a critical essay following it. The essay is to be the distinctive feature of the plan, describing the original sources of the preceding narrative—manuscripts, monuments, archæological remains—with accounts of their discovery, their transmission to later times, their vicissitudes, also the libraries, museums, etc., where they are preserved, the character of those who discovered and utilized them for historical results, and the writers who have become authorities on the several subjects, together with the societies formed for furthering these studies. These essays cannot fail to constitute the most important portions of the great work, as students will find the materials in them for almost any line of historical investigation. It would be difficult to estimate the practical worth of such a mine of exact learning.

The volume before us opens with a chapter on "Columbus and his Discoveries," by the editor, quaintly illustrated with reproductions of old cuts, such as the ship of Columbus's time, fruit trees of Hispaniola, etc. The narrative occupies twenty-three pages, and the critical essay on the sources of information with notes following, some sixty-nine pages. The editor adds

thirty-six further pages on the earliest maps of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, reproducing many of the maps. The second chapter treats of "Amerigo Vespucci," and the author is Sidney Howard Gay. The critical essay following is by the editor, and is, as in the first instance, very much longer than the narrative itself. The third chapter, "The Companions of Columbus," is from the pen of Edward Channing, Ph.D., instructor of history in Harvard College. "Ancient Florida," the fourth chapter, is by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. "Las Casas, and the relations of the Spaniards to the Indians," the fifth chapter is by the learned Dr. George E. Ellis, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The sixth chapter, "Cortéz and his Companions," is by the editor, to which, in addition to a critical essay of exceptional interest, is added an able and exhaustive study of the "Discoveries on the Pacific Coast of North America," covering forty-two pages. The seventh chapter, "Early Explorations of New Mexico," is by Henry W. Haynes, and although short, is extremely informing. The eighth chapter, entitled "Pizarro, and the Conquest and Settlement of Peru and Chili," with its critical essay, constitutes one of the most attractive features of the volume. The portraits of Pizarro, of Gasca, of Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, and others, add largely to the interest of the narrative; and the city of Cusco, from an old print, the building of a town, and the antique maps, are all illustrations of more importance than appears at the first glance. "The Amazon and Eldorado," by the editor, follows the critical essay and editorial notes. The ninth and closing chapter is by Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D. Its subject is "Magellan's Discovery." Several rare portraits of the great navigator are reproduced. It is gratifying to observe that all purely decorative and fancy pictures have been excluded from the work. Only those of antiquarian importance are inserted.

Some idea of the magnitude of Mr. Winsor's undertaking will be gathered from our brief summary of the contents of the second volume. His genius, energy, and industry cannot be too highly commended. The work is a monument of research and scholarship, and will command generous appreciation. The co-operative method certainly has its advantages. But a production of this character will serve to stimulate rather than appall the individual historian. It will give him a better opportunity, with but a fraction of the labor, to grasp with a master hand the great whole, and with a clear perception of the relative importance of events, weave into a graphic and truthful picture the salient facts so carefully collected by the various specialists. It is intended that each volume shall be a complete monograph in itself, while the succession of volumes will constitute one homogeneous work. Thus the order in which they may be read and studied is quite immaterial. Elaborate indexes form a part of each volume, and a general index will, in the end, include them all.

THE FIGHT FOR MISSOURI. From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon. By THOMAS L. SNEAD. With Maps. 12mo, pp. 322. 1866. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The author of this work took an active part in the elections of 1860, supporting Breckinridge for President, and later on, through the columns of the St. Louis *Bulletin*, earnestly advocated the secession of Missouri. He was the aide-de-camp of Governor Jackson in the troublous times that followed, was with him at Booneville and Carthage, and accompanied him to Cowskin Prairies, in the south-western corner of the State. When the command of the State forces was transferred to General Price, Mr. Snead was made chief of ordnance and was acting adjutant-general of the State Guard at the battles of Wilson Creek, Fort Scott, and Lexington. He served in these and various other capacities until 1864, when he was sent to the Confederate Congress, and did not return to the army.

The events recorded in this volume occurred between November, 1860, and the 10th of August, 1861. The writer had personal knowledge of the facts, and has presented them concisely and in an engaging style.

It was a stirring period in the history of Missouri. When the question of secession was agitating all minds, a commissioner from Mississippi was sent to ask the co-operation of Missouri in the adoption of "measures for the common defense and safety of the slave-holding States," which added fuel to the flames already raging. The governor notified the legislature that this commissioner, Mr. Russell, would be pleased to confer with that body as to the objects of his mission. A committee at once waited upon him, and an invitation was extended for that very evening. The author says:

"At the appointed hour the Senate, preceded by its officers, entered the hall of the House of Representatives, and took the seats which had been assigned to them. And then the governor and other chief officers of the State, and the judges of the Supreme Court were announced, and took their seats within the bar.

And now a little scene was enacted which, trifling in itself, illustrates the temper of the time and the then disposition of the legislature and the people. The committee being about to bring in the commissioner, the president of the joint convention, Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, said, 'When the commissioner from the State of Mississippi is announced, the members of the General Assembly will rise to receive him.' John D. Stevenson, a Republican repre-

sentative from St. Louis, sprang to his feet, saying: 'Are we here, Mr. President, to do homage to the ambassador of some foreign potentate?' The President said: 'I understand, sir, that this is a joint session of the General Assembly, to listen to an address from the Commissioner of the State of Mississippi, and I hope, for the honor of all parties, that the member from St. Louis will take his seat.' Stevenson: 'Shall I have a chance?' President: 'Take your seat.' A voice: 'Good!' Stevenson: 'I desire to have a chance.' President: 'Take your seat.' A voice: 'Better!' Stevenson: 'Mr. President, I can read, sir, the rules that govern this body, and I suppose, if I am well informed, that when the President rules me out of order, it is his duty to state why he so rules.' President: 'The business of this session is to hear a speech from the commissioner from Mississippi, and all other business is out of order.' Stevenson: 'I understand that the President commands the members to rise.' President: 'I will change it to a request, and I hope that no member of the General Assembly will have the indecency to refuse to rise.' Stevenson: 'O! that will do, sir.' The commissioner was therefore introduced, the members rising from their seats to receive him."

Mr. Snead pictures the attitude of both parties as the days and weeks flew swiftly forward, and shows how Governor Jackson never wavered in his determination to place Missouri on the side of the South in the impending war. Among the most interesting pages in the book are those devoted to an account of the interview in St. Louis of Governor Jackson and General Price with Blair and Lyon, for the purpose of effecting the basis of a new agreement for maintaining the peace of Missouri just before the final outbreak, on which occasion the author was present. The volume is one of importance, and a most valuable contribution to the literature of the late Civil War.

OUTLINES OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY. Designed as a Text-Book; and for private reading. With 32 maps. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., L.L.D., Professor in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 674. New York and Chicago, 1885. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor and Company.

No more remarkable work has ever been issued by the American press than this of Professor Fisher. It is remarkable from many points of view. Written as a text-book of universal history for colleges and the higher schools, and touching authoritatively upon the progress of man with what he has done and suffered from the earliest records of his existence to the present hour, it is with surprise that we find it so felicitous in style and unity of design as to prove most delightful private reading. The author's breadths of treatment, and just sense of proportion in reference to the space alloted to epochs and themes, is scarcely less a marvel than his exceptional skill in condensation. He tells the wonderful story, covering so much ground and so many centuries, with the essential facts woven into the skein—so harmoniously, indeed, that the reader easily traces through the entire work the connection of events with one another. The facts, singularly enough, are not crowded; but ample room has been found to introduce with them sketches of the history of science, literature, art, and of moral and material decline or improvement. The great authors, artists, philosophers, and pioneers in discovery and invention are mentioned by name, and their specific character and achievements concisely stated. The wealth of information contained in the work cannot be over-estimated. It is, in our opinion, the most valuable book of its character in the English language, and both author and publishers are to be congratulated upon its production, and presentation to the young American public.

"More and more," says Professor Fisher, "history interests itself in the character of society at large, and in phases, through which it has passed. How men lived from day to day, what their occupations were, their comforts and discomforts, their ideas, sentiments, and modes of intercourse; their state as regards art, letters, invention, religious enlightenment—these are points on which history, as at present studied and written, undertakes to shed light." Concerning the philosophy of history the author pertinently says: "Events do not spring into being, disjoined from antecedents leading to them. Even turning-points in history, which seem, at the first glance, abrupt, are found to be dependent on previous conditions. They are the natural issue of the times that have gone before. Preceding events have foreshadowed them. There are laws of historical progress which have their root in the characteristics of human nature. Ends are wrought out, which bear on the evident marks of design. Nor is progress continuous and unbroken. It is often, as one has said, a spiral rather than a straight line. It is not an unceasing advance; there are backward movements, or what appear to be such." Concerning personal power we find some eloquent passages. "Nations have their pilots in war and in peace. The progress of society has been inseparably connected with the agency of eminent persons. Signal changes, whether wholesale or mischievous, are linked to the names of individuals who have specially contributed to bring them to pass. Fruitful inventions, after the earlier steps in civilization are taken, are traceable to particular authors, exalted by their genius above the common level. So it is with literary works

which have exerted the deepest and most lasting influence. Reforms and revolutions, which alter the direction of the historic stream, emanate from individuals in whose minds they are conceived, and by whose energy they are affected. Without the original thought and personal energy of leaders, momentous changes in the life of nations could never have taken place." With such introductory lessons the reader is prepared for a closer study of the true meaning of history, as he turns each successive leaf.

One important feature of Dr. Fisher's work is its illustrative maps, of which there are thirty-two, admirably executed. These serve to show the consecutive changes of empires, kingdoms, and republics. Colors are used to indicate geographical divisions, and all the names of places are perfectly legible. The first map in the volume represents "the World as known to the ancients," the last, "Asia at the present time." The twenty-sixth map in the series illustrates the "Territorial growth of the United States." The summary of modern events is in keeping with the general character of the whole work, well-proportioned, luminous, and impartial. An occasional error creeps in, born of brevity, undoubtedly, as, for instance, we are told on page 536 that the seat of government (of the United States) was at first at *Philadelphia*, but in 1800 it was removed to the *District of Columbia*." This should not be allowed to sink into the mind of the young student. The seat of government of this great Republic was first at *New York City*, here our first President was inaugurated, and here the principles upon which alone the government could live were determined, and the initiatory questions of interpretation settled. Carefully prepared lists of books in connection with the several eras are inserted for the guidance of the teacher and the learner, which will afford material aid in the prosecution of further studies. The work is also provided with an excellent index.

JOHN CABOT'S LANDFALL IN 1497, and the SITE OF NORUMBEGA. A letter to Chief-Justice Daly. By EBEN NORTON HORSFORD THE INDIAN NAMES OF BOSTON; and their meaning. By Eben Norton Horsford. Square folio, pamphlets, pp. 42 and 26. Cambridge. John Wilson and Son. 1886.

The geographical studies of the eminent scholar, Professor Horsford, in relation to "John Cabot's Landfall in 1497," are of the first interest and significance. His elaborate arguments seem to us unanswerable. His conclusions are that John Cabot preceded Columbus in the discovery of the continent of America, 1497 being the year of his first voyage to our shores: "that the site of the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497 has been determined to be Salem Neck, in 42° 31′ north latitude, the Norum (the Neck to one standing on it) of the Norumbega of Cabot, and the Nahum of the Nahumbeak of Ogilby and Smith. The first land *seen* may have been Cape Ann, or possibly the mountain, Agamenticus; and that the town of Norumbegue, on the river of Norumbegue of Allefonsce, the Norumbega visited by Ingram, and the fort of Norumbegue and the village of Agoncy of Thevet were on the Charles River between Riverside and Waltham, at the mouth of Stony Brook, in latitude 42° 21′ north"—in Middlesex County, Massachusetts.

The "Indian names of Boston and their meaning," by the same illustrious author, embodies the fruit of a vast amount of painstaking research, and in its completeness may appropriately be called a monument of antiquarian lore. This paper was read before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society in November last, and was subsequently published in the New England *Historical and Genealogical Register*. The monographs are both illustrated with rare and interesting maps, and elegantly printed in large, clear type, on fine paper with broad margins.

THE MEXICAN GUIDE. By THOMAS A. JANVIER. With two maps. I.—The City of Mexico. II.—Environs of the City of Mexico. 16mo, pp. 310. 1886. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The theory upon which this guide-book was constructed, we are told by the author, was that "what can be easily found and plainly seen need not be laboriously described." In Mexico the traveler first desires to know what to look for and where to look for it, and then seeks to learn the historic facts and associations connected with what he sees. The book seems admirably equipped to meet these inquiries in a satisfactory manner, and its hints to travelers, its tables of Mexican and United States moneys, weights and measures, its descriptions of railways, steamship lines, hotels, restaurants, lodgings, baggage express, etc., are of the first interest to tourists; and its historical reading will occupy many a weary hour when one's destination has been reached. The book is well printed in clear type of convenient size, and deserves the heartiest commendation.

Hiram Symmes

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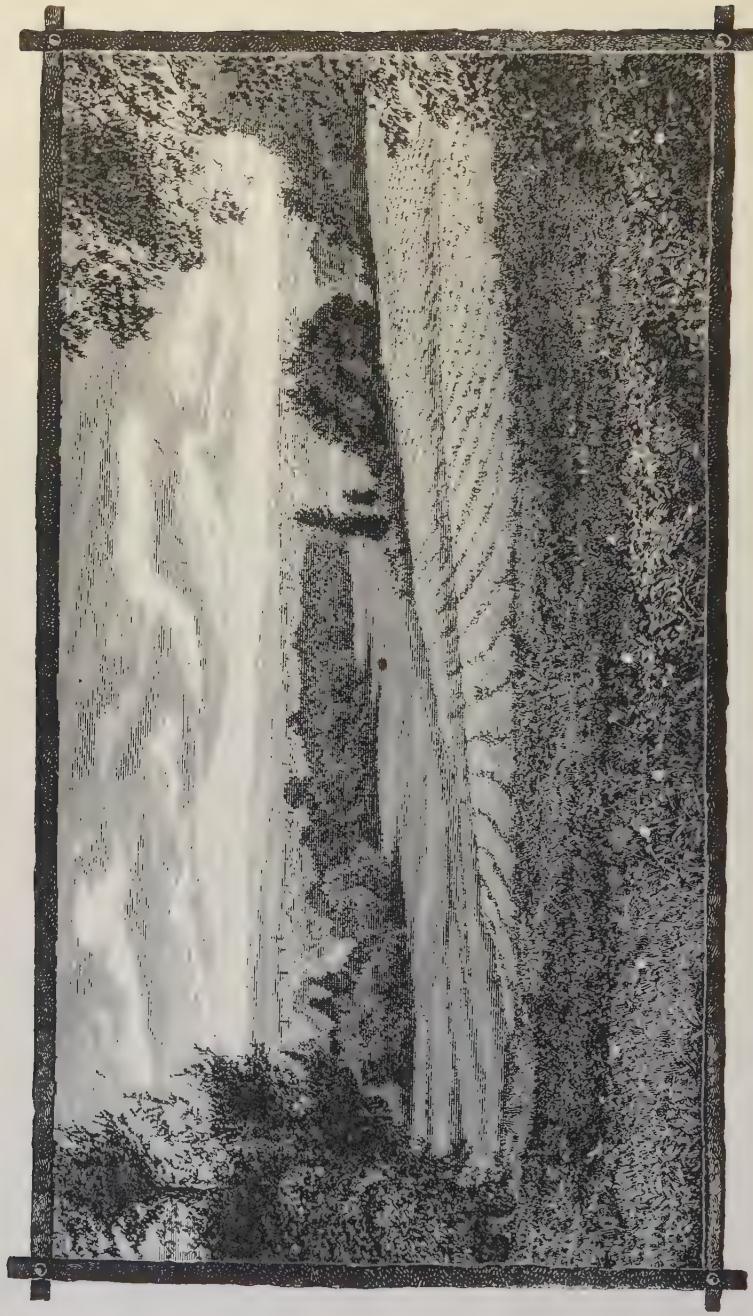
HORATIO SEYMOUR

1810–1886

THE rapidity with which death has during the last few months removed some of the more distinguished of our countrymen is quite phenomenal. Its invasions have been more especially among those who in military and civic service have contributed largely to the integrity and perpetuity of the Union. The loss of such men as Grant, Hendricks, McClellan, Hancock, and Seymour, is indeed a national bereavement. The career of the last named of the illustrious group, which forms the subject of this brief sketch, is an interesting study.

Horatio Seymour was naturally a leader of men. There was that about him which impressed them with his sagacity and sincerity. His active public life covered a period of about thirty-five years. He was too much of a statesman to be a politician, and too thoughtful to be either selfish or imperious. His greatest solicitude was to serve the Republic, and give her that influence among the nations her institutions so justly merited. What he was as an orator he was by nature. His thoughts were always clothed in the simplest language, and the evidence that he had weighed his sentences made his discourses invariably pleasant and instructive. He spoke with gracefulness and deliberation, never resorting to the tricks of persuasion, nor suffering himself to be hampered by a manuscript. At times the majesty and magnetism of his presence were all conquering. Erect, with his right hand thrust between the front buttons of his coat, was his favorite attitude. His reading was varied; during the last twenty years he made himself familiar especially with agriculture and the science and practice of farming.

Devotedly attached to nature, he loved her fields and her forests, and wandered among her beauties thoughtfully and reverently. He had a passion for flowers, and, as he nursed them, always gave ear to their impressible speech; in a word, their multiple colors and fragrance wooed him. His beautiful and retired home on his farm in Deerfield will possess for the future the same class of memories as linger about the historic



VIEW FROM THE BROAD PORCH OF THE SEYMOUR HOMESTEAD LOOKING SOUTH. THE CITY OF UTICA LIES AMONG THE TREES IN THE DISTANCE, AND BEYOND ARE THE CLINTON HILLS, THE SEAT OF HAMILTON COLLEGE.

[*Engraved from a Photograph.*]

HOME OF HORATIO SEYMOUR AT DEERFIELD. FRONT OF HOUSE, SHOWING THE BROAD PORCH.
[*Engraved from a Photogrnph.*]

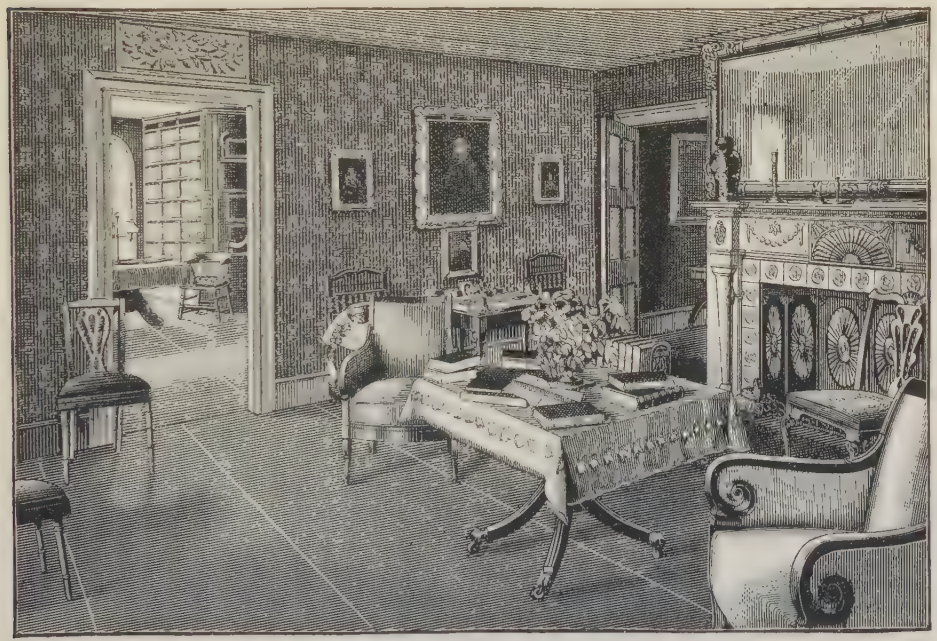
places, Marshfield, Monticello, and the Hermitage. It is situated on the southern slope of one of the hills of the same name on the upper bank of the Mohawk, about two miles from Utica. The dwelling itself is unpretentious. The large oaks, elms, pines, and shrubbery about it invest

it, however, with great attractions. While he loved to sit upon its broad porch and lend himself to the rich associations of the valley at his feet, with whose traditions and history he was so familiar, the library was his favorite resort, and he gladly received in it his many visitors. Conceive of a plain room, with walls partially hidden by well-filled book-cases, an open fire-place, and furniture of the olden time, and you have the retreat he called his happy and restful home. The relics and curiosities therein are interesting and of great variety; numerous early maps, Indian trophies, early deeds, historic swords and fire-arms, arrows, powder-horns, and like links of the past. The chair at his table formerly belonged to Daniel Webster; the old clock in the corner that still ticks, dates from the early colonial days. Within this pleasant room he made you feel as though nothing stood between you and himself. His conversation was rapid, suggestive, and very entertaining. Those who left his presence no wiser after these conversational seasons, had not listened to the melody or the inspiration of his speech.

Horatio Seymour came of an honored and patriotic ancestry. The family was among the earlier settlers of Hartford, Connecticut; and contributed not a little to the glory and development of that State. In the War of the Revolution his grandfather was captain of a troop of horse; in which capacity he served in some of its more important struggles, winning at Stillwater special praise. Of his five sons one became distinguished as a financier and president; two became high sheriffs of the county of Litchfield; one was a representative, senator and canal commissioner in the State of New York, and one represented the State of Vermont for twelve years in the United States Senate. His maternal ancestry was none the less noted. His mother's father, Lieutenant Colonel Forman, served in the Revolution with the New Jersey troops; and her uncle, Colonel William Ledyard, was in command at Groton, when in 1781 it was destroyed by the traitor Arnold. In the early part of the century the father of Mr. Seymour removed from Connecticut and made his home in Pompey, Onondaga County, New York. Though now living among strangers he soon, however, won their affections, and but a few years passed before he received from them a practical expression of their confidence, in selecting him to represent the western district in the State Senate for the years 1816–19. At this period, as the project of the Erie Canal was receiving considerable attention, he was appointed a commissioner for the same, which he retained till 1831, when he resigned. On his removal to Utica in 1820, he was immediately elected to the Assembly; two years later was returned again to the Senate. In 1833, he became mayor of his adopted city, and subse-

quently discharged the duties of president of the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company till 1837, when he died.

Horatio Seymour was born in Pompey, May 31, 1810. Though he had seen but ten summers when his father removed to Utica, these early years were improved by attending the academy of his native village. When Utica became his home he was sent to the Oxford Academy; from there he went to Geneva and entered what is now known as Hobart College, where, however, he remained but two years. He was neither rugged nor strong in youth and early manhood. His parents believing



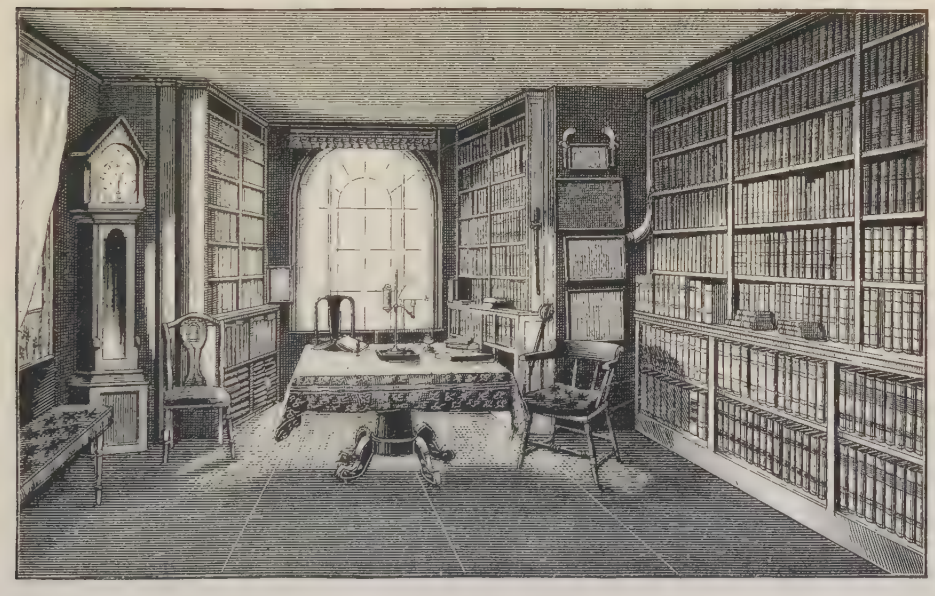
PARLOR OF THE SEYMOUR HOMESTEAD WITH GLIMPSE OF LIBRARY BEYOND.
[*Engraved from a Photograph.*]

therefore that an institution which had connected with it enforced drill and exercise might contribute to his strength, sent him to a military school at Middletown, Connecticut. This change proved highly beneficial, as it contributed greatly to the establishment of his health, and led also to the door through which he was subsequently to pass to his many honors. The principal of this school, an officer in the army, was accustomed to take some of his pupils occasionally on a visit to Washington, and as young Seymour availed himself of this opportunity before he was sixteen years of age, he became thus early acquainted with the capital, and its historic associations.

The academical curriculum completed, he returned to Utica, and after a little delay entered the law office of Greene C. Bronson and Samuel Beardsley, with whom he remained till admitted to the bar in 1832. It is questionable whether he ever possessed a natural fondness for the law, or for that close application which success in the more learned professions plainly requires. During the following year (1833) he was invited and became the private secretary of Governor Marcy, serving in that capacity seven years. Albany was then the resort of the more influential in politics, as the government was in the hands of the most distinguished men in the State, and many families of the officials made the city their temporary home. Mr. Seymour was not long in imbibing the atmosphere of his surroundings, and receiving impulses which throughout his life never forsook him. He received his military secretaryship through the kindness and at the solicitation of Martin Van Buren, and from the personal friendships and intimacies which now began with this great statesman, and other Democratic leaders in the state and nation, he became imbued with those broad and patriotic sentiments which he subsequently illustrated. Governor Marcy loved him as though he were his own son, and selected him as the most fit in his wide circle of acquaintance to bring in due time to a successful issue the great principles which underlie the government of the people by the people. It was at this early period that he acquired his love for the Constitution and Republican institutions. The more clearly he discovered their necessity and became acquainted with their benevolent purport, the more firmly was he convinced that they should not only be maintained, but wisely developed and yield their legitimate and desired fruit.

In 1841 he received his first office, being selected by the Democrats of Oneida County to represent them in the Assembly. At this time New York was somewhat disturbed by political jealousies, and but few dared to predict their outcome. His fellow Assemblymen included the historic names of Sanford E. Church, Levi I. Chatfield, John A. Dix, David R. Floyd Jones and Michael Hoffman, and others who a few years later received the highest political positions in the gift of the state. The attitude of Governor Bouck had somewhat divided the Democratic party, resulting in crimination and recrimination, nor did the sharp discussions concerning the canal policy which now occurred tend to heal the increasing difficulties. On the contrary, the Democratic party found itself divided, one wing being represented by Mr. Hoffman, the other by Mr. Seymour. As the counsels of Mr. Seymour finally prevailed, from this hour many looked upon him as rapidly advancing toward political lead-

ership. Returning to Utica, the next year he became its mayor; and in the years 1843–4 was returned to the Assembly. In entering anew upon state legislation he found that none of the previous politico-personal frictions which had so recently revealed themselves had disappeared; still the party which he represented on so many issues was strongly united. One thing was manifest; within the past few years the gulf between the Whigs and Democrats had widened, and both were bent on obtaining the mastery. Combinations, of which there is no room now to speak, brought upon the Whig party perhaps the most inglorious disaster in its entire history; and the more so when it is remembered that its strongest



HORATIO SEYMOUR'S LIBRARY.

[*Engraved from a Photograph.*]

representative, in the person of Millard Fillmore, was put in nomination for the governorship, and the candidate for the Presidency was none other than Henry Clay, the idol of the American people.

The triumphs of the Democratic party in this heated canvass brought Mr. Seymour once more into prominence. He became Speaker of the Assembly, and, by virtue of his influence, did much to heal the differences existing among his political associates and secure the advance of Democratic principles.

In 1850 he became the nominee of his party for governor; but owing

to the popularity of his opponent, Washington Hunt, and a division among the Democrats, Mr. Seymour was defeated. When renominated in 1852 he was elected. Later, in the years 1854, 1862, and 1864, the gubernatorial chair was again offered to him, but he was successful only in the election of 1862. The force which contributed very seriously to his defeat in 1854 grew out of party dissensions and jealousies, differences on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the appearance of the Know-Nothings, who voted with the opposition. Perhaps the most important question which busied the larger number in the state during this period of Governor Seymour's magistracy was what was known as the Maine Law. As this law had been adopted by at least one of the New England states, and the others were giving it serious consideration, its friends sought an early opportunity to lay it before the legislature of New York. Contrary to the expectation of many of nearly every shade of political opinion, though adopted by the legislature, Governor Seymour attached to it his veto. Not that the evil to be removed was insignificant, or that it did not merit the closest thought of the wise and philanthropic; still less that the liquor traffic did not work wretchedness—ruin, indeed, that government could afford to disregard; but prohibitory legislation was neither sound statesmanship nor constitutional. Its logical sequence was to provoke resistance rather than secure the desired obedience. The prohibition demanded was also impossible of execution and unwise in principle: a verdict the people rendered when, a few years after its adoption, under Governor Clark, in 1854, the law was repealed. Governor Seymour's position in the main was that intemperance was a sore evil, but depriving citizens of their rights and personal liberties was a greater wrong. Men are not reformed by law-making, nor does severity conquer the lawless. Laws are wise only as they have education, morality, and religion for their bases, and not coercion—an opinion the Supreme Court a little later fully sustained. Though the views of Governor Seymour had thus been confirmed by the decision of the Court, still it is very doubtful whether any of his previous official acts received more severe and unkind criticism. In the storm, however, he remained true to his convictions, both as to the mission of law and to the great principle which he considered as underlying Democratic government.

During the intermitting years of Horatio Seymour's public trusts the state and nation passed through extraordinary trials. While the state was divided and subdivided into many political factions, and the nation was rapidly realizing that a moral cancer was threatening its very life, and differences existed concerning the policies in the new states and territories,

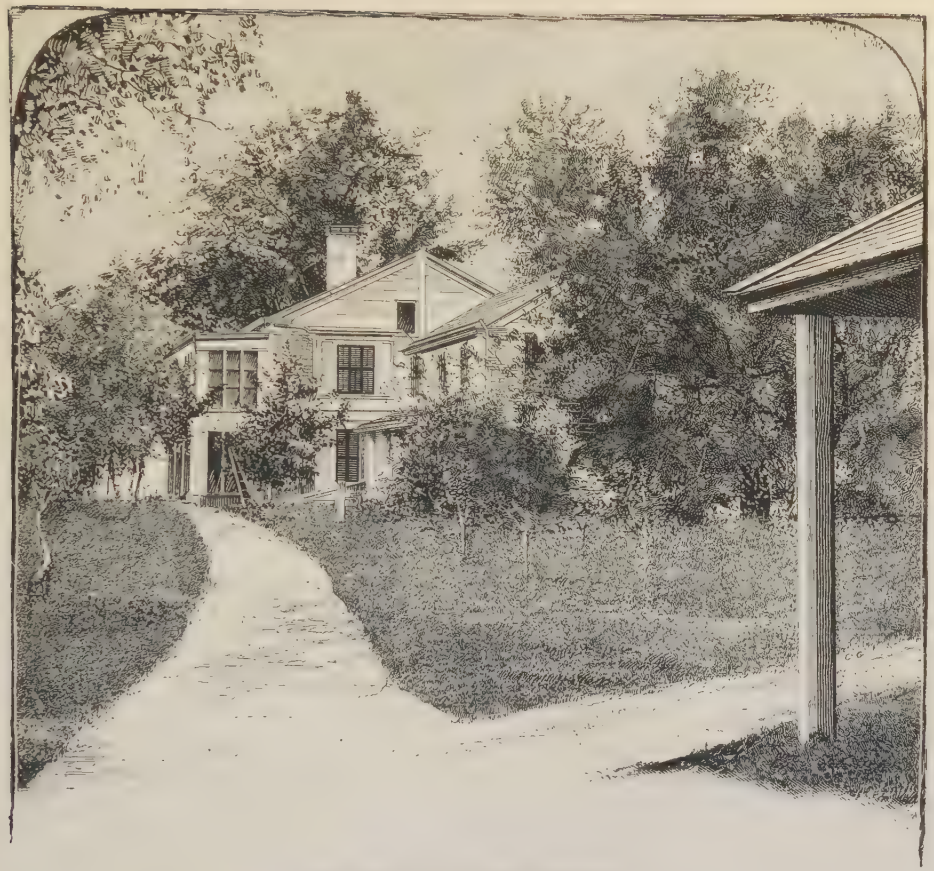
a new party appeared whose mission was to right, if possible, existing wrongs, and free the country from the troubles now investing it. It called itself the Republican party. As its purposes became understood, many of previously conflicting opinions identified themselves with it. Quite contemporaneous with the birth of this party, the clouds which had been gradually gathering thickened and darkened. At last the nation found itself engaged in fratricidal war.

Though not occupying any official position at the outbreak of the war, when, however, it had been formally declared, and means for defense had been entered upon, Mr. Seymour was convinced it should be prosecuted. His popularity at this period is seen in his succeeding Governor Morgan in the governorship. Never since New York became a state had one of its magistrates been summoned to a position more difficult to fill than the one on which he now entered. While believing that the rupture might have been avoided, and the life and property which it threatened and finally consumed could have been spared, and attributing its origin as much to the intemperate speech of the North as to the error and obliquity of the South, he deplored the struggle and denounced the rebellion as most wicked, the more so as it aimed at the wreck of a government than which he felt none better had the world ever seen. Governor Seymour was a war Democrat of the purest luster. At the opening of the conflict, when the general government appealed to New York for assistance, he was made chairman of a committee of his own county to raise needed troops; and by purse, influence, and word did much to preserve the dignity and integrity of the Union. Having been inaugurated Governor in 1863, his first message to the legislature contained these loyal words: "At this moment the fortunes of our country are influenced by the results of battles. Our armies in the field must be supported, all constitutional demands of the general government must be responded to. . . . Under no circumstances can the division of the Union be conceded. We will put forth every exertion of power; we will use every policy of conciliation; we will hold out every inducement to the people of the South to return to their allegiance consistent with honor; we will guarantee them every right, every consideration demanded by the Constitution, and by the fraternal regard which must prevail in a common country, but we can never voluntarily consent to the breaking up of the Union of these states or the destruction of the Constitution."

Necessarily omitting references to those numerous measures which Governor Seymour at this crucial period in the nation's life proposed for its integrity, as well as all consideration of the addresses which he so fre-

quently delivered bearing upon the issues of that day, including his special messages to the legislature, and the firmness with which he declared that at all risks the public faith and the credit of the state should never be impaired, the appearance, however, of the "riots" caused him and others of every political complexion great alarm. But the roots of these disturbances existed anterior to his administration. The thistles, and the thistles only, were his. At this period, in the estimation of not a few, the conflict had become nothing but an abolition war, and an influential portion of the public press would have the people so believe. This opinion begat not only new differences but gave new force likewise to the inquiry, whether the general government was not violating by its acts the Constitution, and trampling upon rights which its very genius conferred. While these convictions were spreading, the North was fairly appalled at its misfortunes. The oft-beaten Army of the Potomac was moving forward to cover Washington and Baltimore; the experiences at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville were fresh; Hooker was about being relieved of his command on the eve of a decisive struggle; Grant was held at bay by Vicksburg, and Banks by Port Hudson, and in Middle Tennessee Rosecrans was inactive. Volunteers were also slow in enlistment. To remedy the strain to which the government was rapidly being subjected, an act providing for the enrollment of the national forces was adopted. Attempting to enforce this same act precipitated the riots. No sooner, however, did this spirit of insubordination exhibit itself than Governor Seymour sought to arrest it by force and by words. The latter, owing to the disturbed condition of the public mind, received from many unkindly criticism.

Governor Seymour never denied the abused phrase; on the contrary, he acknowledged it would have been wiser perhaps to have chosen language less exposed to twist and misinterpretation. In brief, his relations to the war were quite as pronounced as many sitting in the halls of legislation, or active in the field. So promptly did he respond to the requisition which President Lincoln made upon him for troops, that he received from him a letter of thanks and congratulations; later the Secretary of War sent him a similar communication; and still later, the President again wrote him acknowledgments. Yet measures were proposed, and in some instances enforced, that he did not approve, and policies outlined with which he was not in accord. When, however, the great question came —Shall the Union be preserved?—no one displayed a more determined purpose. In presence of this inquiry, those far-reaching problems which no statesman can safely overlook—personal freedom, the rights of the



SIDE VIEW OF THE SEYMOUR HOMESTEAD.
[*Engraved from a Photograph.*]

individual States, the consideration of sectional interests, or the functions of a free government—were wholly secondary. Every blow at the dismemberment of the Union aroused him to new, more vigorous, and persistent effort. Amidst the excitement of these war hours the problem which came home to him with seriousness was not, as some have conjectured, whether the national unity shall be broken, but now that it is in jeopardy, what were the wisest and the legitimate methods by which it could be conserved and its perpetuity forever secured? But the political history and attitude of Horatio Seymour during this terrible period of national strife must be left to his biographer. When it shall have been written, it will be seen that he was a loyal son to the institutions he so ardently loved; and that the suspicions attached to his name had their rise in

heated imaginations, and in the bitter animosities of an overstrained partisanship.

At the expiration of Governor Seymour's war term he resolved to return to his rural home and devote himself to study and rest. He did so. His past influence, however, with men, his profound knowledge of affairs, and the wisdom which his admirers observed had characterized so many of his public relations, led many to solicit his opinion on the numerous political measures then in process of formation. He was presently selected as a candidate for governor in opposition to Reuben E. Fenton. In this canvass he was defeated by a slight majority, attributable as believed to some irregularity in the returns.

When in 1868 the National Convention was called for the selection of a candidate for the Presidency, Horatio Seymour attended the assembly as a delegate, and was chosen, as at the preceding National Convention, its presiding officer. The supposable candidates were Salmon P. Chase, Judge S. E. Church, and George H. Pendleton. On the earlier ballots Mr. Pendleton led. Later, the names of General W. S. Hancock and Thomas A. Hendricks were introduced; but as no conclusion could be reached, the name of Mr. Pendleton was withdrawn on the third day of the session, after the polling of the eighteenth ballot, and Horatio Seymour's was introduced; and notwithstanding his earnest protest, it was unanimously resolved that he be the candidate. As General Grant received the nomination of the Republican Convention, and was then wearing the many laurels which he had honestly won in the service of his country, and as the many differences in the Republican ranks had been healed, Mr. Seymour was in the election defeated. With the close of this campaign his political life may be said to have come to an end.

The great disputes which the war had awakened were over, peace prevailed throughout the country, the industries of the nation were beginning again to move, and the policy of the government, for several years at least, had been determined; thus there was no reason forbidding him the retirement he had been coveting. Contrary, however, to his oft-expressed wishes, he was renominated in 1876 for governor; and had it not been for his resolve to pass his remaining years in retirement, he would have been sent the same year to the United States Senate, rather than his life-long and accomplished friend and townsman, Francis Kernan. The other official positions proffered to Horatio Seymour were state senator and congressman. He held likewise at various times the following offices: in 1868 he was chosen one of the first of the commissioners of State Fisheries; in 1876 member of the State Survey, and in 1878 president of the

Board of Commissioners of State Survey. For many years he occupied the presidency of the National Dairymen's Association, of the American Prison Association, and was the presiding officer of the Oneida County Historical Society from its inception till his death.

It is worthy of note here that the many positions which had been offered to Mr. Seymour by his neighbors, his district, his state, and the nation, came wholly unsolicited. He never asked for office. He has been known to have absented himself from the conventions of his party lest his presence might indicate a desire for political advancement rather than the maintenance and enforcement of wise and just measures. It could easily be shown that, if his numerous friends had been able to coerce his acceptance of the nomination of the conventions when the names of Tilden, Hancock and Cleveland were selected, Horatio Seymour would have received a most honorable support. His nomination for the Presidency was as completely unexpected as the defeat of the aspirants for the position. Nor did he yield to the pressure brought upon him, till he had entered an honest protest at the course taken, and assured the convention that it was acting in direct opposition to his best convictions, as well as the welfare of their party, saying to the assembled delegates, "Your candidate I cannot be."

A subject very near the heart of Mr. Seymour remains to be mentioned. From the hour of his entrance upon public life he took a deep interest in its waterways; more especially in the canal that bound the great West to the Hudson and the seaboard. In caring for this canal and securing for it wise legislation he was ever active. He early discovered its usefulness and foresaw the bearing also which this great waterway would have upon the building up of the commonwealth, the enriching and developing of the city of New York, and thus indirectly upon the growth of the country. Though the canal system had in its formative days the counsels of such men as Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton, and later, when the Erie was opened, it received the supervision of such commissioners as Ephraim Hart, Henry Seymour, John Bowman, and W. C. Bouck, there were many evils connected with its workings, unconsciously hindering its usefulness. As early as 1844, when Horatio Seymour was a member of the Assembly, he presented a report to that body covering seventy octavo pages, in which he outlined what should be the policy of the state in reference to its waterways, a report still yielding fruit. He studied the mode of transit in all its bearings. An investigation into the canal system of the state of New York will show that but few, if any, have ever given more time to its consideration, have more firmly op-

posed its surrender to the ownership or control of rival railway corporations, or been more earnest in bringing about the abolition of toll. Indeed, the last address delivered by Mr. Seymour was before the Canal Conference, which held its sessions last autumn in the city of Utica.

During this period of his busy career he wrote for and addressed the public not only on political questions, but on themes purely philanthropic, and wholly unpartisan. His speeches, messages, and proclamations would easily make an octavo volume of many hundred pages up to the year 1868, when he contemplated retirement. His contributions for the following fourteen years in the State library at Albany constitute two more volumes; and since this period another volume could readily be formed. The range of his occasional addresses was unusually broad. Agriculture, political economy, social ethics, jurisprudence, philology, education, topography and history were in turn considered.* His contributions to the topography and history of the State are most valuable. He studied its natural resources, its history and its capabilities with devotion. In this respect he was an intense New Yorker. Few were better acquainted with New York's beginnings, had more knowledge of its colonial days, or were better versed in its historic struggles—their origin, their location and their results; or labored with greater assiduity to have them perpetuated. The last two monuments with which his name will ever be associated are those commemorating the battle of Saratoga, and the terrible conflict under Herkimer at Oriskany. Governor Seymour was well informed also in Indian history. His articles on the Iroquois, the Romans of the new world, are quite numerous. He studied with great care their habits, travels, wars, and antiquities; nor could he free himself from the conviction that the aborigines of the State had been greatly wronged. On one occasion he visited the Auburn prison and addressed its unfortunate inmates in language and sentiment, which whether viewed from the side of philanthropy or philosophy, may be regarded as an American classic.

Few men in public life have revealed such an even and rounded character. He loved the institutions among which he was born, not merely because they were a priceless inheritance, but for the good with which they were fraught, and the possibilities connected with their logical development. As a consequence, his political life nowhere reveals the preference

* Mr. Seymour was a contributor to THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Our readers will remember in particular his able article on "The Influence of New York on American Jurisprudence," published in the April number, 1879, in which he said, "There is no place in the Union which is associated with so many varied and far-reaching facts that have influenced the destinies of this continent as the city of Albany."—EDITOR.

of self to local, state, or national measures, or the sacrifice of principle to the interests of personal ambition. All individuality was sunk in the results desired; self ever rendering lowly obeisance to the public weal. There was a charm about him quite irresistible. All who came to him received prompt recognition; the poor and the humble as they whose names were embroidered with titles. His love for our common humanity was intense. He loved men because they were men. Friendliness permeated his very being; nor did he ever delay to have this feeling awakened. It was as responsive to appeal as the harp when touched by skillful fingers. His beneficiaries were almost innumerable, and unlimited by creed or nationality. Even his political opponents enrolled themselves among his friends, nor was there any one against whom he harbored the least enmity. Party lines no more divided his respect than geographical divisions show the courses of the rivers. The trickery of the politician and unprincipled partisanship were beneath his notice.

Remembering the freedom that is so often taken with the name and personality of men in public life, it has often been asked how Governor Seymour escaped the scandals of the traducer and the wit of the defamer. The solution is to be found in the uniformity and excellency of his character. All the years of his public life fail to disclose an act that affects either his honesty, purity, or uprightness, or that mars his escutcheon with a single blot.

His humor was always pleasant, never coarse; and not unfrequently his most amusing anecdotes concerned himself. In his manner he was gentle, courteous, and dignified, and free from even the appearance of affectation. In his tastes he was scholarly, and yet he studied men and events more devotedly than volumes. In his religious views he was as clear and definite as in those that pertained to the welfare of the State. Christianity with him was a living force, and only they could be what they ought who were governed by its teachings. His presence was often seen in the higher councils of the Episcopal Church, and on many occasions by voice, pen, purse, and influence he furthered its interests. For very many years he was a warden in old Trinity Church, Utica, and until quite recently one of its regular attendants. The church-going habit of Governor Seymour may be seen in the following characteristic incident. Not long since, in looking over a volume discolored by age, a little slip dropped from the same, which proved to be a record of his fellow-students while at Geneva, who had absented themselves from church. The slip was dated Trinity Church, Geneva, June 13, 1824. Among these absentees was a still surviving friend. Enclosing his own photograph and the same

bit of yellow paper, he sent the same to his early companion, with these words:

"My dear Church,

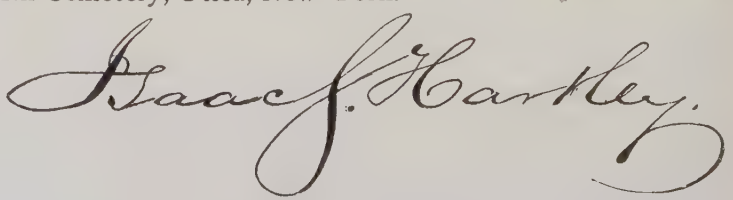
"You were late at church forty-two years ago. So says this scrap of paper that comes fluttering down to us through half a century like an autumn leaf. It dropped out of an old book at Geneva where it was put by some one who died long since. When you look at it you will feel like one reading a tombstone. With a few exceptions it is a list of dead men. We have seen things, strange things, since that little record of neglected duties was made up. I send you the likeness of one whom I am glad to say was not absent from church on the 13th of June, 1824. As you see he is a battered, bald-headed old man now. Then he was a smooth-faced school-boy, with a full head of hair and a large stock of hope and conceit. Well, as I have said, we have seen much that is startling in the last fifty years. In all human probability we shall see something more startling within the next five years. Most of us will be packed up and dropped into our graves. It seems that we have not been wanted in either of the departments of the other world up to this time. I do not think that we shall be overlooked much longer. It is high time for you to mend your habits as to church-going or some worse record may turn up against you than the one I now send you.

"Truly yours,

"Horatio Seymour."

In the summer of 1876, Governor Seymour received a partial sunstroke while performing the duties of Path Master on the roads of his town, the only office, as he once remarked, he had sought. This was the beginning of his decline. Serious illness, however, did not overtake him till a few days before his death. His devoted wife feeling the need of medical assistance, he accompanied her to Utica; when learning her condition he was greatly affected. Almost immediately he became worse; and his useful and honorable life terminated—dying with no last words February 12, 1886, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Horatio Seymour married, May 31, 1835, Mary, the youngest daughter of John Rutger Bleecker, of Albany. While writing this rapid sketch of her loving and loved husband, she also has gone to the brightness beyond. Their mortal remains, awaiting the summons "Come forth," rest side by side in Forest Hill Cemetery, Utica, New York.



HISTORICAL COLORADO

TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS OF PROGRESS

Colorado, the youngest state of the Union—not yet, indeed, ten years old—presents a development of material wealth so remarkable as to attract to it distinguished attention. Its first settlement was made but three years more than a quarter of a century ago, which fact, together with its remoteness of situation and environment of desert and mountains, till then deemed impenetrable, invest it with marvelous interest. It is, after Texas and California, the largest as well as the youngest State in the Union, and is located in the center of the Rocky Mountain country.

On the seventh day of February, 1858, W. Green Russell left his home in Dawson County, Georgia, with a company of seven men bound for the then wild Rocky Mountain country in quest of gold. These daring explorers, who might have suggested Whittier's beautiful poem, beginning—

> "I hear the tread of pioneers,
> Of nations yet to be—
> The first low wash of waves where soon
> Shall roll a human sea"—

were the *avant-coureurs* of the grand army that presently followed to participate in gleaning precious deposits they had been the first to discover. Their names were, besides that of W. Green Russell, his two brothers Oliver and Levi J. Russell, Samuel Bates, Soloman Roe, Joseph McAffee, William Anderson and Lewis Ralston. They arrived in Kansas early in May of that year, where their party was further increased by James and Richard J. Pierce, William McFadden, Jacob Masterson, William McKimmons, T. C. Dickson, George L. Howard, J. Brock, John Young, and a Frenchman, designated as "Frenchie."

These gold-seekers left Leavenworth about the middle of May and crossed the Kansas River at Fort Riley, striking out from that point across the country to the old Santa Fé road, arriving at the mouth of Cherry Creek on the 23d of June, 1858. On the Pawnee Fork, a party of Cherokee Indians were overtaken in considerable numbers, who traveled to Cherry Creek in company with Russell and his companions. Unsettled as to future proceeding, the Indians remained at Cherry Creek, while the others hastened to Ralston Creek where they hoped to find the treasure of which

they were in pursuit. Three days' anxious search, however, brought no better reward than a very meager quantity of gold particles, the shaddows, so to speak, of the substance they were seeking—but still to them an evidence that gold was somewhere in that region; and with what courage they could summon they resolved to prospect thoroughly.

Ralston Creek lies about eight miles distant from the mouth of Cherry Creek, their first halting place, and the Cherokees being still there, the Russell company decided to return. To do this they recrossed the Platte River, but found upon joining them that the Indians had determined to return to their own nation, and they started on the following day, leaving the explorers with the whole range of mountains, the various creeks and their tributaries, the cañons beyond, and the plains stretching in the distance, from which to choose where to begin their investigations.

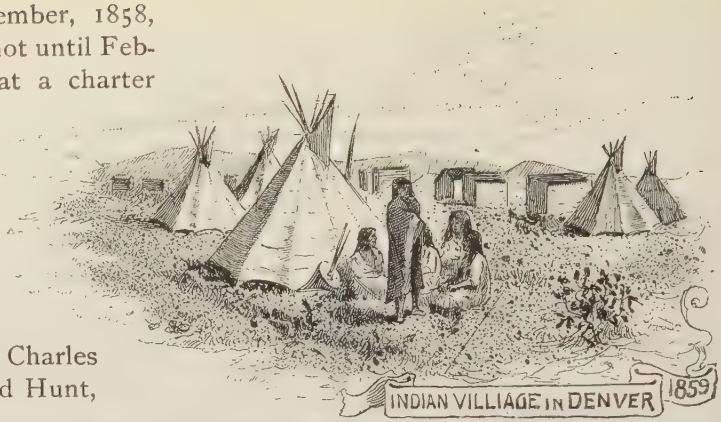
Possessed of a marked constancy to a purpose once formed, Green Russell (a name by which he is best known and remembered in Colorado) upon observing signs of discontent among some of his companions, declared firmly his purpose to prospect the country "even if he did it alone;" and to that end he proceeded to work with untiring patience, closely examining the soil in every direction. Meanwhile Laurence, Kansas, was being excited by whispers of golden sands to be found in the waters around Pike's Peak. Two Delaware Indians, "Fall Leaf" and "Little Beaver," brought the story that gold in paying quantities was to be found in those waters; and very secretly a company was organized at the old Commercial Hotel in that city, to cross the desert on a tour of discovery. "Fall Leaf" claimed the distinction of having been a guide to Frémont on one of his exploring expeditions, and as in Frémont's report mention is made of two Delaware Indians, "a fine looking old man and his son," engaged to accompany that expedition as hunters, "Fall Leaf" and "Little Beaver" may have been the Indians with Frémont, although they were not so designated by name in his journal. "Fall Leaf" contracted to guide the party formed at the Commercial Hotel, to a locality where gold could be found near Pike's Peak. He was to receive $5 per day for such service, until satisfactorily performed; but pending deliberations of the party he was to lead, a fall from his horse while in a state of intoxication disabled him, upon which they resolved to proceed without him and prosecute their investigation without a guide. On May 22, 1858, close upon the departure of the Russell company from Leavenworth, this Laurence party, numbering forty-four, two of whom were women accompanying their husbands, started from Kansas to cross the plains with eleven wagons and provisions for six months. From their course over the Santa Fé road, the travelers

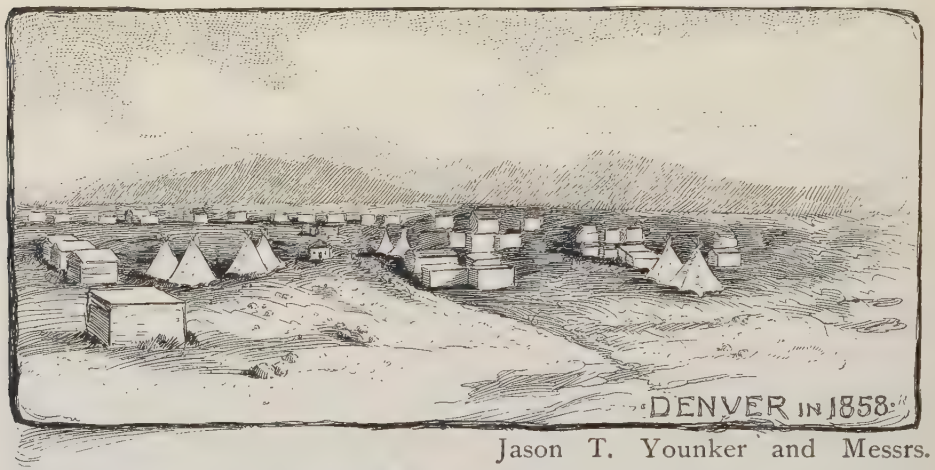
approached Pueblo, and having joined members of the Russell party were with them on the 6th day of July, 1858, encamped upon the same ground in the " Garden of the gods " where rested Long's expedition thirty-eight years before. But there is not a trace of the Long explorers left here ; while the pioneers of 1858 have graven upon the rocks a record of their presence—an interesting testimonial now plainly visible. Inside one of the gateways on the great sentinel stones, appear the names of H. Hunt, A. C. Wright, Josiah Hindman, F. M. Cobb and William Hartley, all of the Laurence company, together with the year " 1858 " cut beneath. One of the women of this party, Mrs. Annie Archibald Holmes, in company with others while camping here at this time made the ascent of Pike's Peak. The trip consumed three days, and to Mrs. Holmes is accorded the distinction of being the first woman who surveyed mountain, forest, river and glade from that lofty summit.

Members of Russell's company and of the Laurence company had prospected in various directions for the treasure sought, without success, until it was told them one day that Green Russell, and those who remained behind, were washing from the sands of the Platte River about three dollars a day to the man. This news reached them in September, after three months' fruitless quest, and they hastened to the locality where fortune smiled, and found the tidings verified for there was not only Russell and his men washing gold from the sands but also a man named John Rooker, together with his son, who had come in from Salt Lake to enjoy a like prosperity. Russell's staying quality served him well. Here, within a radius of ten miles from the point where he first stopped, he had by dint of sheer perseverance found in the sands golden returns so valuable as to induce the whole party to become settlers on the ground under the title of squatter sovereignty, and to found a town which they named Montana.

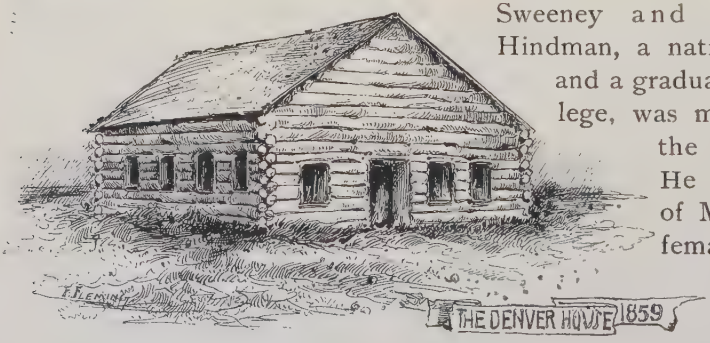
On the 4th of September, 1858, were assembled at this point on the Platte River, some five miles from the mouth of Cherry Creek, portions of the Leavenworth Company (Russell's), of the Laurence Company, and the Mormon family, consisting of four persons—John Rooker, his wife, son, and daughter—a colony numbering a little over fifty. Illustrative of the American character, it has been said that if a dozen were gathered anywhere, even at the most distant portion of the globe, that they would be found at the earliest possible moment framing a constitution and making laws for self-government. True to the instincts of the race, this little band of pioneers far beyond the outposts of civilization, were making this their first care. Montana, on the Platte River, burst abruptly into existence governed by a code of laws framed by its founders early in that memorable

month of September, 1858, although it was not until February 5, 1859, that a charter for the new town was obtained from the legislature of Kansas. This was accomplished by Josiah Hindman, Charles Nicholas, Howard Hunt,





Jason T. Younker and Messrs. Sweeney and Parsons. Josiah Hindman, a native of Wisconsin and a graduate of Beloit College, was made president of the Town Company. He gave it the name of Montana from the female of mountain. Thus the first town in "Pike's Peak country" became an accomplished fact.



THE HOTEL WHERE HORACE GREELEY STOPPED WHILE VISITING DENVER.

On September 7, 1858, William McGaa, who subsequently became a local celebrity, under the alias of "Jack Jones," arrived at Montana in company with fourteen men. Curiously enough, within twenty days from its actual settlement, this infant town was found too small to contain its ambitious inhabitants, who in part removed to the east side of Cherry Creek, and laid out "St. Charles" on the identical site of what is now Denver, radiant in her beauty and prosperity. Thirty-seven days after the establishment of the town of "St. Charles," September 24, the need felt for another town resulted in "Auraria," which was founded on the last day of October, 1858. This town, now West Denver, was located on the west side of Cherry Creek, the names of one hundred men being appended to its articles of formation. A human tide may have been said to have set in this direction, as Richardson graphically expressed it "an uncontrollable eruption—a great river of human life rolling towards the setting sun." In the latter days of October, 1858, A. J. Williams and C. H. Blake came in with a general stock of goods. These gentlemen were the pioneers in mercantile life in the new country, where they inaugurated trade in the early part of November, and indirectly they were also the pioneers in cattle raising. Sixteen yoke of oxen propelled their "prairie schooners" over the plains. At Fort Lupton, twenty miles or so from their journey's end, many of their jaded cattle were turned loose—left behind as useless and of no further service. Much to the astonishment of the owners these cattle were found in the following spring sleek and fat, demonstrating clearly the nutritious qualities of the grasses of the plains, which since that time have sustained thousands of herds and added largely to the wealth of Colorado.

Directly following Williams and Blake, Kenna and Nye came with a stock of tinware, J. D. Ramage with jewelry, and Richard L. Woolton (who like a veritable Santa Claus appeared on Christmas Day in a snow-storm) with dry-goods, and "Auraria" became at once a commercial center. Of the three explorers, Pike, Long, and Frémont, from whom celebrated peaks of the Rocky Mountains take their names, Pike's peak, though the least in altitude, became the land-mark looming above the new gold-fields, from which the whole country around took its name as "Pike's Peak country" at a time when it might have been well termed "No Man's Land."

Presently the advent of commissioners from Kansas delegated by the governor of that Territory, James W. Denver, to locate the tract under the title of Arapahoe County, Kansas, attracted attention. These functionaries arrived at "Auraria" on the 12th of November, 1858; they were

Hickory Rodgers, H. A. P. Smith and E. W. Wynekoop. Four days after their arrival, on the 16th of November, they, together with others whom they associated with themselves, took formal possession of "St. Charles" and called it Denver in honor of the governor of Kansas, and without loss of time proceeded to arrange blocks and streets in the incipient "Queen City of the Plains."

At the close of the year 1858 "Auraria" had about forty cabins, Denver half that number, and Montana her "Leavenworth Row," "Laurence Row" and "Kansas Row," the latter not very imposing blocks, since subsequently they were hauled to Auraria, or Denver. At the settlement near the Platte were fully three hundred alert men, actively seeking the riches which they had invaded the wilderness to discover, and meanwhile canvassing the possibility of making the sterile ground yield supplies for the maintenance of human life. Late in the winter another notable Georgia miner arrived on the scene from Fort Laramie, and became the guest of Levi J. Russell in his hospitable cabin. This was John H. Gregory, who first discovered rich deposits of gold in the mountains, and led the way to the treasure nests hidden till then around the head waters of Clear Creek!

Placer-mining had been till now the only description of that craft known. The sands of Cherry Creek and those of the Platte River had yielded moderately of gold, but inadequately and by no means satisfactorily to the hosts of anxious searchers. Experienced California miners were best informed in the ways of placer-mining, knowing little or nothing of lode-mining, while the Georgians, with an experience in their own state and elsewhere, had practical knowledge in the latter direction. Members of Russell's company had prospected the country in many directions since they came into it. On Gregory's arrival a consultation between them resulted in the decision that the fountain-head was in the mountains that supplied the placers at the base of them, and that Clear Creek cut the gold belt nearer than any of the other streams which they had prospected. In April, 1859, Gregory, with two companions, started from the Cherry Creek settlement on the exploration afterwards crowned with such abundant success. Through great patience and care they pursued the channel of Clear Creek from Golden, testing every feeder, gulch, or stream by panning that were tributaries to it. On the 6th of May, 1859, after having worked without intermission every day, they reached a point near where Black Hawk now stands. While his companions engaged in preparing food for the party's refreshment, Gregory's vigilant eye was fixed upon a yellowish out-crop of clay about fifty yards distant, and, pan in hand,

he proceeded to examine it. Pan after pan responded from the first with about twenty-five cents' worth of gold, to the last with a hundred dollars, when the joyful certainty of the discovery of at least one of the sources of supply was a demonstrated fact. Here, indeed, was "pay gravel." In less than a week every Georgian who had passed the winter in "Pike's Peak country" was located in the new gold-fields with their fortunate countryman. "Gregory Gulch" was the land of promise. Within one month thousands of men were rushing hither from the plains, and prospecting in every direction, excited to a degree verging on insanity in the wild effort to make a similar hit. Thirteen days after Gregory's first discovery he made another, bringing to light the "Bates and Gregory Lode," which raised still higher the prevailing gold fever. That the mountains were most difficult of ascent had no deterring power for those who were allured by the magic of gold. Teams were compelled up and down precipices without regard to dangers, and the plains from the Missouri River to Cherry Creek resembled breakers on the waters by reason of the white canvas-covered wagons on their surface bearing living freight to swell the tide of gold-seekers in the gulches of the mountains.

In June, 1859, Mr. Gregory followed his other discoveries by that of the "Illinois Mine;" and in that season were discovered the Maryland, the Bobtail, Mammoth and Gunnell Lodes, all bearing rich ores. At the head-waters of the Arkansas, the Blue, and Platte Rivers, gold was found. Daring men prospected the Snowy Range and crossed it; but the Gregory and Russell Gulches and the locality surrounding became, for the greatest number, the coveted territory; and there, speedily, every foot of space that showed the least indication of gold deposit was pre-empted. On the banks of the Platte River, outside of Denver, there were lines of wagons daily waiting ferriage, and along the trail to the gold district eager crowds jostled each other by the way—a motley concourse of travelers, either on foot or carried by any animal capable of being pressed into service.

Within six months and a few days after Kansas bestowed her first official notice upon "Pike's Peak country," so important did it become that a line of coaches was established, involving an expenditure of $300,000, besides a daily one of $800, spanning the desert from Leavenworth to Denver, and Kansas was glowingly eulogistic of her "mineral mountains." About the middle of June, 1859, the lamented Horace Greeley, with Henry Villard and Albert D. Richardson, arrived at Gregory's Gulch. They had crossed the plains in one of these new coaches, and Mr. Greeley, upon his arrival in Denver, became a guest at its only hotel—the Denver

House—a log structure, canvas-roofed, and earthen-floored. At that time it was the best and only hotel that Denver could boast. A striking contrast, indeed, to the commodious and very beautiful hotels to be found there now after the comparatively short interval of twenty-eight years of its growth.

Mr. Greeley's opinions upon the new gold-fields, unsparingly expressed in their favor, induced still another outpouring of people toward them; and his views upon agricultural values and possibilities in the region, then an untried experiment, resulted later in the pretty town of Greeley, on the Cache-la-Poudre River, which is now the county seat of Weld, one of the most flourishing agricultural counties in the State, with an area of 10,560

THE WINDSOR HOTEL.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF PROGRESS.

square miles, its valuation being given at $8,488,475, and its population 10,000.

The town of Montana, on the Platte River, had a brief existence of less than a year, when it became absorbed in Denver and Auraria, confronting one another across the sandy bed of Cherry Creek. Nevertheless it was the first town, and the seed, so to speak, of the one hundred and eighty towns and cities now in the state of Colorado, all developed within the lapse of twenty-eight years, since the founding of Montana, as were its founders, the germ of a population numbering at the present time (according to recent census), 243,910, nearly fifty thousand of whom are natives, having been born in that country. John H. Gregory and Green Russell, the earliest discoverers of gold, have both passed away.

Gilpin County, the smallest in Colorado, twelve by ten miles in extent, is located partly on the gulch in which Mr. Gregory made his first discoveries. Central City, its county seat, Black Hawk, and Navadaville, are embraced in it. It is wholly ore-producing. The returns of gold and silver since the discovery of the latter, some six years subsequent to that of gold, have been enormous, rated now at an annual output of $2,639,168. Clear Creek County, adjoining Gilpin, was also in part embraced in Gregory and Russell's Gulches. Next to Gilpin, it is the smallest county in Colorado, though considerably larger than the former, having 437 square miles comprised in it, and, like Gilpin, it has yielded immensely, particularly in silver, that of last year, 1885, being in silver alone $3,250,000.

From the years 1858–9, in which the first discoveries of gold were made of which there is any record, to 1870, when silver and copper were included, the output, according to government statistics, was $27,583,081 in Colorado. As pre-eminently ore-yielding counties, Lake (in which is Leadville), Park, and Summit, may be added to Gilpin and Clear Creek, contributing materially to the sum of over $250,000,000 in gold, silver, lead, and copper, which Colorado has produced in the twenty-eight years of its existence.

In the same locality where fed and fattened the few head of cattle turned loose by Williams and Blake in the fall of 1858, are roaming the Iliff herds, numbering thousands and representing large and increasing wealth. John W. Iliff was one of the first of that class of royalty in Colorado, "Cattle Kings," now grown numerous, and from the exceeding small beginning of less than a dozen head of oxen dates the increase, representing vast wealth in that industry. Something over one year ago, it was estimated that there was in the state 1,250,000 head of cattle, with a prospective calf crop of 248,400, now more than borne out by the fact that the number at present given aggregates 1,500,000, average value $20 a head. Horse and sheep growing are in this direction, other industries that, according to the returns of assessors, swell the wealth of the State in the respective sums of $3,822,325, and $1,500,00 at this time.

From coal and iron another revenue is derived, forming a large tributary to the general income. For the past year (1885) the government statistician places the output of coal at 1,250,000 tons, generally from the mines of Weld, Gunnison, Las Animas, La Plata, Park, Frémont, El Paso, Huerfano, Boulder, Douglass and Jefferson Counties, and that of iron is also considerable. Years ago the "prairie schooner," with its familiar propelling force, gave place to modern methods of travel. Sixteen railways traverse Colorado at this time, of which nine are broad-gauge, well

A COLORADO CAÑON.

equipped, and commodiously appointed, and seven narrow-gauge quite as carefully arranged. The two systems combined have a milage of 3,072.34, and a total schedule of assets (including construction cost) footing up to $376,169,353.45, in which sum foreign capital finds substantial recognition. In the Rio Grande Railroad alone there are $75,000,000 invested which comes from England and through its gate-way from Holland. This road (narrow-guage) has a mileage of 1,317 miles. A pioneer of Colorado and a

millionaire, who there made his fortune, D. H. Moffat, Jr., is president of it, as he also is—and has been for years—of the First National Bank of Denver, which was established in the territorial days of the country.

In other forms of investment there is much foreign capital placed throughout Colorado. Both Scotland and England have large representation there. Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Hepworth Dickson visited Colorado in its earlier years, and by unstinted praise of the wondrous beauty of landscape, the salubrious climate, and above all the future which they predicted for it, induced capitalists abroad to turn their regards to the new country in the western world. The Earl of Dunraven became the principal owner of Estes Park, lying at the foot of "Long's Peak." The Earl of Airlie, came, saw, and invested. His son Lord Oglivie is at the present time a prominent cattle rancher in Colorado. Another gentleman controls, it is estimated, $10,000,000 invested in real estate, in irrigating ditches etc., all of which is foreign capital. A broad margin of it is in the mines, and many of the cattle ranches are owned and conducted by English and Scotch gentlemen who have invested largely.

The railways traversing the mountainous portions of the State are in the main narrow-gauge roads, and, save the Rio Grande, belong to the Union Pacific system. The lines of this order, narrow-gauge, pass through the most sublime scenery of the Rocky Mountains. By stupenduous efforts of engineering—triumphs indeed—the great mountains have been tunneled or surmounted, the cañons trimmed so as to give place to the iron pathway, impinging upon the headlong waters madly rushing down from mountain tops. From a mountain-side ten thousand feet above tide water, the traveler may look down upon a world grand and grotesque, or up from the bed of a cañon along a wall enclosing it to a height of a thousand feet, where natural eruption has scattered pinnacles of rocky formation suggestive of sentinels mounted on the dizzy heights. The fastnesses deemed impassable twenty-five years ago—quite inaccessible to ordinary travel—are open roadways, through the vigor and ingenuity of man, a victorious example of the triumph of mind over matter. The unbroken wilderness without marked limit, that met the eyes of the dauntless pioneers invading it nearly twenty eight years since, has taken shape and semblance in the superbly prosperous state of Colorado, stretching over the center of the Rocky Mountain country and over a portion of the great plains, embracing an area of 104,500 square miles.

Katherine Hodges

AN OLD HOUSE IN NEW ORLEANS

A SOUVENIR OF GENERAL JACKSON'S RULE

In Royal Street, between Du Maine and St. Philip, in the city of New Orleans, stands a low, massively built, one-story house, which attracts general attention through its quaint colonial architecture and venerable appearance. Sixty years ago it was a court-house, and now it is devoted to the prosaic purposes of a furniture store. Under this historic roof, in March, 1815, General Andrew Jackson was arraigned before Judge Domi-

AN OLD HOUSE IN NEW ORLEANS

[*From a Photograph.*]

nick A. Hall, of the United States District Court, and adjudged to pay, and did pay, a fine of one thousand dollars for the false imprisonment of a citizen of the State of Louisiana.

This dramatic incident attaches to the old house a national interest.

General Jackson was still wearing the green laurels of his great victory over the British at Chalmette, on the 8th of the previous January, and was surrounded by a loyal and devoted soldiery; his graceful submission to the civil authority was an act replete with suggestion. The exact age of the building is not known: it is said to have been erected in the year 1740, and if so, is, with the exception of the old Ursuline Convent on Chartres Street, built in 1730, and now the residence of the Catholic Archbishop of the diocese, the oldest structure in New Orleans, and perhaps in the Mississippi Valley. Its thick walls and low, heavy front are more in keeping, however, with that school of architecture which the Spaniards of Granada inherited from their Moorish conquerors, and which was brought to New Orleans in the days of the Spanish domination. The house is antique enough to carry the mind of the observer back to the days of Bienville and his captains; its roof is covered with old reddish-yellow tiles, which so picturesquely mark the architectural remains of the New Orleans of the Moorish-Spanish school; its battered and time-stained front, from which, in the angles, the mortar has been beaten away by the hard knocks of more than a century, is painted yellow; against its side, looking to the south, grows a profusion of climbing, clinging greenery, not, however, its own, but the contribution to its quaintness of the garden of the adjoining house; and its arched gateway, suggesting the sally-port of a castle of feudal days, opens into a dark, wide passage, along which Andrew Jackson walked, sixty years ago, to submit to the penalties of Judge Hall's decision. The interior is but a single room, to which is attached at the rear something like an alcove. Beyond is the yard of the premises, about fifty feet in depth, where once grew flowers, the rose, and the violet, and the orange-tree, but which at present is bare and desolate.

The defeat and utter rout of the British troops under Packenham in January left General Jackson the idol and the hero of the hour in New Orleans. But before the end of February, while New Orleans was still under martial law, owing to the continued presence of the enemy near the city, a serious question arose between the commanding-general and an element of the ancient population, which, with a man of Jackson's inflexible purpose and determination, soon provoked dissension and a bitter antagonism of classes. Intelligence reached the city—satisfactory to the public mind, but not to that of Jackson, since it was not official—that a Treaty of Peace had been signed between the United States and Great Britain at Ghent on the 24th of December. There was at once manifested a general disposition on the part of citizens of French origin, who had testified to their loyalty and devotion to the American cause by

serving for several weeks against the British on the field of battle and otherwise, to be discharged from military service. Judge Martin, author of the *History of Louisiana*, was at that time on the Supreme Bench of the state, and was a personal witness of, and in once instance a participant in the stirring events which followed. "Yielding," he says, "to the advice of many around him who were constantly filling his ears with their clamors about the disloyalty, disaffection and treason of the people of Louisiana, and particularly the state officers and the people of French origin, Jackson, on the last day of February, issued a general order, commanding all French subjects possessed of a certificate of their national character, subscribed by the Consul of France, and countersigned by the commanding-general, to retire into the interior, to a distance above Baton Rouge; a measure which was stated to have been rendered indispensable by the frequent applications for discharges. The names were directed to be taken of all persons of this description remaining in the city after the expiration of three days."

A few days later it was rumored that General Jackson proposed to arrest certain individuals among those whom his action, as reported above, concerned. Thereupon a Monsieur Louallier, a native of France and a member of the state legislature, and one who had been noted for his loyal course during the campaign against the British, published in a New Orleans newspaper, on the 3d of March, a strong but patriotic communication, protesting against the course of the commanding-general. This publication inflamed Jackson to fury; persuaded by some of his previous advisers, whose dislike of the citizens of French birth or of French descent had been manifest throughout the course of the dissensions, that Monsieur Louallier had made himself guilty of an offense punishable with death and that he should be tried by court-martial as a spy, he first ordered the publication of the second section of the rules and articles of war, which proclaims the punishment of death against spies, and then directed the arrest and confinement of Monsieur Louallier. This order was carried out on March 5, and Monsieur Louallier was confined in the United States barracks, just below the city.

Monsieur Louallier's counsel, Monsieur Morel, applied to Judge Hall for a writ of *habeas corpus* in his case. This was granted. Judge Hall's action in granting the writ aroused Jackson to renewed anger. Hall's enemies—for these seemed not to be wanting—hastened to assure the irritated general that Hall, like Louallier, was guilty of an offense punishable with death. Jackson thereupon wrote Colonel Arbuckle, the commanding officer at the barracks, instructing him to arrest Judge Hall. Arbuckle obeyed the order

and arrested the judge and confined him in the same apartments with Monsieur Louallier.

While these events were exciting the people an express arrived from the War Department at Washington with a packet addressed to General Jackson. This packet—which should have informed Jackson officially that the treaty between the United States and Great Britain had been signed by the President and that an exchange of the ratifications had been effected at Washington, February 17—by a strange mistake was given into the hands of the messenger in Washington instead of the packet containing the intended document; so that, while all the corroborative evidence brought by the express tended to show that peace between the two nations really had been settled, Jackson was still unaware, officially, of the fact. Under these circumstances, he maintained the condition of martial law in the city. Nevertheless, assuming by "persuasive evidence" that a treaty of peace had been ratified, he was on the point of releasing Monsieur Louallier and Judge Hall, when he received the exasperating information from Colonel Arbuckle that the judge had requested that a magistrate might be allowed to have access to him, preparatory to an effort on the part of Hall to invoke the law in order to secure his release. Jackson's advisers, according to Judge Martin, took advantage of his annoyance to induce him to order the arrest of a Mr. Hollander, a substantial merchant of the city (why, however, does not appear), and during this interval he further directed that steps be taken for the trial of Monsieur Louallier for a variety of offenses—among these mutiny, exciting mutiny, general misconduct, and for being a spy.

The Supreme Court was in session when these occurrences took place; of the two judges present one was Martin, author of the *History of Louisiana*, and application was made to them for a writ of *habeas corpus* in favor of Hollander. Without granting the writ at once, the judges allowed the case to be argued before them; but prior to the conclusion of the argument General Jackson ordered the release of Mr. Hollander. Jackson soon after ordered the arrest of Mr. Dick, the United States District-attorney, and Mr. Lewis, one of the District judges of the state—the former, for having applied to Judge Lewis for a writ of *habeas corpus* in behalf of Hall and the latter for having granted it. The writ was directed to Colonel Arbuckle, who, on the ground that Judge Hall had been committed by General Jackson under the authority of the United States, refused to surrender the judge. The incidental feature of the legal and military complication ended with the countermanding of the order for the arrest of Dick and Lewis. On the 7th of March, finally, Monsieur Louallier was

brought for trial before a court-martial of which Major-General Gaines was president.

All these disputes and contentions, together with the memory of the original cause of the trouble, had not been without their effect on the excitable inhabitants of the city. A feeling had been engendered against General Jackson among the older population which was sufficiently strong to induce the destruction, on the night of the 7th, of a transparent painting in his honor, which had been displayed at the Exchange Coffee-house, at the corner of St. Peter and Chartres Streets, opposite the old Spanish Cabildo and over against one corner of the Place d'Armes. This place was at that time the principal public resort of the citizens; and it is interesting to know that the venerable building still survives, devoted, as the Louisiana Exchange, to its former use. On the day following this occurrence General Jackson issued an order disbanding, and discharging from the military service, the body of the militia of the state. Among those affected indirectly by this action were the French subjects, who, notwithstanding General Jackson's order of February 28, directing them to retire beyond Baton Rouge, had remained quietly at their homes in the city. The general was opportunely relieved of any embarrassment he may have labored under in regard to these recalcitrants by the receipt of an application signed by the officers and men of the principal volunteer corps of the city militia, requesting his clemency in their behalf, and he suspended his order of February 28, against the French subjects, till his pleasure should be further signified. With this conclusion, we hear no more of these men, the original cause of quarrel in connection with General Jackson's rule in New Orleans.

The condition of affairs in the city was nevertheless critical. The native population on the one side, and the *Americain* * and army elements on the other, were sharply antagonized in consequence of the drift of events. On the evening of the 8th an incident occurred which strongly emphasized this hostility, and which, but for the good sense and peaceful counsels of some of the more influential among the citizens, might have resulted in a serious riot. The proprietor of the Exchange Coffee-house was compelled by a number of Jackson's army officers to display a new transparent painting to replace the one destroyed the night before, and to illuminate the hall in a more brilliant manner than usual. At night these officers assembled in considerable numbers at the Coffee-house and stood near the painting, resolved

* The term *Americain* has been applied, almost from the foundation of the colony, by the Creoles of Louisiana to designate the English-speaking Americans from other parts of the United States. As used in Louisiana, it has a social as well as geographical and ethnological meaning.

to resist *vi et armis* any attempt that might be made to remove or deface it. The announcement of this fact, and a rumor having been spread that a number of United States soldiers were in the neighborhood ready at the first call to hasten to the Coffee-house, an excitement was aroused which would only have needed the spur of a collision between two individuals of the opposite factions to have developed into a dangerous breach of the peace.

On the 9th of March Monsieur Louallier was acquitted by the court-martial of the charges that had been brought against him; in fact the court could not have acted otherwise in view of the unquestionable loyalty of the accused, and his patriotic record as a citizen. The court-martial's conclusion naturally offended Jackson, and without releasing either Monsieur Louallier or Judge Hall he issued a general order announcing his disapproval of the findings, and giving his reasons therefor. This was on March 10. On the 11th, however, he adopted another course as regards Judge Hall, for on that day, under his instructions, the latter was taken from his confinement in the barracks under guard, and was escorted to a point several miles beyond the city limits, where he was left with an admonition not to return "till the ratification of the treaty was regularly announced, or the British shall have left the Southern coast." The exile of Judge Hall was followed by the release of Monsieur Louallier, for, as says Judge Martin, "At the dawn of light, on Monday, the 13th, an express reached headquarters, with the despatch which had accidentally been misplaced, in the office of the Secretary of War, three weeks before. The cannon soon announced the arrival of this important document, and Louallier was indebted for his liberation to the precaution, which Eaton says, the President of the United States had taken to direct Jackson to issue a proclamation for the pardon of all military offenses."

The question of the regular announcement of the ratification of peace having thus been settled to the satisfaction of Jackson's mind, Judge Hall returned from his brief exile. Amid the general rejoicings at the return of peace, the people received him with enthusiasm, first, as a victim, as they regarded it, of the commanding general's arbitrary conduct, and, second, as the first United States judge who had been given them and whom they respected for his high principles. The inevitable sequel to the exciting events of the week was now expected and advocated by all who had supported the opposition to General Jackson's course. This sequel took shape March 21, in an action against Jackson for false imprisonment of Monsieur Louallier. On the day mentioned, the affidavits of the clerk of the District court, of the United States marshal, of Monsieur Louallier's attor-

ney, and of Colonel Arbuckle, were laid before Judge Hall sitting in the old house in Royal Street, in his judicial capacity. Under the massive arch of its broad gateway the tall, gaunt, soldierly figure of the victor of Chalmette walked, stately and erect, and stood, a memorable example of obedience to the laws, while Judge Hall imposed a fine on him for having been guilty of arbitrary and violent conduct when the necessity for such a course did not exist. The day was not without its dramatic accessories and its possible perils. At the Exchange Coffee-house, about four squares distant from the court-house, and which, as the favorite rendezvous of the native population, was in a certain way the camp of the enemy of those at military head-quarters, a rumor gained ground that a demonstration was in progress in favor of General Jackson which, it was thought, might deter Judge Hall from doing his duty. "It appears," says Martin, "that some of his (Jackson's) party, at this period, entertained the hope that Hall could be intimidated and prevented from proceeding further. A report was accordingly circulated that a mob would assemble in and about the court-house—that the pirates of Barataria, to whom the judge had rendered himself obnoxious before the war by his zeal and strictness in the prosecution that had been instituted against several of their ringleaders, would improve this opportunity of humbling him. Accordingly, groups of them took their stands in different parts of the hall and gave a shout when Jackson entered. It is due to him to state, that it did not appear that he had the least intimation that a disturbance was intended, and his influence was honestly exercised to prevent disorder."

While Jackson's friends were thus receiving him with enthusiasm within the court-house, the scene on the outside was not lacking in features of interest. It may be doubted whether a more cosmopolitan and ethnologically complete assemblage could have been gathered together in any other spot on the globe. The races of at least four of the continents—Europe, the two Americas, and Africa—jostled each other in their eagerness to catch a glimpse of the man of the hour. General Jackson listened patiently to the proceedings wherein he was charged with having acted in an arbitrary manner toward a citizen in time of peace, and, at the end was declared guilty. He was then fined one thousand dollars and costs, Judge Hall declaring from the bench that, in consideration of the services he had rendered his country in the field, he would not add imprisonment to the penalty. On the rendering of the judge's decision a check was immediately filled by a friend of Jackson, who was present, which was signed by the general and handed to the United States Marshal, who accepted it as a quittance of the fine, and the costs.

When at the conclusion of this memorable trial General Jackson left the court-house, his friends procured a hack, into which he entered and was dragged by his admirers in triumph to the Exchange Coffee-house. There he made a speech, in the course of which he begged the people to remember the example of respectful submission to the administration of justice which he had given them, and in conclusion said, that "During the invasion he had exerted every faculty in support of the Constitution and the laws; but on that day he had been called on to submit to their operation under circumstances which many persons might have deemed sufficient to justify resistance. Considering obedience to the laws, even when we think them unjustly applied, as the first duty of a citizen, he did not hesitate to comply with the sentence they had heard pronounced."

Charles Dimitry.

HISTORY OF A NEWSPAPER

THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE

At the City of Philadelphia, on the 24th of December, 1728, the initial number of *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, or The Pennsylvania Gazette*, appeared with a great flourish. The history of its origin is curious. In that year Benjamin Franklin and Hugh Meredith started, under the firm name of B. Franklin & H. Meredith, a printing office in that city; there being then two already in existence; Andrew Bradford's and Samuel Kiemer's, whose establishment young Franklin and Meredith had just left.

One of Franklin's pet schemes in connection with his printing press was the starting of a newspaper; and when George Webb—one of Kiemer's apprentices, who had "bought his time"—applied to the new firm for work, Franklin told him he had none for him at present, but that in a short time he would have; and very unwisely informed him of his newspaper project, which Webb at once communicated to Kiemer, who seized the idea, engaged Webb to assist him, and on the 1st of October, 1728, issued a stilted and grandiloquent prospectus, in which he said, "Whereas many have encouraged me to publish a paper of intelligence; and whereas the late *Mercury* has been so wretchedly performed as to be a scandal to the name of printing and to be truly styled nonsense in folio" . . . "there is design'd to be publish'd the Latter End of November next a most useful Paper of Intelligence" . . . and "that each person who preserves these papers, will possess the richest Mine of Knowledge (of the Kind) ever before discovered, except of late in Europe." The first number appeared December 24, with the lengthy title given above. The size was a small folio, six and a quarter by ten and a half inches, printed page. It contained Kiemer's opening address, two columns were devoted to reprinting Chambers' *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (a work which had just appeared in London, and of which a portion was printed in each issue of the paper while in Kiemer's hands), three advertisements, two being his own, etc. The price was ten shillings per annum; the advertisements were three shillings each, with no limit as to length, apparently.

Franklin was naturally enraged at having his scheme stolen, did what he could to injure the new enterprise, and when it was about a month old he commenced a series of papers in Bradford's *Mercury*, under the title of

"Busy-Body," which were very bright and personal, and helped to draw attention from the new paper. Kiemer himself did not escape Franklin's ridicule, and replied both in prose and verse. In spite, however, of Franklin's efforts, the paper was issued regularly once a week till it reached its twenty-seventh number, which was belated a week. In his apology for its delay the editor explained, . . . "I was awak'd when fast asleep in Bed, about Eleven at Night, overtir'd with the Labour of the Day, and taken away from my Dwelling, by Writ and Summons, it being basely and confidently given out, that I was about to run away." . . . A little further on he writes, . . . "I had at least at the rate of £120 per annum, clear of all Charges, secured to me by my newspaper, and *Leeds Almanack;* was industrious, frugal and temperate even to a fault, seldom spending above a groat [4 pence] a Day for my Diet, and many times not above twopence." After a week's delay a compromise was effected between Kiemer and his creditors, and the paper was continued to its thirty-ninth number, when, having disposed of his printing office, Kiemer was only too glad to sell the publication to Franklin and Meredith for a trifling sum. As to its circulation, Kiemer had stated that he printed two hundred and fifty copies, but Franklin asserted that the paper had but "ninety" subscribers when it came into his hands.

With the change of proprietors the character of the paper underwent a marked change also. The absurd title was curtailed to *The Pennsylvania Gazette;* the extracts from the Dictionary were dropped, the method of dating was changed (Kiemer having adopted the "Friends'" method to gain their patronage), and the paper generally improved. Franklin, in his address to the subscribers, apologized for the discontinuance of the Dictionary, and said that at the rate it was being published it would take fifty years to finish it. The imprint was "Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin and H. Meredith, at the New Printing-Office near the Market, where Advertisements are taken in, and all Persons may be supplied with this Paper, at Ten Shillings a Year." At the forty-fourth number the new proprietors changed the paper to a semi-weekly, the first in America, appearing on Mondays and Thursdays; but it was not a success, and at the fifty-sixth number it was changed back to a weekly, and so continued till the sixty-sixth number, when it again became a semi-weekly for six numbers, and then a weekly once more, which it remained ever after.

In July, 1730, Franklin bought Meredith's share of the office, borrowing the £200 necessary for the purchase from two of his friends, and was relieved of his partner, whose name was not dropped from the heading, however, till 1732. Sparks believed that Franklin wrote little for his paper,

and he seems to have relied largely upon outsiders for his essays, as the following incident shows: In 1734, Bradford, in his *Mercury*, rebuked Franklin for publishing a vulgar article, and Franklin apologized by stating that, "by being too nice in the choice of little pieces sent him by correspondents, he had almost discouraged them from Writing any more." In 1735 Franklin announced in the *Gazette* that "by the indulgence of the Honourable Colonel Spotswood, Post-Master-General, the printer hereof is allowed to send the *Gazette* by the post, postage free, to all parts of the post road from Virginia to New England."

In 1736 one of the numbers of the *Gazette* appeared with the outer form reversed, so that the first and last pages were printed upside down, and in the next issue appeared the following: "The printer hopes the irregular publication of this paper will be excused a few times by his town readers, in consideration of his being at Burlington with the press, laboring for the public good to make money more plentiful"—the meaning of which was that Franklin had been awarded the job of printing the £40,000 of New Jersey paper currency, which had been voted three years before, and had gone with one of his presses to superintend it. The paper was at this time a small folio of four pages, and continued so till October 6, 1739, when it was changed to a quarto double-column; and in 1741 it was enlarged (to measure 6½ by 9 inches), and a rude wood-cut of the Provincial Arms added to the head line. At this time such was the flood of news and advertizing that double numbers were often necessary. We will see what one of these contains. The first page is taken up by two letters from Robert Hodshon, telling the public that he "was within an ace of 1,000,000 or 1,100,000 pieces of eight" by the attempted capture of Panimaine in the Spanish war then raging. . . . The second contains the latest news from London (only seventy-seven days old). . . . The third is filled with Philadelphia, Boston and New York news. Among the latter we find that "three Negroes were hanged and two burnt alive as guilty of the Negro Plot; they all of them died hardened, professing innocency to the last." Another negro was hung in Albany for child-stealing, and twelve vessels cleared and five entered . . . The last five pages are taken up with sixty-nine advertisements (five being Franklin's), from which we quote: "To Be Sold, By William Spofford, in First Street, a likely young Negro Man. . . . Just Imported and to be sold by Myles Strickland, in Market Street, Godfrey's Cordials, Mary Bannister's Drops, Grand Elixor and Batemans Drops." . . . There are six missing Apprentices who are valued at an average of thirty shillings each, and seven "Strayed or Stolen." Horses are valued at ten shillings less than the human servants on an aver-

age . . . and the paper ends with the colophon, "Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin, Post-Master, at the New Printing Office, near the Market." A short time before (1737) Franklin had succeeded in getting the Post-mastership of Philadelphia away from Bradford, which greatly helped his paper, giving it a larger circulation and advertising patronage, and enabling him to still further enlarge it, which he did in February, 1742, making it three columns wide.

But in the mean time Franklin was stepping more and more into public life, and found his time so occupied with miscellaneous affairs that he was seriously neglecting his printing office; and on the 1st of January, 1748, a partnership was entered into between B. Franklin and D. Hall, a Scotch journeyman printer in Franklin's employ, for the term of eighteen years, to begin on the 21st day of January, 1748, "on or before which day the Presses, Types and materials now commonly used by the said B. Franklin shall be put into the hands and under the care of the said D. Hall." At the end of eighteen years Hall was to have the preference of purchasing the type and materials if he chose, on stating his intention in writing at least twelve months before the expiration of the partnership. Thomas, in his *History of Printing*, says: "Hall took the sole management of the concern; and, I am well informed, gave Franklin 1000£, currency, per annum, for a number of years as a relinquishment of his share of the profits;" the contract stipulated "that on the first Monday of each Month, all the accounts were to be drawn out fair and communicated to each other and settled," and Franklin says "He took off my hands all care of the printing office, paying me punctually my share of the profits," both of which seem to contradict Thomas. The paper was enlarged in 1749, and continued the same size for many years, a folio, measuring nine by fifteen inches—it sometimes varied in width, three columns wide, with from four to eight pages. With the formation of the partnership, Franklin ceased all active work on the *Gazette*, though he sometimes wrote for it and was able, undoubtedly, to help it in many indirect ways; to him is accredited the design of a serpent divided into parts, each bearing the name of a colony, with the motto "Join or Die," which was first published in the *Gazette* in 1754, and which was extensively copied by the Colonial Press.

The *Gazette* appeared October 31, 1765, in mourning, on account of the Stamp Act, which was to take effect the next day, and which imposed a tax on newspapers, and the regular publication of the paper ceased for two weeks, the gap being filled by broadsides or large hand-bills headed "Remarkable Occurrences," etc. It was soon found impossible to enforce the Act, and on the 21st of November, the paper resumed its regular

issue, taking the precaution to drop the colophon, which did not appear again till the 13th of February, 1766. With the year 1765 the partnership was fast drawing to a close, and Franklin gave a power of attorney to "his trusty and loving friend James Parker," a New Jersey Printer, to examine all accounts kept of the said partnership by the said Hall, etc., and by Parker's report we are able to learn how the *Gazette* had prospered in the eighteen years, the gross receipts being over £16,000.

From the 13th of February to the 1st of May, 1776, the *Gazette* was printed by David Hall, who then formed a partnership with William Sellers. In 1772 Hall died, and was succeeded by his two sons, William, and David Hall, Jun., who took his share of the business, and the firm name of Hall & Sellers was continued. The paper was suspended from November 27, 1776, to February 5, 1777, and on the capture of Philadelphia by the British, it was again discontinued from the 10th of September, 1777, to the 5th of January, 1779, although a few straggling numbers were issued at York, Pa.

With its reappearance, after the evacuation of Philadelphia, it was with a change of title (the first since it left Kiemer's hands) to *The Pennsylvania Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*. In 1804 Sellers died, and the paper was published by William and David Hall, for a short time, and then passed into the hands of William Hall, Jun., who printed it from 1805 to 1810, when the firm became Hall & Pierie. In 1816 the paper was published by Hall & Atkinson, and was continued by them to 1821, when, on the death of Hall, it passed into Atkinson's hands, who changed the name to the *Saturday Evening Post*, under which it is still published, and the title of *The Pennsylvania Gazette* disappeared for the first time since its establishment in 1728, when but five newspapers were printed in the now United States. On its cessation it left more than seven hundred newspapers to carry on the work it had helped to inaugurate ninety-one years before.

Paul L. Ford.

THE MARCH OF THE SPANIARDS ACROSS ILLINOIS

To obtain the proper point of view from which the scenes this paper seeks to portray shall arrange themselves in true historical perspective, it is necessary for the reader to recall some of the events of the last century, and to imagine himself among them. After France had staked and lost an empire on the Heights of Abraham, she seemed eager to strip herself even of those possessions in the New World which her great adversary did not claim. Before the treaty of peace which closed the old French War was signed in 1763, whereby the red banner of St. George replaced the white flag of the Bourbons in all the region between the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, a secret arrangement was made which gave the vast territory west of the Father of the Waters together with the port at its mouth to Spain.* Why the weak and foolish king of France so recklessly despoiled his crown of its jewels, needs not now to be told. Nor how the citizens of the once gay French town of New Orleans struggled in the iron grasp of the grim soldier who sealed their subjection to Spanish Dominion in their blood.† Nor how the settlers in what is now Illinois, who would not yield allegiance to the British king, removed to the new town of St. Louis that they might still be Frenchmen, only to find this place also under the hated rule of the Mother of the Inquisition.‡ Within a few years all resistance ceased; and with garrisons at New Orleans, St. Louis, and the smaller places along the western bank of the Mississippi, and with armed vessels upon its waters, Spain rested secure in the undisputed possession of the immense area for which she gave nothing, and which was worth so much. We do not realize at the present time that the early inhabitants of what is now Illinois had the Spaniard for a neighbor. Nor that the territory of ten free and sovereign States of our Union lying beyond the Mississippi was once seemingly as hopelessly doomed to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny as any province of old Spain. And his Most Catholic Majesty not only owned all the country west of what some early voyagers finely call "The Eternal River,"§ but soon laid claim to the exclusive control of its waters, and would not suffer the Mississippi to go unvexed to the sea. This is vividly illustrated by a single incident occurring in the latter part of the

* Stoddard's Louisiana, 71, 72.
† Gayarre's Louisiana, 3rd Series, 340.
‡ Reynolds' Illinois, 61.
§ The Far West, I., 78.

last century. Andrew Ellicott, Boundary Commissioner on behalf of the United States of America, after encamping at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, embarked upon the latter stream, and writes as follows in his journal of the voyage. "Left the shore at daylight and proceeded down the river to the station of one of the Spanish Gallies; the master behaved very politely, but informed us that it would be proper to remain at his station till the next morning. (The next morning) we proceeded down to New Madrid . . . the commandant requested me to continue there two or three days."* It was as if a representative of our government, leaving Cairo in Illinois to-day to visit New Orleans, should be halted by a foreign armed vessel, taken into custody for several days, and only suffered to proceed at the will of a petty officer of another nation.

Such was the situation during the American Revolution, after Spain had been induced by France in 1779 to take part in the war against Great Britain. She soon made herself mistress of the English posts at Baton Rouge, Natchez, and Mobile, and on these conquests based a claim to the region east of the Mississippi, at least as far as the river Ohio, and at the period now in question was preparing to strengthen her pretensions and to include in them what we know as the North-west.

The Spanish capital of what was afterward known as upper Louisiana was the little village of St. Louis, founded as a trading-post by the French in 1764. The Spaniards inclosed it with a stockade and some stone fortifications, by reason of the attack made upon the place in 1780, by the English and Indians from Michillimackinac.† Its governor in the year of grace 1781 was Don Francisco Cruvat, Brevet Lieutenant-colonel of infantry, Captain in the Regiment of Louisiana, Commander and Lieutenant-Governor of the western part and districts of the Illinois, for his Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain.

And in the month of January of that year, under Don Francisco's auspices, and from his garrison, went forth the expedition whose fortunes will now be followed. It was the second day of the month when the dwellers on the few streets near the river bank, which comprised the village of St. Louis, might have been seen flocking to the long stone house, constructed by Pierre Laclede, the founder of the place, and then the official residence of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor.‡ They came together to witness the departure of a force which all perhaps felt to be charged with an important mission, though few knew its object. On the wide stone steps which led up from the street to the main floor of the government

* Ellicott's Journal, 31. † The Far West, I., 123.
‡ O. W. Collet, in Magazine Western History, II., 321.

house, we may suppose that the governor himself had taken his stand to give his last instructions and farewells to the chiefs of the expedition. There was Don Eugenio Pourré, the commander, ranking as Captain of the Spanish line, the one man perhaps besides the governor who knew the real purpose of the undertaking; near him was Don Carlos Tayon, the second in command, and a lieutenant in the royal service, perchance talking with a very important member of the party, Don Luis Chevalier, "a man well versed in the language of the Indians." And a little apart, regarding the white men with stolid indifference, were two sachems of the red race, whose names, as nearly as the Spanish account has preserved them, were Eleturno and Naquigen.* The latter is probably identical with Nakioun, a chief of the Ottawa tribe bordering on Lake Michigan, with whom George Rogers Clark held negotiations after his capture of Kaskaskia.† "Great Chiefs," they are called in the old chronicle, and great perhaps in some respects they were. At all events the journey on which they were going, and for which they were specially selected, required a combination of nerve, endurance, and skill which amounted to greatness.

In the snow of the village street, in front of the government building, were drawn up the little band whose leaders we have mentioned. There were sixty-five militia men, of whom thirty are said to have been Spaniards,‡ and the remainder probably of French birth or descent, but all of them sworn subjects of the Spanish sovereign, and fired with zeal to strike a blow against the nation now a foe of both France and Spain. Here and there among them might have been a grizzled veteran who had fought for the King of Spain in other countries, and had come to this new land with Reilly, the subjugator of New Orleans, or as one of the body-guard of Don Francisco, or one of his predecessors. Lounging near them were their allies, a band of sixty Indians, said to have been gathered from several tribes, the names of some of which have not fared kindly in the contemporary accounts. The "Sotus," for instance, are perhaps the Sioux, or the Sauks. It is possible that the "Otaguos" are the Ottagamies or Foxes, or they may be the Ottawas. But there is something more familiar about the "Putuamis," as the Spaniard hath it, and we can hardly go wrong in identifying them with the Pottawatamies, who doubtless even then by diligent attention to the principal business of their lives, were earning for themselves the same regard in which their memory is still held in Illinois. But the governor and the commander have exchanged their last words and parting salutes, the signal is given, and the long line, moving in Indian file,

* Madrid Gazette, March 12th, 1782. † Butler's Kentucky, 75.
‡ Calendar Virginia, State Papers, I., 465.

winds down the bank, and across the frozen surface of the mighty river, and disappears in the forests of the Illinois shore.

It was no ordinary journey which lay before them. Many marches far more famous have been of less extent and with fewer privations. Four hundred miles or more, by the route they followed, in the depth of winter, they were to toil through the snow and ice, amid forests and over prairies, to reach their destination. They were heavily laden, "each one with provisions for his own subsistence and with various merchandise," says one account of this march, "which was necessary to content in case of need the barbarous nations through whom they were obliged to cross."* For winter was not the only foe they had to meet.

More than one savage tribe, owning at least a nominal allegiance to England, lay in their path. Well was it for them that they had on their staff Don Luis Chevalier, the "man well versed in the language of the Indians," who was as useful to this expedition as ever the French *savants* were to Napoleon's army in Egypt. By seasonable negotiations and precautions, by timely gifts, and Don Luis' successful diplomacy with the ambassadors from the dwellers in the forests and on the prairie, the commander, says the report, "prevented considerable bodies of Indians from opposing this expedition, for it would otherwise have been difficult to have accomplished the taking of the post."*

And what and where was this post which was the goal of this strange and toilsome march? In brief, the party sought to capture the English fort, St. Joseph, situated within the limits of the present State of Michigan. To answer the question more fully, let us recur for a moment to the earlier history of a portion of the North-west. On the first of November, 1679, the great explorer, La Salle, coasting the shore of Lake Michigan, reached the mouth of the river, which he called the Miamis, now known as the St. Joseph. Here, while he waited for his faithful comrade Tonty to join him from Michillimackinac, he set his men to build a fort of timber on a rising ground at the mouth of the river.† The following year this structure was destroyed by the deserters from Fort Crèvecoeur of the Illinois, on their way to Mackinac. Early in the next century, the Jesuits placed a mission, and the French Government built and garrisoned a fort on the St. Joseph River, about sixty miles from its mouth."‡ In 1761, after the capitulation of Montreal, a detachment of the 60th British Regiment, then called the Royal Americans, relieved the French troops and hoisted the English flag. But the post was soon to change masters again.

* Madrid Gazette, supra. † Parkman's La Salle, 149.
‡ P. Margry V., 219, 222, 239; Charlevoix Journal, II., 184.

Hardly two years had passed, when the storm evoked by the mighty spirit of Pontiac burst all unexpectedly upon the young English ensign, Schlosser, and his command of fourteen men, who composed the garrison of Fort St. Joseph; and in less than two minutes, as he declares, the fort was plundered, eleven men were killed, and the commander and three surviving soldiers were prisoners and on their way to Detroit.* This affair occurred eighteen years before the march which is the subject of this paper; and among the French traders then at the fort was one "M. Louison Chevalie," as he is named in a letter from an English trader whom he saved from being killed.† This probably is the same person whom the Spaniards call Don Luis Chevalier, the diplomat of this expedition, and if so, his former residence at Fort St. Joseph, and acquaintance with the Indians there, must have been of great service. It was a simple process in those days which transformed Monsieur Louison into Don Luis.

When Pontiac a few years later sullenly yielded to the power of England, Fort St. Joseph received another garrison of British troops. They were unmolested until the second year of the American Revolution, when one Thomas Brady, residing at Cahokia, organized a party of sixteen volunteers, who crossed the prairies in October, 1777, to St. Joseph, surprised the fort at night, defeated the garrison of twenty-one regulars, and captured a quantity of merchandise. On their return, however, the party were overtaken at the Calumet River, not far from the site of Chicago, by the British soldiers and their Indian allies, and were completely routed. Twelve were taken prisoners, of whom Brady was one, but he escaped and returned to Cahokia, perhaps inspired by that love for office which made him in after years Sheriff of St. Clair County in the Illinois.‡ The death of Brady's comrades aroused their friends to revenge, and in the summer of 1778, Paulette Meilett, the founder of the present town of Peoria, Illinois, with three hundred French and Indians, marched from that place to St. Joseph, and stormed the fort, though defended by English troops and cannon, seized the Indian goods there stored, and sent the garrison to Canada.§ When Meilett had departed the English once more returned, and were again in possession at the era of our story.

It was the head-quarters of the Indian traders for the region, and one of the points from which Indian bands were sent forth to harass the American settlers in the valley of the Ohio. The exact site of the fort has been somewhat difficult to ascertain. The historians, from Parkman

* Conspiracy of Pontiac, I., 274.
† Ibid, I., 274, *Note.*
‡ Reynolds' Illinois, 68, 102.
§ Ibid, 98.

to quaint old Governor Reynolds,* locate it on the site of La Salle's Fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph, or at the portage to the Kankakee, where South Bend, Indiana, stands. In the various accounts it skips back and forth with the celerity of a little hill, but Father Charlevoix' narrative of his visit to it in 1721, and the French and English maps,† make it quite certain that it was on the south bank of the river St. Joseph, about one mile west of the present town of Niles, Michigan, and nearly on the same site occupied in this century by the Carey mission to the Indians. And it was at this time the nearest fortification to St. Louis which flew the English flag.

This was the place which the Government of Spain, now vigorously engaged in the war against Great Britain, had resolved to capture, and to this end this march across what is now the State of Illinois was made. It was not undertaken, like the attempts of Brady and Meillet, at the season when the rivers were open, and shore and stream furnished a bountiful supply of food. Nor was it against an unsuspicious enemy, but one doubly warned, and, to all expectation, on the alert against another attack. Nor could these bold fellows take the most direct route to the point of attack, as preceding expeditions had done, for no man might face the Grand Prairie in winter and expect to survive. For shelter and for water, and fuel as well, they were compelled to follow the courses of the streams and the woods which bordered them, and so they journeyed patiently north-eastward, pushing forward in the teeth of the wintry blasts which grew ever colder and more dreary. By day they plodded onward, laden with their heavy burdens, having before them only the ice-covered streams on the one hand, and the straggling forests, with glimpses of the vast white plains beyond, on the other. Now and then some light-hearted Frenchman from his place in the line breaks into song, or flings a cheery word to a comrade in advance, but for the most part we may imagine them silently and steadily marching on. By night, around their camp fires on some wooded point above the stream, the song and jest go round, and they exchange reminiscences of war and foray. And the Spaniards tell of their glorious capture of West Florida but two years before, when their able leader, Calvez, compelled the English colonel at Baton Rouge to lay down his arms and surrender that post and Natchez, and stormed Mobile and attacked Pensacola. And the Frenchmen speak of their fathers' deeds or

* Conspiracy of Pontiac, I., 59, 273, Reynolds' Illinois, 68.

† Charlevoix, Journal II., 184, Maps of D'Anville, 1746; Vaugondy, 1753; Bellin and Le Rouge, 1755, and E. Bowen, 1763.

their own at Braddock's defeat, or their unavailing efforts to save Fort Du Quesne or Niagara.

The weather was unusually severe and their supplies but scanty. "They suffered," says the account, "in so extensive a march, and so rigorous a season, the greatest inconvenience from cold and hunger." Not a sign or trace of civilized habitation greeted the eyes of these bold warriors, while they crossed the whole of what is now the State of Illinois, from south-west to north-east, and journeyed on into what is now Indiana (though they knew the whole region as "the Illinois"), and passed the portage from the Kankakee to the St. Joseph, at or near the site of the present town of South Bend, Indiana. The Indian allies of the English, who must have met them in this part of their journey, were readily persuaded, by presents and promises of a share in the plunder of the fort, to regard the situation from an impartial point of view. They took the question of aiding their English friends under advisement, and kept it there until aid was needless. The short march along the St. Joseph River was quickly made, as the hardy band rushed onward to the fruition of their hopes. The few English traders and soldiers within the stockade, relying upon the vigilance of their savage spies, were totally unprepared for the sudden dash which made them prisoners, and transferred Fort St. Joseph to the king of Spain. He was the sixth sovereign who had borne sway there, if we include in the list La Salle and Pontiac, who in truth were kinglier men than any of the others.

Don Eugenio Pourré took possession in the name of his king of St. Joseph and its dependencies, and of the river of the Illinois. He lowered the English flag and raised in its place the standard of his Most Catholic Majesty, which was there displayed during the whole time of his stay. His men plundered the fort with system and dispatch, giving the greater part of the provisions and goods to their own Indians and to those who lived at St. Joseph, "as had been offered them," says the Spanish account, "in case they did not oppose the troops," and destroying the remainder with the magazine and store-houses. They remained but a few days for rest and refreshment, and then commenced their homeward route, which was accomplished without incident. Don Eugenio took the English flag, and delivered it on his arrival at St. Louis to Don Francisco Cruvat, in testimony of the successful execution of his orders; and with this ceremony the adventurous march concluded. We hear nothing more of Don Eugenio Pourré, but it appears from the American State papers relative to public lands that his second in command, Don Charles Tayon, who it is stated "had rendered important services to the Spanish Government from the year 1770,

and was second in command at the siege of St. Joseph, which he contributed to take," afterward received a commission for his merits, and was commandant of St. Charles of Missouri from the year 1792 to the year 1804, and that a tract of land was granted to him in 1800 by Don Charles Dehault Delassus, Spanish Governor of Upper Louisiana.*

And now, what was the real object of this remarkable undertaking? It was not a mere foray for the sake of booty, since all that was captured was either destroyed or given to the Indians. Revenge for the attack upon St. Louis in the preceding year by the Mackinac trappers and savages would hardly account for an expedition undertaken at such expense, and at such a time of the year, and which moreover was not sent against Mackinac. The true answer must be found in the wily schemes of the Spanish Court, and if we change the scene to the other side of the Atlantic new light will be thrown upon it. Spain had been since June, 1779, at war with Britain and nominally a friend of the colonies. This was not by reason of any interest in our cause, for the idea of American Independence was extremely unwelcome to her, but simply for her own purposes. It is now quite certain that France agreed to sacrifice to Spain, as a condition of her declaration of war, the interests of the new republic in the fisheries and in the West. And her successes against the English on the lower Mississippi enabled her to lay the foundation of a claim which ultimately grew to portentous dimensions. The heart of the Spanish King was set upon the recovery of Gibraltar as a result of the war, and all of his conquests he proposed to surrender at its conclusion, if needs be, to obtain from Great Britain the key to the Mediterranean. Naturally his ministers desired to make those successes as great as possible. With the aid of France they expected either to accomplish the desired exchange with England or to greatly enlarge the Spanish Empire in America, regardless of the claims of the United States.

At the outset they seemed to content themselves with the region known as West Florida. John Jay was our representative at Madrid, and on his first arriving there, the Minister of Foreign Affairs practically conceded that the Mississippi was our boundary. But a different tone soon prevailed, the atmosphere became more and more unfriendly to the United States, until it was apparent that nothing less than the entire valley of the Mississippi would satisfy the ambition of the Spaniards. Their conquests of Baton Rouge and Natchez were made to serve as a basis for a title to the whole eastern side of the lower Mississippi, as far as the Ohio. They needed something more, in order that they might include in their demands what was afterward known as the North-west Territory, and that was soon

* American State Papers, Public Lands, V., 780.

supplied. Jay, writing to our Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Robert R. Livingston, from Madrid, under date of April 28, 1782, says: "The *Madrid Gazette* of the 12th of March contains a paragraph of which you ought not to be ignorant. I shall therefore copy it verbatim and add a translation as literal as I can make it." Then follows the account of the capture of St. Joseph, from which I have already quoted. And Jay adds: "When you consider the ostensible object of this expedition, the distance of it, the formalities with which the place, the country and the river were taken possession of in the name of his Catholic Majesty, I am persuaded it will not be necessary for me to swell this letter with remarks that would occur to a reader of far less penetration than yourself." *

Let us here call attention, for a moment, to the length of time required to transmit the news of this matter to Spain. We may suppose that Don Eugenio Pourré presented himself at the government house in St. Louis on his return from St. Joseph and made his formal report early in March, 1781. The news was then forwarded by bateaux which slowly drifted down the Mississippi, and in the course of time brought the despatches to New Orleans. Thence by the next vessel that sailed, these were forwarded to the Commandant General of the army of Operations at the Havana, who was also the Governor of Louisiana, and by him they were doubtless sent to Spain in the next man-of-war that crossed the ocean. From her port, by post horses, the papers went to the Capital, and finally the account was published in the *Madrid Gazette* of March 12, 1782, a full year after the return of the expedition.

The information reached France about the same time, and wise old Benjamin Franklin, our Minister to Versailles, was quick to see its meaning. He writes to Livingston from Passy, under date of April 12, 1782: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards having taken a little post called St. Joseph pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country. In what light does this proceeding appear to Congress? While they (the Spaniards) decline our proffered friendship, are they to be suffered to encroach on our bounds and shut us up within the Appalachian mountains? I begin to fear they have some such project." † The treatment of the Spaniards became exceedingly irksome to Jay, and the objects they aimed at were manifest to him. About this time he writes to Franklin, "I am pleased with your idea of paying whatever we owe to Spain. *Their* pride, perhaps, might forbid them to receive the money. But *our* pride has been so hurt by the littleness of their conduct, that I would in that case be for leaving it at the gate of the palace, and quit the country. At

* Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence, VIII , 76. † Franklin's Works (Sparks), IX., 128.

present such a step would not be expedient, though the time will come when prudence, instead of restraining, will urge us to hold no other language, or conduct to this court than that of a just, a free, and a brave people, who have nothing to fear from, nor to request of them." And to Livingston he writes: "France is ready for a peace, but not Spain. The king's eyes are fixed on Gibraltar. . . ." "Spain ought not to expect such a price as the Mississippi for acknowledging our independence." *

Jay could accomplish nothing at Madrid, and was soon transferred to Paris, there to negotiate, with Franklin and Adams, the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain. Further negotiation with Spain was also transferred to Paris, and was conducted there through Count d'Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of France At their first conference the count asked Mr. Jay what our western boundaries were, and was informed that the boundary between us and the Spanish dominions was a line drawn from the head of the Mississippi down through the middle thereof to the thirty-first degree of north latitude. The count replied that the Western country had never belonged to, or been claimed as belonging to the colonies. That it had once belonged to France, had been ceded by her to Britain, of whose dominions it remained a distinct part, until by the conquest of West Florida, and certain posts of the Mississippi and *Illinois* (alluding here to the capture of St. Joseph), it became vested in Spain.† He kindly added that he did not mean to dispute about a few acres or miles, but wished to run the boundary line in such a manner as would be convenient to the United States, though he never could admit the extent we claimed. Mr. Jay desired him to mark on the map the line he proposed, and to place it as far to the west as his instructions would possibly admit of, which he promised to do. A few days afterward the count sent his map with his proposed line marked on it in red ink. He ran it from a lake near the confines of Georgia, but east of the Flint River, to the confluence of the Kanawha with the Ohio, thence round the western shores of Lakes Erie and Huron, and thence round Lake Michigan to Lake Superior. That is, Spain modestly claimed the territory now comprising the States of Mississippi, Alabama, a part of Georgia, Tennessee and Kentucky, a large part of Ohio, and all of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin; but did not mean to dispute about a few acres or miles! And the courtly nobleman further assured the ambassador of the young republic that he had nothing more at heart than to fix such a boundary as might be satisfactory to both parties. Mr. Jay and Dr. Franklin at once saw the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comte de Vergennes, and pointed out the extravagance

* Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence, VIII., 98. † Ibid, VIII., 150.

of this line, Franklin insisting as strenuously as Jay that the Mississippi was the western boundary, and they ought not by any means to part with the right to the free navigation of it. And Franklin, writing to Livingston on August 12, 1782, two days after this interview, says: "Mr. Jay will acquaint you with what passed between him and the Spanish Ambassador respecting the proposed treaty with Spain. I will only mention that my conjecture of that Court's design to coop us up within the Alleghany mountains is now manifested. I hope Congress will insist on the Mississippi as the boundary, and the free navigation of the river, from which they would entirely exclude us."

Again the Count d'Aranda was very urgent that Mr. Jay should mark on his map some line or other to the eastward of the Mississippi to which they could agree; but Jay told him frankly that he was bound by the Mississippi, and had no authority to cede any territories east of it to His Catholic Majesty. They had thus, as Mr. Jay says, "clearly discovered the views of Spain and that they were utterly inadmissible."* It was not long before he was satisfied that France and Spain were acting together, and wished to induce the American ministers to agree on western limits as a preliminary to negotiation with Great Britain, and to leave the country west of such limits to be adjusted between the French and Spanish ambassadors and the Court of London. The conduct of the representatives of the two countries convinced him that France and Spain intended either to secure the western boundary to themselves, or to yield it to Great Britain for an equivalent elsewhere. He divined the essence of the secret arrangement between France and Spain which secured the latter's entry into the war, which was as Bancroft says, "that Spain was to be left free to exact from the United States the renunciation of every part of the basin of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, of the navigation of the Mississippi, and all the land between that river and the Alleghanies." It was a trying moment for our representatives when it became clear to them that our allies were plotting to despoil us; but they were equal to the occasion; and by a master stroke, disregarding their instructions, which directed them to consult the French Court throughout, they entered into the secret negotiation with Great Britain which ended in the Treaty of Versailles in 1783.

Well was it for this good land of ours that its destinies were in the hands of Jay and Franklin and Adams. Counselors less wise or less firm than they might have yielded to the claims of Spain, certainly when supported by France; and the whole North-western Territory might have become Spanish soil and the Ohio the western boundary of the United States of

* Pitkin's History of the United States, II., Chapter 15.

America. Spain in her treaty with England did not obtain the coveted prize of Gibraltar, which the English ministers were inclined to yield to her, but the stubborness of old George III. prevented. He had lost the colonies and lost the Floridas, lost his troops and lost his ships, but he drew the line at the Rock of Gibraltar, and that *he would not lose.*

The Spaniards were forced to content themselves with the Floridas and Minorca, and they restored the Bahamas, which they had taken during the war. The recognition by Great Britain of the boundaries insisted upon by the American commissioners practically settled that question, and France acquiesced at once. Spain, however, did not abandon its alleged title to the western country, but continued to claim both banks of the Mississippi and to plot for the secession of some of the Western States until the treaty of 1797 put an end to its pretensions in that quarter. Spanish grants of land within what is now the State of Illinois, four in one county alone, show how determinedly the Court of Madrid clung to this region and attempted to exercise sovereignty over it to the last.

The policy and aims of Spain during the Revolution, and the use which was made of the expedition to St. Joseph in support of the same, make it reasonably certain that the march of the Spaniards across Illinois was inspired and directed from Madrid, and for a weighty purpose. No official accounts exist in print, but it is believed that in the archives of the Government of Spain evidence upon the point is still preserved, which may one day be given to the world. The Spanish records kept at St. Louis, which probably contained much relating to the subject, were all removed in 1804 when the cession from Spain to France and from France to the United States took place. They were shipped to New Orleans, and thence to Cuba, and were supposed for a time to have been lost in the Gulf of Mexico. In later years a portion of them were discovered in a forlorn condition in an old warehouse in Havana, and it is said that these have since been sent to Spain. The information relating to this march is but meager and must be gleaned from short and scattered notices in various works. It is remarkable that it is not even spoken of in a single history of Michigan, general or local, although the Fort of St. Joseph was situated within the limits of that State. It is alluded to in one history of Indiana,* and in one history of Illinois,† although the latter gives the wrong date, and both dismiss it with brief mention as of a matter unimportant.

And yet it has seemed not altogether a waste of time to recall it from the forgotten past and bring it into view once more. If only for the romance and picturesqueness of that daring winter journey it might have a

* Dillon's Indiana Edition, 1843, p. 190. † Reynold's Illinois, 101

claim to have its story told. Then, too, it gives one of the early touches of life to the broad plains of Illinois. These had existed for countless years which concern us not at all, since no record of man in connection with them remains. But as soon as the forms of one of these pioneer bands appear upon their surface the prairies are humanized and interest in them begins. As a part of the early history of what is now a great State, the passing and repassing over its borders of these warriors bearing the flag of Spain deserves to be chronicled. And as an illustration of that crafty diplomacy which sought to control both the Old World and the New, it may repay study. How little did those light-hearted soldiers and their red allies know that they were but pawns in the great game whereof the players were at Paris and Madrid! But, above all, when we consider how much was staked upon this expedition, and by what a narrow chance the policy of which it was the consummation failed of changing perhaps the whole future of the North-west, there may appear to be reason sufficient for the permanent remembrance of the march of the Spaniards across Illinois.

Edward G Mason

SHILOH

THE SECOND DAY, APRIL 7, 1862

The tangled skein of affairs which existed at 5 P.M. on the 6th of April was taken up by a skillful hand when the glimmer of the bayonets of Ammen's brigade was first seen above the bank at Pittsburg Landing. Only to one who knows General Buell is it given to appreciate the fury of the internal fires which under that icy exterior burned all that long day as he stood on the bank with his chief of staff—saw the army of fugitives increasing as the minutes went on,* heard the roar of musketry and artillery coming nearer and nearer to a position hardly defensible, and finally saw the gray uniforms within close rifle shot of the artillery at the Landing, which was almost without cannoniers, and for which even from the fugitives no support could be organized.

I am certain that the position occupied by Buell's chief of staff was no sinecure before 5 o'clock P.M. on the 6th of April, and that when Buell saw his own troops coming up the bank from the Landing through the crowd of fugitives who were shouting "we are all cut to pieces," he felt that at last he could give an order, was no longer chained to inaction, but could do something to bring out the flag from the gloom of disaster, and became almost jocose. The repression of the day could vent itself in action.

General Johnston (the Confederate leader) had in the morning evidently determined to be at the front all the day, and had he been alive Jackson's want of ammunition would not have kept his brigade back from a charge against which there was nothing to contend except one round from the artillery.

Two regiments of Ammens' brigade deployed at once and received several slight assaults from Chalmers' brigade, but Ammen forced back the Confederate troops which had established themselves on the left bank of Dill's Branch, the extreme left of the Federal position at this hour. The

* There has been much virulent abuse poured upon people who have called attention to the number of fugitives cowering under the bank during the day. The official reports show that of three brigades under Sherman's immediate orders two were swept absolutely from the field, and of the third the commanding officer says that on "the day following, different portions of *each regiment* were attached to other commands," and that some of the "fragments were detained" with Garfield and Nelson until Tuesday and Wednesday. The above statement gives a good basis for an estimate of the stragglers from one division, and there were five on the field.

entire division of Nelson was across the river and in its first position by nine o'clock in the evening.

The delightful descriptions found in the diary of Colonel Jacob Ammen, commanding Tenth brigade of the Army of the Ohio, in the quaint style of a bygone time, tempt me to give some extracts even at the expense of lengthening the account of this battle beyond absolutely necessary limits. Colonel Ammen reached Savannah April 5, before 12 M., and on being told by General Grant that he would probably have some days of rest there before going to Pittsburg Landing gave orders for the usual Sunday morning inspection on the following day, the 6th. He says: "April 6. A beautiful, bright, pleasant morning. The men of the Tenth brigade are putting their guns in order and brushing their uniforms for the parade. The officers are busy with their commands to have all in readiness and Jesse Crane is polishing my spurs and preparing my horse and his rider to appear to the best advantage at the review and inspection ordered." . . . Then, speaking of the night of the 6th after having established his pickets on the bank of Dill's Branch, across which he had driven Jackson's and part of Chalmers' brigades, he says: "About 10 o'clock at night we commenced forming our new line of battle beyond the crest of the hill, in advance of our old line about 300 yards. Too dark to see we prolonged our line by touch. The line was formed in a short time, although if the ground could have been seen it would have been a very long line—front line. . . . About 10.30 o'clock at night Generals Buell and Nelson returned and asked if I was almost ready to commence forming my advance line. The answer was: 'It is about formed,' which gratified them. . . . The troops had orders to lie down in line with their arms, and get such rest as they could in the rain, the pickets in front keeping watch. The Tenth brigade is together again, formed in battle order; has had supper, and is supplied (every man) with 60 rounds of ammunition to commence the battle to-morrow. The men are as comfortable as the enemy in front and the falling rain and want of shelter will permit, and certainly much more cheerful, and prompt, and obedient than I could expect. My staff, my escort and myself are between the two lines of the Tenth brigade. The guns fired at intervals from the gunboats break the stillness of the night but do not prevent sleep. It is after midnight, rain falling, and I am sitting at the foot of a large tree holding my horse ready to mount if necessary. Sleep, sweet refreshing sleep, removes all my anxieties and troubles for two hours. . . .

"April 7, 3 A.M. Less rain. Orders come verbally, 'Colonel Ammen, you will put the Tenth brigade in motion as soon as you can see to move at dawn; find the enemy and whip him' . . . The Tenth brigade is in line

ready to meet an attack, and preparing the best possible breakfast that their haversacks, culinary advantages, etc., will afford." The temptation to add such delightful reading to the story of a well-fought battle is great, but the space given is too small, and I will here make but one more extract referring to preparations for a battle on the 8th. "General Buell comes to prepare for to-morrow's fight; I accompany him; he selects line of battle; orders me where and how to form division; accompany him to Crittenden's division, etc.; get back about midnight. General Buell is indefatigable, careful of his men, cool in battle, labors hard to get the best positions, and sees and examines for himself."

The division of General T. L. Crittenden arrived at the "Landing" about nine o'clock and marched into position (undeployed) to the right of that of Nelson, and remained all night under arms at a point indicated by General Buell. The next division of Buell's army to arrive was that of McCook. General McCook reached the river bank at Savannah about nine o'clock P.M. on the 6th. The administration of the Army of the Tennessee was evidently poor, and the awful necessity which existed of getting reinforcements to Pittsburg Landing before daylight, was not a sufficient spur to have transportation ready at Savannah for the troops of the succoring army as they reached that point. General McCook by force took the necessary boats, landed his first brigade with one regiment of a second brigade at five o'clock on the morning of the 7th, and marched directly for the battle-field.

The battle-field of the 7th of April, 1862, ranging from Pittsburg Landing to Shiloh Church, and from Owl to Lick Creek, stands alone in the history of the battle-fields of the world. Two forces, the Army of the Tennessee, numbering on that morning about 36,000 men, and three divisions of the Army of the Ohio, of probably half that strength, composed of precisely similar materials, stand at dawn abreast of each other with the same end in view, viz.: the defeat of the rebel army, which the day before had victoriously pursued its way from Shiloh Church to Pittsburg Landing. Of the Army of the Tennessee the 1st, 2d, 3d, and part of the 4th divisions had been engaged in severe battle at Fort Donelson, while of the three divisions of the other very few had seen anything but skirmishing; but these latter had been for four months under a perfect soldier, and were well drilled, and well disciplined from their division commanders down through the ranks. Of the first army, though some of the divisions had been longer together, there was but little discipline except in one division, the 2d. These two forces moved from their bivouac about the same hour, but without co-operation, and almost without connection, through

the greater part of the day. The one moved under the immediate direction of its commanding general, and as though it was without support, *protecting its own flanks* through the major part of the battle. At the close of the day it held the line from near Shiloh Church to the Hamburg road near Lick Creek, a distance of about two miles, the remaining distance from the Church to Owl Creek, about one and a quarter miles, being held by the Army of the Tennessee.

The fighting part of the Army of the Tennessee on the morning of the 7th consisted of the first division of General Lew Wallace, numbering some 7,500 men and 12 pieces of artillery, with disjointed fragments of other commands; companies, regiments, and portions of brigades being separated from their own organizations, and marshalled with strangers, and under generals unknown to them, and made up of men who preferred to fight anywhere and under any officer rather than remain with the fugitives at the river bank. This heterogeneous mass, having only one common element, that of physical courage, moved out to battle as they had come in the day before, under no common head, guided by no one leader, each division commander fighting when, where, and in such manner as seemed proper to himself, and only so far as his own safety and opportunities were modified by the equally independent commanders and troops on his right and left. This being the case at the beginning of the battle, the fortunes of each force can be followed separately to the close of the day, as two rivers having waters of a different color can be followed for some distance from their junction, being within the same banks, but preserving for some time, even on the line of demarcation, their own velocity and color.

Somewhat after 4 o'clock A.M., Nelson in line of battle began his forward movement, keeping his left flank protected as far as possible by the waters flowing into the Tennessee River, driving the pickets of the enemy, and at the end of three-quarters of a mile met the opposing line. Here the division was halted by General Buell, who placed a battery on its right, with Crittenden's division on the right of that, and a battery in position near its center, while still to the right were placed the troops of McCook, then beginning to reach the front. Each brigade furnished its own reserve, and one brigade from Crittenden's division was retired from the line after the first advance as a general reserve. To Buell attached themselves fragments of Grant's army numbering about 2,000 men, part of which were joined to McCook and part sent to the left, and all "rendered willing and efficient service." In front of Nelson was "an open field partially screened toward his right by a skirt of woods which extended beyond the enemy's line with a thick undergrowth in front of the left brigade of Crittenden's

division ; then an open field in front of Crittenden's right and McCook's left, and in front of McCook's right woods again with a dense undergrowth.

Nelson's line was on level ground which dipped to the right in front of Crittenden, and became a small ravine, a tributary of Owl Creek, in front of McCook. Beyond the open fields was the enemy's line, with a battery in front of Nelson's left, another covering his right and Crittenden's left, also one commanding the woods and field in front of Crittenden and McCook's left, and still another in front of McCook's right.* The artillery on both sides opened with spirit ; and with a strong line of skirmishers supported by the lines of battle Buell ordered an advance. The obliquity of the opposing lines brought Nelson's division first into the fight, which at once became severe.

To give an idea of the fighting on the extreme left the following extract from the diary of Colonel Ammen, before referred to, is made. "No sooner is our line formed than the enemy assault fiercely, but the brave men and officers of the Tenth stand cool and firm, and hurl the foe back again and again as often as he reaches the crest of the small rise immediately in our front. The attacks of the enemy are frequent and desperate, but our new troops have the coolness of veterans and the enemy is massing in our front apparently determined to carry our left flank. The Tenth is placed on the best ground for defense. . . . On the rebels come with loud shouts, and when they are at the proper place the men of the Tenth in the front rank fire. . . . The enemy finds the aim too accurate. . . . They fall back, renew the attack repeatedly, but are each time repulsed. . . . Generals Buell and Nelson come along . . . They were uneasy for the safety of the left, but when they witnessed the decided repulse of the enemy they expressed their admiration. . . . Another effort without success : our left baffles all their courage and skill. . . . Ammunition is nearly exhausted. Our brave and noble Generals (Buell and Nelson) have taken good care of their troops. Ammunition is close to our line ; the boxes are taken to the line ; the cartridge boxes are filled and each man has 20 more cartridges on his person. . . ." While this good work was being done by Ammen, Hazen's brigade charged and took the second battery on the rebel right, but the fire of other batteries and a heavy force of infantry sent to oppose it caused it to give way and give up the battery temporarily captured. The falling back of the brigade brought a heavy attack upon the left of Crittenden's line. † Crittenden met and repulsed this attack with a

* See Buell's report dated April 15, 1862.

† General T. L. Crittenden, as intelligent as gallant, had some aspersions thrown on his military character by reason of the rout of the Federal right wing at Chickamauga in September, 1863. He

counter-charge by the brigade under Colonel W. S. Smith, which in its success, going too far afield, was driven back nearly to its first position. By this time (about nine o'clock) Nelson, again hard pressed, asked for assistance, and General Buell sent to him Terrill's battery, which had just arrived on the ground, and the 19th Ohio regiment. Terrill at once silenced the enemy's right battery, upon which Colonel Ammen advanced, but was soon checked by an effort to turn his left flank, and by a strong counter-attack in front. The 19th Ohio coming in on the left, another forward movement was ordered by Buell, and the right of the enemy's position was carried. Then followed a concentration of two batteries of Buell's artillery, and an attack in front by Crittenden's division, which forced all this part of the enemy's line some 800 yards to the rear, with loss of several pieces of artillery. A new stand was made here, but a battery quickly silenced a battery of the enemy, and Crittenden moved on it and captured it, the infantry support retreating from it. This brings us to about 2 P.M. McCook, on Crittenden's right, has not yet been noticed, but, as will be seen, his fighting was as severe and brilliant as that on the left and in the center. Shortly after his march had begun General McCook met General Buell, who directed him where to place the only brigade of his division then landed. While this was being done another brigade came up, and it was placed in reserve to protect the right flank, which was unsupported. These arrangements being completed, McCook ordered an advance to the high ground across the ravine on his front. The troops became at once engaged, the severity of the attack being on his right. The reserve brigade was immediately ordered up, and the third brigade of the division then coming up, was ordered to a position in reserve. General Rousseau, commanding the first brigade of the division, moving always obliquely to the right, after repulsing several assaults, finally assumed the offensive soon after noon, and after a severe fight, lasting about three-quarters of an hour, captured two pieces of artillery, recaptured the headquarters of General McClernand, and halted for want of ammunition. Colonel Kirk, with the second brigade of the division, at once came up and relieved Rousseau, who, falling back a short distance, found his ammunition waiting for him, and replenished his cartridge boxes.

The gaining of ground to the right as McCook's division advanced had made a gap between him and Crittenden; and Gibson, commanding

asked for a Court of Inquiry, which entirely exonerated him. I mention this because I in common with others did him injustice at that time and this is my first opportunity for making an *amende*.

the third brigade of McCook, was ordered into the line to fill it. Gibson advanced, and soon became seriously engaged, but continued pressing the enemy until he found an effort was being made to turn his left flank. That danger he overcame, but was soon threatened with a more determined effort to effect the same purpose. With the aid of a battery and two regiments of Hurlbut's division of the Army of the Tennessee (which had up to this time been lying behind McCook in reserve), the second movement was repulsed. Rousseau's brigade having meanwhile received its ammunition, was again put into line, and a forward movement ordered of the whole division. Of this movement McCook says: "The enemy did not withstand the charge but fled, leaving all of their wounded, and were pursued by my division beyond General Sherman's headquarters of the day before, when the pursuit was taken up by the cavalry and artillery."* From about four o'clock A.M. till four o'clock P.M. the three divisions of the Army of the Ohio were in ranks, and most of that time engaged in a fierce struggle; and at night they bivouacked *in front* of the line occupied on the morning of the 6th of April by the Army of the Tennessee. The cause of this success was that the three divisions were guided by a master soldier. He was everywhere, and the history of the war shows no more determined fighting or skillful tactics than was displayed by those three divisions and their leaders on that day, and the impress of their work is as assuredly with us to-day as are the effects of the battle of Gettysburg or the capture of Vicksburg, neither of which would have happened but for the services of Don Carlos Buell on the 7th of April, 1862.†

The labors and services of the Army of the Tennessee on the 7th of April must now be portrayed. On this day two divisions have practically disappeared (the 2d and 6th), and one has been added (the 3d), under General Lew Wallace.

This last, it will be remembered, crossed the bridge at Snake Creek about dark on the evening of the 6th, taking up a position on the high ground half a mile beyond the bridge, and behind Tillman's Creek.‡ On the

* See McCook's report, dated April 9, 1862.

† In comparing some of the dispositions and arrangements of the 6th and 7th, we see that on the 7th under Buell no falling back was rendered necessary by the turning of flanks. The effort was made by the enemy at various times, but skillful tactics and reserves promptly brought up always checked the movement. When ammunition failed, regiments and brigades did not fall out of line without permission, leaving exposed flanks and gaps, nor were they obliged to march back to the Landing to replenish their cartridge boxes under the eye of the general in command of the field. The movements out of line were always orderly, the ammunition always close at hand, and General Buell was always occupied with matters to which subordinates could not attend.

‡ It seems proper to assert here that in all human probability under the principles which

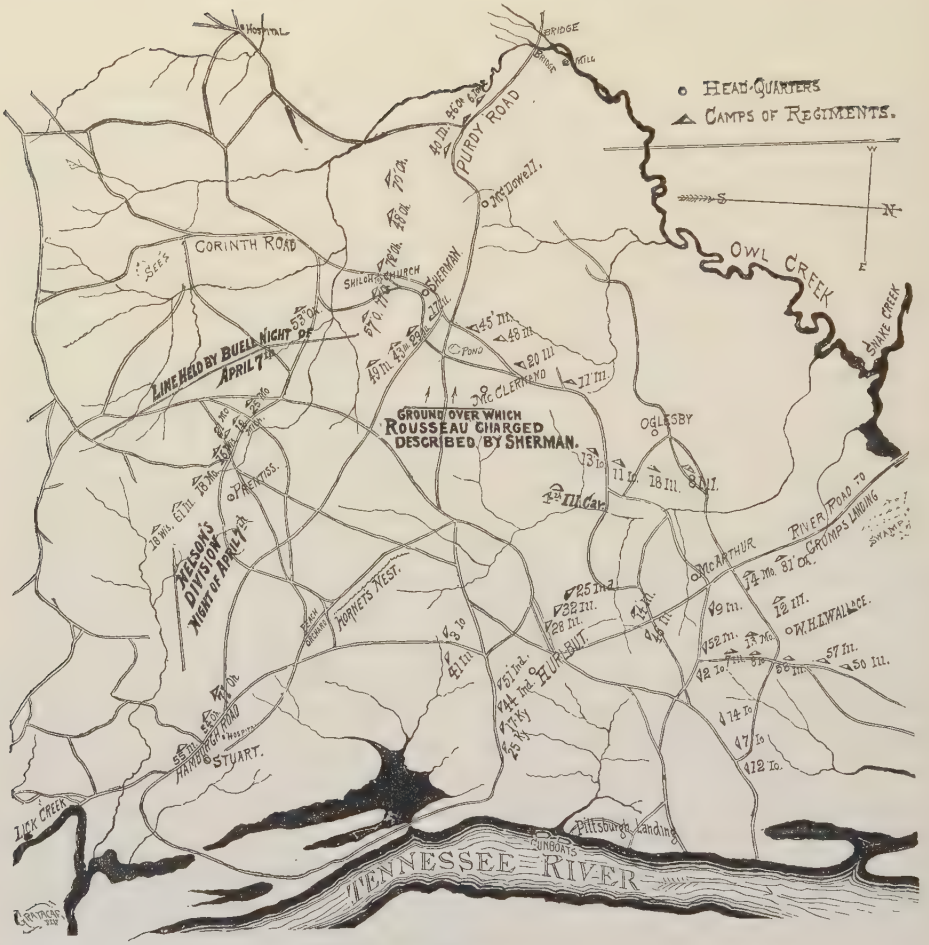
afternoon of the 6th Sherman and McClernand held a consultation and "selected a new line of defense with its right covering the bridge by which Wallace had to approach." Circumstances over which these two generals had no control changed the positions of their last line so that it did not cover the bridge, but brought them close on Wallace's left flank after he had crossed.* As the enemy did not take advantage of the situation, Sherman's failure is not now to be regretted.

On the bluffs on the opposite side of Tillman's Creek the enemy had posted a battery and infantry. On this force shortly after daybreak Wallace opened two batteries, driving away the Confederate battery. Wallace says in his report: "During this affair General Grant came up and gave me my direction of attack, which was formed at a right angle with the river, with which at the time my line ran almost parallel." The enemy's line was about parallel to that of Wallace. The line of General Grant would have taken Wallace down into the lowland of Owl Creek, presenting his flank to the enemy. Wallace very properly moved on the enemy's front with his brigades *en echelons*, and carried the position without difficulty. Proceeding along the table land for a quarter of a mile brought the division to the edge of the field in which were Oglesby's headquarters. There General Wallace conceived the idea of turning the left flank of the enemy, which placed the division on the edge of Owl Creek valley and on the north side of the field in which McDowell's headquarters were situated. From there about noon a forward movement to the south was made by the command. This was done under sharp fire of artillery and musketry. On leaving the woods on the left of the field the fire was so hot that the troops to the left of Wallace gave way and he halted his line to save his left flank. However, "the retiring regiments rallied and repulsed the enemy, and recovered their lost ground,"† and the division again moved forward, and the enemy fell back. Wallace says that here he again changed front toward the west, and that

governed the fighting of the 6th, had Wallace's division and that of Nelson arrived on the field *very much* earlier than they did, they would have been only so much more "grain to the hopper," and the general result of that day would have been worse by the demoralization of two more divisions. The final result could then have been predicted with certainty.

* Sherman says, after arriving in their last position "General McClernand's division made a fine charge on the enemy, and drove him back into the *ravines to our front and right.* I had a clear field about 200 yards wide in my immediate front, and contented myself with keeping the enemy's infantry at that distance during the rest of the day." The only point on the map answering to Sherman's description is, the rear of the field on which McArthur's headquarters were situated, and this position also accounts for Wallace being on the right on the 7th, which could not have been the case had Sherman covered the bridge.

† See report of General Wallace.



SHILOH BATTLE-FIELD. 7TH OF APRIL.

[*Dill's Branch is the short stream joining the Tennessee River just above the "Landing" on the map.*]

just as this maneuver was completed the supports on his "left again gave way, closely followed by masses of the enemy." The reserves were brought up, and the 11th Indiana, which was on the left, was attacked on its left flank, but threw back its left wing, and Colonel Willich, of McCook's division, coming up on the left charged and drove the enemy, and the endangered flank was saved. The colonel of the 11th Indiana says that took place at 2.30 P.M. The connection having been made between McCook and Wallace the movement is always forward, and the battle closes about 4 P.M. leaving Wallace on the extreme right of the conjoint forces.

Sherman says that at daylight on Monday he "received General Grant's orders to advance and recapture our original camps." This order to do a specific thing was not followed by any order for co-operation on the part of the other division commanders of the army, and the force which Sherman had to effect the object in view consisted of two regiments of the 2d brigade well led; of the 1st brigade not a man that I can trace, and of the 3d brigade all that the commanding officer could *rally*. To these must be added the 13th Missouri regiment, which lost in the two days of battle eighty-one men in all, and the 46th Illinois belonging to the 4th (Hurlbut's) division.

Of the movements of this command on the second day Sherman says he "marched forward" (time of starting not given) "and reoccupied the ground on the extreme right of General McClernand's camp, where we attracted the fire of a battery located near Colonel McDowell's former headquarters. *Here I remained patiently waiting for the sound of General Buell's advance upon the main Corinth road. About* 10 A.M. *the heavy firing in that direction and the steady approach satisfied me, and General Wallace being on my right flank with his well-conducted division*, I led the head of my column to General McClernand's right, formed line of battle facing south, with Buckland's brigade (4th) directly across the ridge and Stuart's brigade (2d) on its right in the wood, and thus advanced slowly and steadily under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery." Under cover of the fire of three guns Sherman says, "We advanced till we reached the point where the Corinth road crosses the line of McClernand's camp, and here I saw for the first time the well-ordered and compact columns of General Buell's Kentucky forces, whose soldierly movements at once gave confidence to our newer and less disciplined forces. . . . A whole brigade of McCook's division advanced beautifully, deployed and entered this dreaded woods. . . . I ordered my Second brigade to form on its right and my Fourth brigade on its right, all to advance abreast with this Kentucky brigade before mentioned, which I afterwards found to be Rousseau's brigade of McCook's division." Sherman gave personal directions to the handling of two 24-pounder howitzers, with which he says he silenced two batteries, one being at the Shiloh Church. "Rousseau's brigade moved in splendid order, sweeping everything before it, and at 4 P.M. I stood upon our original front line. . . . Several times during the battle cartridges gave out, *but General Grant had thoughtfully kept a supply coming from the rear*." And thus General Sherman had obeyed the order of General Grant to recapture his original camps. The charge of Rousseau was made between two and three o'clock P.M. and at half-past two Wallace and the colonel of the 11th Indiana say the supports on their left gave way,

and that Colonel Willich of McCook's division came in and drove the enemy back, and that then the division went forward without further serious detention. If these statements be correct Sherman must have marched into his camp behind the troops of McCook and Wallace. There is no report from the brigade or regimental commanders in the 2d brigade of the operations of the 7th. The colonel of the 4th brigade, who reports his operations in detail, does not speak of any such charge as Sherman says was made by his troops. Colonel Cockerell of the 70th Ohio, the only regimental commander of the brigade who makes any report of any value, says: "Our ammunition at this point failed, and part of General McCook's division coming up opened upon the enemy in fine style. *The whole brigade* retired to receive a fresh supply of ammunition, which as soon as we received we again advanced over the same ground towards our encampment; *but the enemy was rapidly retiring.* . . ." The fighting could not have been close or severe which would have allowed a whole brigade to fall out of line for ammunition, leaving the place unfilled, without serious disaster.

General McClernand, whose division was next on the left, speaks of an order of Monday morning "for a forward movement" which does not seem to have had the specific purpose of Sherman's order, but under which he moved forward on the line of his retreat of the day before.

General McClernand speaks of retaking his own camp and of seeing Generals Sherman and Wallace advancing in the same general direction, but the three commands were kept together by no common tie of superior authority nor yet by a common sense of safety in co-operation. McClernand says he pressed on through the camps till his position became critical. From other sources the information comes that his *right flank* was attacked, but Rousseau of McCook's division came up and the danger passed by. McClernand and Sherman had separated and the enemy came in between. Rousseau came up and cleared McClernand's front and right and Willich attacked the enemy on Wallace's left, thus leaving Sherman and McClernand in the rear to occupy their own camps. There remains one more division of the Army of the Tennessee to follow through this day, and that is the 4th under General Hurlbut. Wallace had begun his work at daylight and Sherman and McClernand moved probably not long after Wallace. *About* 8 *o'clock*, however, Hurlbut's division "was formed in line *close to the river bank* and I obtained a few crackers for my men. About 9 A.M. I was *ordered by General Grant* to move up to the support of General McClernand, then engaged near his own camp."*

One brigade and one battery moved forward and joined McClernand's

* See Hurlbut's report, April 12, 1862.

force while it was in line near Oglesby's headquarters, and after Wallace had passed on beyond it. General Hurlbut says the other two brigades went into action elsewhere. Of his own movements he says, "about 1 o'clock . . . I went by the request of General McClernand to the rear of his line to bring up *fresh troops*" (where from?) "and was engaged in pressing them forward" when the battle was won. That is about four o'clock. Colonel Veatch, commanding the 2d brigade, says that his brigade was held in reserve on the right until noon, when General McCook sent a request that he should move to the left and close a gap made by a forward movement. Changing position, the colonel remained awaiting orders, "till in the afternoon Major-General Grant now ordered me forward to charge the enemy. I formed my brigade in column of battalions and moved forward in double quick through our deserted camps, and to the thick woods beyond our line in pursuit of the retreating enemy, following him until we were in advance of our other forces, and were ordered to fall back by General Buell." The time and value of this charge ordered by General Grant, can be obtained from the report of Major John W. Foster, commanding 25th Indiana volunteers, 2d brigade, 4th division. From it I extract the following: "In the afternoon I received your order to move rapidly forward to the center and form with the brigade for the final charge upon the enemy. Taking our position in the line we moved forward in double quick in fine order, hoping to give the last charge to the flying rebels; *but when we had passed beyond our outposts and on to the hill the enemy had gone too far for us to reach them and the pursuit was given over to the cavalry.*" The 3d brigade was ordered to the front about eleven o'clock, and going to the right of McClernand's command participated in the fight, where the division of McCook came to the rescue. The remnant of the 2d division under a colonel went with such others as offered themselves to seek service under Buell. This finishes the tale of the deeds of the Army of the Tennessee on the 7th of April. The reports are somewhat meager and somewhat contradictory, but the movements can be tolerably well understood by following closely the positions of McCook and Wallace. Of the captures made by this army during the day, McClernand speaks of two guns captured by two of his regiments, but they were all the day doing duty under Crittenden. General Sherman says: "The enemy captured seven of our guns on Sunday, but on Monday we *recovered* seven guns . . . to balance the account." No record of this capture by Sherman's force is found in the sub-reports, and Buell's chief of ordnance speaks of giving up captured artillery to those who called for it. The general in command of this army was also technically in command of the field. As has been

seen, he gave Wallace his line of direction in the early morning. He also gave early orders to McClernand and Sherman. He was at the river bank at nine o'clock, four hours after his troops had become engaged, and there gave orders for a division to go to the front under the guidance of a staff officer. Generals Sherman and McClernand do not mention his appearance in their commands. Later in the day, while Rousseau was finishing up his good work, General Grant took one of his regiments, *that was waiting for ammunition*, and made a charge with it, which seemed to go no further than to get it under fire, with loss of eight men. The brigade commander, who had handled his command with great skill, and who might be supposed to know when a charge was necessary, halted the regiment until he found out that General Grant was accompanying it.

Later on we hear of General Grant in rear of McCook's command, giving an order for a brigade of Hurlbut's to make a charge. Whether this was done from knowledge of what was going on in front, we can only conjecture from the fact that, though moving at a double quick and passing beyond Buell's lines, it did not overtake the enemy. That the battle of the 6th was fought by its commander on what he deemed to be true military principles, is evident from the fact that the Army of the Tennessee fought its part *of the battle of the 7th* on precisely the same principles. We have now before us the two armies and their services on the same field and on the same day—the two generals and their different methods on the battle-field.*

The great mass of the citizens of our country, with more or less knowledge of the facts, have rendered their verdict as to the relative value of the services performed by the two armies and their leaders on that day. Misrepresentation and suppression of the truth on the one side, and a pride which was too great to murmur against injustice on the other side, have had much to do with this. Will negligent history ever reconsider the question and bring about a change of verdict?

* Much preposterous argument has been used to prove the relative *value* of the fighting by the relative losses of the two armies. Such reasoning ignores the fact that a skillful and successful advance is less destructive to life than an unskillful retreat, and that Buell's men did not do much retreating on the 7th. The loss of life at Cold Harbor on the 3d of June, 1864, was greater than at the battle of Nashville the same year. Could any one draw like conclusions from those two battles?

THE BATTLE OF CROSS KEYS

CAMPAIGNING IN THE MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT.

[*Continued from page* 396.]

At Franklin Frémont's forces were soon assailed by an enemy more formidable, even, than Stonewall Jackson. That enemy was famine. The mountainous country around Franklin yielded almost nothing in the way of provisions, and the road back to Petersburg and New Creek—the "cracker line," as the soldiers called it—was not suited to the transportation of supplies. All the brooks and creeks along the route were destitute of bridges and greatly swollen by rain, and the wagon-track, edged in between the rocky bed of the Potomac on the one hand and mountain walls and precipices on the other, was almost impassable for wheels. Food and forage come forward slowly, and in meager quantities. Further advance on this line was scarcely possible until the season advanced and roads should improve. It began to look as if the army would have to go back to Petersburg or Moorefield to save itself from starvation.

Another reason, equally imperative, soon impelled a rear movement. While Frémont's wagon-masters were struggling with the difficulties of the wretched cart track in the mountains, Stonewall Jackson's army was making the best use possible of the solid turnpikes of the Shenandoah Valley. After disappearing from Frémont's front at Franklin,* Jackson quickly recrossed the mountain to Harrisonburg, and, moving swiftly down the valley by way of Newmarket, pounced upon and routed a small Union force at Front Royal; and then, with almost equal suddennesss, fell upon Banks at Winchester. Unfortunately for Banks, Shields' Division, about eleven thousand strong, had been sent toward Fredericksburg to join McDowell's intended advance from that point on Richmond. Banks therefore had with him less than seven hundred men wherewith to withstand Jackson's eight thousand. After fighting stubbornly for five hours, Banks abandoned Winchester, and made his way to Martinsburg, thence withdrew across the Potomac to Williamsport. Jackson, pursuing, captured Martinsburg, occupied the Loudoun heights opposite Harper's Ferry, and took position with the main body of his army five miles south of Harper's Ferry, at Halltown.

In this emergency the President directed Frémont to push across the mountains to Harrisonburg, "in such a way as to relieve General Banks,"

* May 14, 1862. Franklin was a mountain hamlet lying at the head waters of the South Branch of the Potomac.

and ordered Shields, at Fredericksburg, to move rapidly back to the Shenandoah along the line of the Manassas Gap Railroad. Frémont lost no time in moving, but not in the direction indicated in his instructions. On the 25th of May—the day on which Jackson appeared before Winchester—his troops quitted Franklin for Petersburg, which place was reached by a forced march on the 26th. At Petersburg every spare wheel was dropped, and the men, throwing aside their knapsacks and taking all the ammunition and hard bread they could carry, hurried on to Moorefield. Having learned by this time that Frémont had gone back to Moorefield instead of moving eastward from Franklin, as instructed, the President telegraphed his astonishment. Frémont replied: "The reasons for my being at Moorefield" [instead of moving toward Harrisonburg], "are, first, the point of your order was to relieve General Banks. At the time it was issued, it was only known to me that he had been attacked at Front Royal. When my march commenced I knew he had retreated from Winchester. Second, of the different roads to Harrisonburg, all but one, and that one leading southward, had been obstructed by the enemy, and if the loss of time by taking the only open road were no consideration, it was still a simple impossibility to march in that direction. My troops were utterly out of provisions. There was nothing whatever to be found in the country except a small quantity of fresh beef, from the effects of which the troops were suffering, and, in fact, all my men were only saved from starvation by taking the road to Petersburg, where they found five days' rations."

This explanation being accepted, Frémont, at Moorefield, turned his course eastward. Colonel Cluseret, of his staff, led the column with a brigade of light troops, consisting of the Sixtieth Ohio, Colonel Trimble, and the Eighth Virginia, Major Oley. The Potomac (South Branch) was crossed by fording, the men supporting themselves by a rope stretched from bank to bank while they waded waist deep through the swift current. The column then ascended the South Branch mountain, and pushing on as fast as possible, crossed one range after another, often amid wild solitudes, and by obscure and difficult roads. Rain fell much of the time, and on the mountains it was chilling cold; marching all day, the soldiers, exhausted, threw themselves at night on the wet ground, with no other bed or covering than green pine branches and a single blanket or poncho. On one occasion a violent tempest overwhelemed them just as darkness fell. Rain and wind wrestled with each other, and the tired soldiers were lighted to bed by the Storm-King's torch, fitfully flaring amongst the mountain peaks. Water deluged the ground, and the night was spent for the most part sleeplessly, in the cold wind and beating rain. On another occasion

the writer, rolled in his gum blanket, inadvertently fell asleep beside a camp-fire, and was conscious of nothing more until morning found him curled around a heap of drowned embers.

On the 29th, upon protest of his medical director against further marching without rest, Frémont called a halt of one day at Fabius. In the ascent of the mountains hundreds of broken-down men of the Blenker Division had been left along the road. Enfeebled by recent fatigue and lack of food, and by previous hardships on their march from Eastern Virginia, their strength had completely failed, and a rest of twenty-four hours was necessary. During this halt an inspection was had of the whole command, and the Blenker troops, formerly ten thousand strong, were found to number less than six thousand fit for duty. On June 1st, as the column descended the Little North Mountain, its movement was quickened by the sudden outbreak of a distant cannonade. Directly an order came back for Schenck's Division to hurry forward with all possible speed. The weather had all at once grown sweltering hot, and a black storm-cloud hung portentously over the mountains. Soon the cannonading redoubled its violence, and heavy peals of thunder mingled with the detonations of the artillery. The troops, without knowing whither or for what, were rushed ahead as fast as they could go, sometimes almost upon the run. Arriving, heated and breathless, in the vicinity of the firing, they were thrown forward in battle array in some open fields. At the same time a heavy rain began falling, and peal after peal of terrific thunder crashed through the sky, fairly silencing the less sonorous rage of man. There had been some skirmishing in the woods in front, but that, like the cannonading, seemed to be stifled by the blinding rain. The storm continued until nightfall, and Schenck's troops, without becoming engaged, lay down upon their arms.

The firing which had summoned us so precipitately forward had been an exchange of compliments between Frémont's advance under Cluseret and Ashby's cavalry, supported by Ewell's infantry. Cluseret had driven in Ashby's videttes early in the forenoon, and some hours later had made the discovery that Jackson's entire force was passing Strasburg, hurrying southward. During the storm Ashby and Ewell withdrew, followed at nightfall by Cluseret, who pushed through Strasburg, and two miles beyond that place encountered Jackson's rear guard under Ashby. Although it was by that time eleven o'clock at night, and very dark, Cluseret led his men to the attack, and so impetuously as to throw the Confederates into confusion. He then ordered a charge, but the order was disobeyed by our cavalry, which fled disgracefully, passing over and carrying with it the artillery. But the Sixtieth Ohio, which at that moment held the advance

of the reconnoitring column, stood firm—not a man wavering—and withstood the counter attacks of the enemy.

Next morning early the main body of Frémont's army descended from the heights near Strasburg and turned its course up the valley. It was joined during the day by Bayard's cavalry and a battalion of the Pennsylvania Bucktail infantry, leading McDowell's column, which had countermarched from Fredericksburg, and had approached from the east while Frémont was coming over the mountains from the west. The President had been impatiently spurring both McDowell and Frémont by telegraph, rightly believing that a splendid opportunity was offered for uniting the forces of both generals in Jackson's rear at Strasburg. Had this been done an army of forty thousand men would have barred the enemy's retreat, and would undoubtedly have brought his audacious expedition to a calamitous end.

But the wily raider was not to be caught napping. At Halltown, on the 29th of May, he learned that Frémont and McDowell were closing in behind him, and he lost not a moment in extricating himself from his perilous position. Shields was already nearing Front Royal, only twelve miles from Strasburg, and Frémont had less than forty miles to go to reach the same point. At Halltown, Jackson was forty-three miles from Strasburg, and so far as distances were concerned the chances were decidedly against his escape. Energy, skill, and audacity often far outweigh adverse physical circumstances in war, and Jackson seldom displayed these qualities to better advantage than he did in this emergency. Leaving Winder's brigade and the cavalry to cover the withdrawal of his outlying detachments, he put all the rest of his command in instant movement toward Winchester, where he arrived with the bulk of his command on the 30th, having marched that day thirty-five miles. On the same day (30th) Shields, leading McDowell's advance, seized Front Royal, but not until the Confederate detachment there, though driven off hastily, had managed to destroy a large amount of captured army stores. On the 31st, Jackson, pursuing his march from Winchester, reached Strasburg—eighteen miles—in advance of either of his antagonists. Banks, at Williamsport, had made slight show of pursuit, and Shields, at Front Royal, had contented himself with a reconnoissance* toward Winchester. McDowell, coming up on the 31st with Rickett's Division (under Ord) hurried Shields forward, but the latter, instead of moving toward Strasburg, as was intended, took the road to Winchester, which place Jackson had by that time quitted. Frémont had to travel a rough road, and, as we have seen, did not touch the enemy's

* Led by Colonel Carroll, of the Eighth Ohio.

outposts until June 1. Winder, having marched thirty-five miles in a single day, came up by noon of the 1st, and Jackson thereupon withdrew Ewell from Frémont's front, and resumed his flight, taking his course up the valley, along the North Fork of the Shenandoah.

Thus Jackson dexterously eluded the capture planned for him, and nothing remained but to give him chase, which Frémont instantly did, hoping by vigorous pursuit to compel him to turn and fight. At the same time Shields advanced up the South Fork, on the eastern side of the Massanutten Mountain, aiming to head off the enemy at some point farther up the valley.

A grand foot-race between the three armies now began, Jackson's trying to escape, Frémont's pursuing, and Shields' * endeavoring to forestall the enemy at the upper fords of the Shenandoah. Frémont spurred his command to the top of its speed. The weather was hot and sultry, and such rapid marching was exceedingly trying to soldiers who had just descended from the soft clay roads and cool atmosphere of the mountains. Hundreds fell out of the ranks exhausted, and of some regiments but a mere handful was left with the colors. The enemy was evidently quite as much fatigued. On the 2d over five hundred prisoners fell into our hands, and some of our own men who had been taken from Banks were recovered. Confederate stragglers were picked up in the woods by scores, and the route was lined with clothing, blankets, broken ambulances, muskets, and articles of equipment left behind by the pursued. Frequently during the day the enemy's rear guard was attacked by our advance and worsted. On the 3d the chase was continued with equal vigor, but not without hinderance, for all the water courses in the valley were greatly swollen by another excessive rainfall, and Jackson managed to destroy the bridges behind him. His cavalry broke the bridges also in front of Shields, whose hinderance by floods was more serious even than Frémont's. Our own cavalry, under Bayard, skirmished constantly with that of Ashby, which covered Jackson's retreat, but our infantry, notwithstanding its rapid marching, was seldom able to get forward in time to take any part in these engagements. At Mount Jackson, which was reached on the 4th, the Confederate commander nimbly placed between himself and his pursuer the raging river, which had overflowed its banks at that point and inundated the valley for a mile. He also destroyed the bridge, leaving to our advance the poor satisfaction of seeing his rear battalions leisurely vanishing "over the hills and far away." At the same time another heavy rain came on,

* McDowell had turned over to Shields the pursuit of the enemy by the Luray route. Ord's Division remained, for the time being, at Front Royal.

drenching to the skin our tentless soldiers. Our supply trains having fallen far behind, the haversacks of the men were empty, and they were obliged to seek food by foraging. The whole country was scoured, and all kinds of edibles brought in and devoured indiscriminately. Exposure to the storm, coupled with this miscellaneous diet, soon produced sickness. The foraging was generally done by stragglers, without orders or system, and, as always happens in such cases, resulted in a great deal of plundering which was alike useless and inexcusable. The volunteer pillagers of General Blenker's division were, on this march, nicknamed "Blenkers," a term equivalent to that of "bummers," as originally used afterwards in the army of General Sherman. Unlike the "bummers," however, the "Blenkers" generally carried their plunder on their own backs, and loaded themselves down with all manner of household stuff, much of which was not of the slightest use to them.

In the course of a day or two the army succeeded in crossing the Shenandoah at Mount Jackson. On the 5th it reached New Market, and on the 6th our cavalry advance drove the enemy's rear guard through Harrisonburg. From that place Jackson had moved off to the south-eastward, intending to cross the South Fork at Port Republic. Apprehension that he might not reach that crossing until Shields had seized it accelerated his movement. He was followed closely by our cavalry, which attacked that of Turner Ashley two miles beyond Harrisonburg but was repulsed. Our discomfited horsemen were reënforced by four companies of Kane's Rifles (Pennsylvania Bucktails), and by the First Pennsylvania Cavalry, led forward by General Bayard. Ashby was at the same time reënforced by Stewart's brigade of infantry, and a sharp engagement ensued, during which Lieutenant-Colonel Kane, commanding the Bucktails, was wounded and captured. The Confederates also captured Sir Percy Wyndham, an English officer commanding the First New Jersey Cavalry, but they suffered a great loss in the person of General Ashby, who was killed. Frémont's main army reach Harrisonburg on the 7th, and early the following morning (Sunday, 8th) it pushed ahead again, stripped for battle. Having quitted the turnpike, the column moved upon a muddy clay road which the march of Jackson's troops and trains had reduced to a wretched condition. The route traversed a somewhat broken country, upon which the abrupt headland of the Massanutten Mountain abutted a few miles to the northward. From the crest of that headland the Confederate signal officers had observed at once the movement of Shields' army east of the Massanutten ranges, and of Frémont's west of it.

At length Jackson resolved to turn and fight. South of him, and across

his line of retreat, lay the Shenandoah River, in two branches, one of which was fordable, and the other, too deep for fording, was spanned by a single bridge. It was currently believed in Frémont's army that Shields had seized this bridge and closed Jackson's avenue of escape. About 8:30 A.M. Frémont's advance, under Cluseret, came up with and engaged the enemy near the hamlet of Cross Keys, six miles beyond Harrisonburg. Cluseret advanced about a mile, stubbornly resisted, when he encountered the main Confederate force drawn up in battle order, and covering the roads leading to the Shenandoah. General Ewell was in command of the Confederates, Jackson having gone to Port Republic with Winder's Division to watch for Shields. Profiting by his knowledge of the country, Ewell had chosen his position with much skill, and had posted his forces advantageously upon a ridge where they were well sheltered and flanked by timber. In front the ground was open, and descended rapidly to a small creek. Trimble's Brigade held Ewell's right, Elzey's his center, and Stewart's his left. Taylor's Brigade, which came up about 2 P.M. from Port Republic, was held in reserve. The high ground occupied by the enemy afforded excellent position for his batteries. Frémont's formation was made upon Cluseret's Brigade,* which had gained a good position, well to the front. Stahel's † and Bohlen's ‡ brigades came in on the left, and Milroy's § and Schenck's ‖ on the right of Cluseret's. Von Steinwehr's Brigade ¶ (acting as rear guard, under Colonel Koltes), was deployed, as fast as it came up, in support of the batteries, which were skillfully posted by Lieutenant-Colonel Pilsen, Chief of Artillery.

Frémont's effective force, present on the field (his own estimate), was ten thousand five hundred men; Ewell's about the same.** While the infantry was coming into position, our batteries were worked with good

* Sixtieth Ohio, Eighth Virginia and Thirty-ninth New York (Garibaldi Guard).

† Eighth, Forty-first and Forty-fifth, New York, 27th Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Bucktails, and Dilger's, Buell's and Schirmer's batteries.

‡ Fifty-fourth and Fifty-eighth New York, Seventy-fourth and Seventy-fifth Pennsylvania, and Wiedrich's Battery.

§ Second, Third and Fifth Virginia, Twenty-fifth Ohio, and Hyman's, Johnson's and Ewing's batteries.

‖ Thirty-second, Fifty-fifth, Seventy-third, Seventy-fifth and Eighty-second Ohio, and De Beck's and Rigby's batteries.

¶ Twenty-ninth, Sixty-eighth and Seventy-third Pennsylvania, and Dieckman's Battery. The cavalry, under Bayard, was left temporarily at Harrisonburg for protection of the baggage trains.

** According to the Confederate reports, the force which Jackson led against Banks in May was about 17,000. Losses and detachments, it is claimed, reduced this force to 13,000. In estimating the force at Cross Keys, allowance should also be made for that part of Winder's Division which remained at Port Republic, and took no part in the battle.

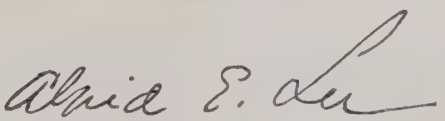
effect, and the cannonade became violent. Frémont decided to make his principal attack upon the enemy's right, and accordingly Stahel's brigade emerged from the woods, and advanced up the hill, in open ground, against Trimble. This attack was premature. The reserves were not yet close enough to support it promptly; Von Steinwehr's brigade was still back on the road, and Schenck's had not yet come into position on the right. No real assault should have been attempted until we were prepared to follow it up immediately in full strength. Stahel drove in the Confederate skirmishers, and gallantly advanced within sixty paces of their main supports, when his progress was arrested and his assaulting column staggered by a heavy musketry fire till then reserved. Two of his regiments—the Forty-first New York and Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, moved to the right, into the timber, so that the heaviest of the shock fell upon the Eighth and Forty-fifth New York, and particularly the Eighth, which soon found itself assailed, both in front and flank, by a superior force. Stahel's brigade was driven back into the woods from which it had emerged, and Milroy and Cluseret, who had been making some vigorous demonstrations in the center, were given pause.

Instead of following up this success at once, the enemy addressed himself to a more deliberate movement. Schenck not having appeared yet upon our right, Ewell was able to propel the bulk of his force against our left wing, and this he proceeded to do.* Reënforced from Taylor's brigade, and by two regiments from Elzey's, Trimble struck out to the right, and undertook to turn our left. At the same time his lines pressed forward in front, over the same ground from which Stahel had been driven. By this time Bohlen's brigade had made its way to the front, and with the remnants of Stahel's it now joined gallantly in the action. The Fifty-eighth New York, Colonel Krzyzanowski, and the Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamm, moved out of the woods into the fields, and resolutely encountered the advancing Confederates. Krzyzanowski ordered a charge, and drove back the force confronting him. The Fifty-fourth New York, Colonel Kozlay, holding Bohlen's right, crossed a morass, and striking a Confederate regiment in flank, routed it. A charge

* Jackson says in his report: "General Ewell having been informed by Lieutenant Hinrichs, of the Engineer Corps, who had been sent out to reconnoitre, that the enemy was moving a large column on his left, did not advance at once, but subsequently ascertaining that no attack was designed by the force referred to, he advanced, drove in the enemy's skirmishers, and when night closed, was in position on ground previously held by the enemy." Thus the Confederate commander used his forces in mass while we were using ours in detail, and overwhelmed one of our wings, while the other was coming into position. Evidently our attack from the left should have been reserved until Schenck had gotten up.

made upon Buell's battery was vigorously repulsed by that battery, with the aid of the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania, and the Bucktails, of Stahel's brigade. Dilger, firing grape and canister, repelled so fiercely an attempt to take his guns, that the assailing force (part of Taylor's brigade) was almost annihilated. Wiedrich's battery also did excellent execution. While the enemy was thus held in check in front, the Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania was forced back on the left, and that flank was turned. Frémont therefore directed a general withdrawal, with a view to the formation of a new line.

Let us now direct our attention to the right. Coming up from Harrisonburg, Schenck reached the scene of action at one o'clock P.M. Deploying his regiments, he advanced toward Milroy's right, and made preparations to fall, with his whole strength, on Ewell's left. Ewell, in turn, dispatched Patton's brigade, and portions of Elzey's and Taylor's, to reënforce his line in that quarter. While Schenck was getting into position, his skirmishers and artillery were, at intervals, briskly engaged, and several casualties occurred. Among those who were wounded was Dr. Cantwell, brother to the Colonel of the Eighty-second Ohio, and surgeon of that regiment. At a few paces from the writer the doctor was instructing his assistants about carrying off the wounded, when a bullet struck him in the leg. He did not utter a word, but *smiled.* Fortunately his wound did not prove fatal, and he subsequently rendered valuable service on many another battle-field. By three o'clock P.M. Schenck had gained favorable ground, well advanced, and was about to signal an attack with his whole command when he received an order from Frémont to withdraw, and go to the support of the left wing. Reluctant to relinquish his position, Schenck sent back to inquire whether he should retire at once. Being told that he must, he began the required movement, which he covered with an artillery fire so vigorous as to keep the enemy at a distance. Soon afterward Schenck received word from Frémont that he might hold his position if he thought best, but by this time the withdrawal of Milroy made it necessary to continue the movement. After retiring about half a mile Schenck halted on the right of the new line, where he remained without serious molestation until the following morning. At the same time the left wing withdrew about a mile. Some of the enemy's batteries opened upon the new position, but they were speedily silenced, and the fighting ceased.



MINOR TOPICS

MY TRIP TO CANADA WITH JEFFERSON DAVIS

In the spring of 1867, the case of the United States *vs.* Jefferson Davis was virtually abandoned, and the President of the late Southern Confederacy, having been released on his own recognizance, found himself, after a two years' imprisonment, a free man. Some time before, his children, under the charge of their grandmother, Mrs. Margaret Y. Howell, had gone to Montreal, where he now determined to join them, and make in that city his temporary abode. Accompanied by his devoted wife, he went to New York, stopping at the New York Hotel, to perfect his arrangements.

During his stay in the great American metropolis, Mr. Davis' parlors were thronged daily with visitors. But the assemblage within his rooms was as nothing compared to that without. The halls and corridors of the hotel were filled with people—reporters and representatives of every paper in the city were eager to learn of his contemplated movements, well knowing that such items would be greedily devoured by their readers; while the streets in the vicinity were crowded with a motley throng, anxious to catch a glimpse of the man whose name was on every lip. How to take his departure quietly was the problem. At length the following plan, to turn the press and the public generally off the track, was decided upon. Mr. Charles O'Conor, the eminent counsel and untiring friend of the Confederate chieftain, was to call for him in his carriage and drive him to his beautiful residence at Fort Washington, on the Hudson, where the writer was to join him the next afternoon. It was also thought advisable by his friends that Mr. Davis should not take the through railway train from New York, lest it should be telegraphed ahead, and he be subjected to annoyance from the crowds, who would probably gather at each station along the route to catch sight of the "arch traitor." It was, therefore, arranged that we should take the way-train to Poughkeepsie, and there await the Montreal Express. The scheme worked admirably. The New York reporters were completely circumvented, as they concluded that the object of their attention had merely gone to take an afternoon drive, and as the papers of the next day announced. The following morning, laden only with a valise, I took the cars for Fort Washington, with the intention of remaining at Mr. O'Conor's until the afternoon train. At this point, a piece of thoughtlessness of which I was guilty came near upsetting the entire arrangement. After leaving the station, I incautiously inquired of a policeman the way to Mr. O'Conor's residence. Hardly had I done so, however, when I realized my mistake, and feared that the officer, knowing that the distinguished Southern leader was visiting Mr. O'Conor, would, with the shrewdness of his kind, put two and two together, and suspect that my arrival was in some way connected

with Mr. Davis' movements. The result proved that my apprehensions were not groundless. When the time for leaving came, farewells were said, hopes for his safe journey expressed, and Mr. Davis started for the station. On arriving there, one glance showed that my police friend was on the alert, and scarcely were we comfortably seated in the car before he came in, and, looking hard at Mr. Davis, who was absorbed already in a newspaper, passed on to a group of two men and a woman, and whispered something to them. Immediately they turned in their seats, and gazed intently and long at the late Confederate President ; and, finally, one of the party arose, walked past him, and on his return to his seat expressed himself as satisfied that it really was Jefferson Davis, indicating that he had recognized him by a defective eye, the sight of which had been lost by neuralgia, incident, I believe, upon the wound he received at Buena Vista during the Mexican War.

All this time, Mr. Davis was deeply interested in his morning paper, and totally unmindful of the sensation he was creating. I feared, however, that his presence on the train might be telegraphed abroad, and that he might be embarrassed with curiosity-seekers, even if some ardent and exuberant patriot might not be about, who would think he was doing God service, and a meritorious act, by offering personal violence or indignity. My anxieties were much increased by the evidently unfriendly glances bestowed on the distinguished traveler by the party who had recognized him. I thought, under these circumstances, it would be better for us to leave the train at Peekskill instead of at Poughkeepsie, and there await the Montreal Express. As we approached that station, I crossed over to where Mr. Davis was sitting, and telling him that he was known, and what I had seen going on, made the suggestion. He at first demurred, but at length agreed that it might be wise to do as I proposed, especially as it really made no material difference ; thus when we reached Peekskill, we left the car without our absence being noted until after the train moved off. We remained at Peekskill for some three hours without exciting any suspicion as to Mr. Davis' identity, and, finally, boarded the through train in safety. I have often thought since, that if the various persons about the station had had the slightest idea as to who was among them, how different might have been our experience.

Nothing further of any special interest occurred until we reached St. Albans, Vermont, the following morning. The people of that city were still very bitter against everything Southern, for they held in vivid remembrance the Confederate raid made on the St. Albans banks from Canada during the war. On this account I was specially anxious that Mr. Davis' presence should not be known, as I felt sure that if it was, the result would be unpleasant. He, however, did not share this feeling, but was perfectly willing to mix with the crowd at the depot, apparently unconcerned, and not thinking that any special notice would be bestowed on him, even if he should be recognized. We accordingly entered the breakfast room, and, taking our seats, began discussing a very poorly prepared meal of tough steak and

hard potatoes—a fact that was particularly impressed upon my mind by a remark made by Mr. Davis. While wrestling with a piece of very leathery and underdone steak, he said: "Man has been defined to be 'an animal that cooks.' If that definition is correct, how must the persons responsible for this breakfast be classed?" I had hardly given it up, before I saw a man gazing at him searchingly, and soon after cross over and speak to him. Again I thought that our plans would be disturbed and that soon a howling mob would be down upon us to see, annoy, and possibly insult the man destined to bear all the sins, real or imaginary, of the late Southern Confederacy. Fortunately, however, it turned out that, in this instance, the recognizing party was an ex-Southern soldier, and, therefore, a friend, who, taking in the situation, was discreetly silent.

The remainder of the trip was devoid of incident; in a short time we were across the line, and soon, thereafter, in Montreal, in a comfortable house on Mountain Street. Here, the next day, Mrs. Davis joined her husband, and again, after a long and painful separation, he found himself surrounded peacefully by his family—a happy reunion, that looked at one time as if it would never be consummated in this world.

W. G. Waller

Savannah, Georgia

THE BURIAL OF BLACK HAWK

As evidence of the fact, now generally known, that many tribes of our Indians practiced until a late period the erection of sepulchral mounds over the remains of their distinguished dead, an eminent American ethnologist, in the course of a recent public lecture, stated that Black Hawk's kinsmen, "after having deposited the body of their venerated chief in a grave six feet deep, heaped over it a great mound of earth several feet in height." On inquiring of the lecturer his sources of information and authority for this curious statement—that the Sacs and Foxes were mound builders as late as 1838—he referred me to several well-known biographies of Black Hawk, and, especially, to our highest authority in matters pertaining to the North American Indians, namely: *The History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL.D., compiled for and published by the government twenty-five to thirty years ago, in six ponderous royal quarto volumes, profusely illustrated. The author of this great work was one of the few men of education and learning who, at that period, had devoted much time to the personal observation and study of Indian customs and character. Dr. Schoolcraft passed thirty years of his life among our Indian tribes, and his wife was the granddaughter of an Indian chief. He traveled extensively and visited almost every tribe living between the Eastern seaboard and the Rocky Mountains. Consequently, his opportunities for learning the history, traditions, and customs of

the red race were unsurpassed, and the accounts which he has given us of them, in his different publications, were in his time justly regarded as exhaustive and of unquestioned reliability.

The exploits of the great Sac chief, Black Hawk, in his declining years, are familiar to all readers of our local history. For a time he was a prominent figure in our public affairs, and caused our struggling settlers much uneasiness and many hardships, which, however, were in a measure compensated for by the glory he unwittingly shed upon the administration of Governor Reynolds. "He shared the eager attention of the public," says the *American Museum*, a magazine published in 1849, "with Fanny Kemble and the cholera, and was as regularly talked about as the weather, the last new novel, or the candidates for the Presidency." The story of his contest with the young chief, Keokuk, for supremacy in his tribe, and of his gallant, but hopeless efforts to retain possession of the homes and graves of his ancestors, is rapidly fading into the dim past of history. Black Hawk is already almost forgotten, or only known as the chief instigator of a petty Indian insurrection in the early pioneer days of our great State; yet there are many men still living who have seen him, and some few are among us who personally knew him well. Intelligent white men are now living near the spot where the famous chief died, who were then present, and are familiar with every detail of his burial, which occurred but forty-four years ago.

Considering these facts, it seem strange that the particulars of his death and burial should have been unknown to Mr. Schoolcraft, and so meagerly recorded by him, when he could so easily have obtained correct information of every circumstance attending the event. The death and burial of Black Hawk, particularly the ceremonies attending the inhumation of so noted a personage, of such importance in a history of the Indians, to illustrate their mortuary customs, we would expect to be minutely reported in Mr. Schoolcraft's great work. But he disposes of the famous chief's last days and final interment in the following brief terms (vol. vi., p. 454): "He was safely conducted to his home on the distant Mississippi, where he lived many years, a wiser and a better man. After his death his tribesmen gave to his remains those rites of sepulture which are only bestowed upon the most distinguished men. They buried him in war-dress, in sitting posture, on an eminence and covered him with a mound of earth." This is all I have found in the great historical work of Mr. Schoolcraft concerning the death and funeral rites of one of the most celebrated of recent Indians. No dates are given; nor is the location of "his home on the distant Mississippi" indicated; nor is there any mention of any ceremonies performed at his grave; or any fact stated to guide us in estimating the magnitude of the "mound of earth."

Of the several biographies of Black Hawk which have been presented to the public, probably the most reliable is the one compiled by Benjamin Drake, of Cincinnati, and published in that city in 1848. The narrative of the old warrior's burial, given in this little volume, was communicated to the author by Col. Charles

C. Whittlesey, the eminent and venerable scientist of Cleveland, Ohio, who a few years before, while engaged in the geological examination of Wisconsin Territory, had made a journey "to the far West, about the mouth of the Des Moines River," and had learned from the pioneers settled in that distant wilderness the facts related by Mr. Drake, on page 246, as follows: "After his death he was dressed in the uniform presented to him by the President, or Secretary of War, and placed upon a rude bier, consisting of two poles with bark laid across, on which he was carried by four or five of his braves to the place of interment, followed by his family and about fifty of his tribe (the chiefs being all absent). . . . The grave was six feet deep and of the usual length, situated upon a little eminence about fifty yards from his wigwam. The body was placed in the middle of the grave in a sitting posture, upon a seat constructed for the purpose. On his left side the cane given to him by Mr. Henry Clay was placed upright, with his right hand resting upon it. Many of the old warrior's trophies were placed in the grave, and some Indian garments, together with his favorite weapons. The grave was then covered with plank and a mound of earth, several feet in height, was thrown over it, and the whole enclosed in pickets twelve feet high. At the head of the grave a flagstaff was placed, bearing our national banner, and at the foot there stands a post on which is inscribed in Indian characters his age."

In Stuve and Davidson's *History of Illinois* is a repetition of this account; and, until 1863, it comprised all that had been published concerning the disposition made of Black Hawk's remains.

It is generally known that when he returned from Washington, and his tour of the Eastern cities, in 1837, Black Hawk settled, with a remnant of the Sacs and Foxes, consisting of his relatives and personal adherents, on the reservation set apart for them by the government, in accordance with a previous treaty, on the Des Moines River, in the then Territory of Iowa; and the old chief's hut and village were situated on the north bank of the river, near the present town of Iowaville, in the north-eastern corner of Davis County. He died there at the age of seventy-two, of bilious fever, on the third day of October, 1838, while nearly all of his people were gone to Rock Island to meet the United States Commission for the adjustment of certain claims. He had been failing physically for some time, and was too feeble to bear the fatigue of the journey to the post on this occasion. His last illness was of two weeks' duration. No white person witnessed his death, as he was attended only by his wife and family, and the medicine man of his tribe.

My investigations to ascertain to what extent, in this particular instance, the Saxs and Foxes had practiced the custom of their ancestors in mound building, have resulted in gaining from living witnesses accurate details of Black Hawk's burial, as well as reliable information of the resurrection of his remains and their accidental cremation. In the different accounts I have received, slight discrepancies occur, but they generally agree in the leading incidents closing the history of the old warrior's eventful life.

Capt. Jas. H. Jordan was a trader among the Sacs and Foxes before Black Hawk's death; was present at his burial, and is now residing on the very spot where he died. In reply to my letter of inquiry he writes as follows:

"Eldon, Io., July 15th, 1881.

Black Hawk was buried on the N. E. qr. of the S. E. qr. of Section 2; township 70, range 12, Davis county, Iowa, near the northeastern corner of the county, on the Des Moines River bottom, about ninety rods from where he lived at the time he died, on the north side of the river. I have the ground where he lived for a door yard, it being between my house and the river. The only mound over the grave was some puncheons split out and set over his grave and then sodded over with bluegrass, making a ridge about four feet high. A flag-staff, some 20 feet high, was planted at his head, on which was a silk flag, which hung there until the wind wore it out. My house and his were only about four rods apart when he died. He was sick only about fourteen days. He was buried right where he sat the year before, when in council with Iowa Indians, and was buried in a suit of military clothes, made to order and given to him when in Washington city by Gen. Jackson, with hat, sword, gold epaulets, &c., &c."

From another old settler of that neighborhood, Mr. Isaac Nelson, the following reply was received:

"Hickory, Io., June 24th, 1881.

I came to Iowa in the spring of 1836, and was two or three times near Black Hawk's house, but never went in to see him. . . . He was buried in a manner on the top of the ground, but his feet were about sixteen inches in the ground and his head about a foot above the surface. He had on a suit of military clothes; four nice new blankets were wrapped around him, a pillow of feathers was under his head, a plug hat was on his head, and an old-fashoned brussel stock around his neck. You may ask how I saw all of this when he was in his grave. I will try to describe the way in which he was buried, and then you will understand it. A forked post had been planted at his head and one at his feet; a ridge pole was laid in these forks, and then puncheons put over him in the shape of a roof and the earth thrown on, which made a raise of two or three feet above him. The whites had taken out the two ends so we could see through. The grave had been enclosed with pickets some eight feet high, planted in the ground with joints broken; but these the whites had forced apart so that we could easily creep in. His feet were to the east and his head to the west. At his feet was a shaved oak post with painting on it, and at his head a pole with a nice silk flag. All the grass and weeds were kept out of the enclosure and for some distance around the outside. He had no coffin, but was laid full length on a board with four fine blankets around him."

Pursuing the investigation further I found, with the kind assistance of W. Clement Putnam, Esq., of Davenport, in the *Annals of Iowa* (1863, p. 50; and 1864, pp. 353 *et seq.*), the statements of Willard Barrows, Esq., and Capt. H. B.

Horn, in relation to the event under consideration. They say that the old chief's body was laid on a board which was sunk at the foot, or lower end, about fifteen inches below the surface of the ground, while the other, or upper end of the board, was raised, and supported three feet above it; thus his body reclined at an angle with the horizon of some twenty-five or thirty degrees. He was dressed in the military uniform of a colonel of the regular army, said to have been presented to him by a member of President Jackson's cabinet, with a cap on his head elaborately ornamented in Indian style with feathers. At his left side was a sword, which had been presented to him by General Jackson; and at his right side were placed two canes, one of which he had received from Hon. Henry Clay; the other was the gift of an officer of the British army. Besides these were deposited on either side other presents and trophies, highly prized by him as mementos of his valor and greatness. About his neck were ribbons suspending three medals, one the gift of President Jackson, another was presented to him by ex-President John Quincy Adams, and the third by the city of Boston. The body was enclosed with boards resting on end on either side, and meeting on a ridge-pole fixed on forked posts, set in the ground at the head and feet, forming a roof with an open space below. The gables of this rude vault were closed with boards, and the whole was covered with earth, and then sodded over.

At the head was a flag-staff thirty-five feet high, which bore an American flag worn out by exposure, and near by was the usual hewn post, inscribed with Indian characters, representing his deeds of bravery and record as a warrior. Enclosing all was a strong circular picket fence, twelve feet high.

His body remained here until July, 1839, when it was carried off by a certain Doctor Turner, who then lived at Lexington, Van Buren County, Iowa. Captain Horn states that Dr. Turner subsequently took the skeleton to Alton, Illinois, for the purpose of having the bones articulated with wire. Mr. Barrows says the skeleton was sent to Warsaw, Illinois.

The sons of Black Hawk, when they became aware of this desecration of their father's grave, were very indignant, and complained of it to Governor Lucas, at that time the governor of Iowa Territory, and His Excellency at once caused the bones of the great chief to be brought back to Burlington, where they were deposited in the fall of 1839, or the early spring of 1840. Shortly after, when the young Black Hawks came to take possession of the paternal osseous remains, it seems that, finding them safely stored "in a good dry place," they concluded to leave them there. The skeleton was subsequently placed in the collection of the Burlington Geological and Historical Society, and there is no doubt that it was consumed in the fire that destroyed the building and all the Society's collections in 1855; though the editor of the *Annals* (April, 1865, p. 478) says there is good reason to believe that the bones were not lost in the burning of the museum, and he "is credibly informed that they are now at the residence of a former officer of said Society, and thus escaped that catastrophe."

Dr. J. H. Rauch, the present Secretary of the Illinois State Board of Health, was, at the time of said catastrophe, secretary of the society whose building and collections were destroyed; and on applying to him for further information, he stated that the famous skeleton, when returned to the territorial capital by order of the Executive, fell into the possession of Dr. Enos Lowe, recently deceased at Omaha, Nebraska, who afterward presented it to the society; and intimated that Dr. Lowe may possibly have taken the bones with him when he removed from Burlington to Omaha.

Dr. Lowe's son, General W. W. Lowe, is still a resident of Omaha, and to him I propounded certain interrogatories, to which the following answer was received, under date of November 29, 1881:

"After the chief's death, the tribes (Sacs and Foxes), requested my father to take possession of the remains, and he did so, wiring them and keeping the skeleton in his office, where for a long time they continued to come to view it. Subsequently, with the consent of the tribe, he presented the skeleton to the Geological and Historical Society of Burlington, and the remains were destroyed by the burning of their building."

This evidence is conclusive that the remains of the noted chief were consumed by fire; and this closing act, though unaccompanied by the savage wailing of his people, was altogether in harmony with his restless and turbulent nature.

Students of American ethnology are now generally satisfied that the race of Indians found in occupancy of this country when discovered by the Europeans were the people, or the immediate descendants of the people, who built the mounds and left for our inspection and amazement the many marvelous remains of their arts and methods of life.

The Sacs and Foxes in 1838 were not mound builders; they only retained a traditional idea of mound-building. In their method of burying Black Hawk we trace a curious vestige of the ancient custom of mound inhumation practiced in prehistoric times by their remote ancestors. As then, the dead body, arrayed in the splendor of barbaric trappings, and surrounded by the arms, ornaments, and trophies most highly prized in life, was deposited on the surface of the ground in as nearly the life attitude as was practicable; in this instance the ridge-pole and puncheon covering—borrowed from encroaching pioneer civilization—were substituted for the rude flag-stones, or crib-work of cedar logs, and the fine blankets did service in place of the dressed deer-skins and birch-bark of the long ago. And over all the rudimentary mound was raised, which only lacked the accretions of earth contributed by each individual member of the tribe, at each annual visit to the sepulcher, to swell it in a few years to a monument in proportions worthy of the rank and abilities of the distinguished dead.

J. F. Snyder, M.D.

Virginia, Cass County, Illinois.

REPRINTS

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDWARD GIBBON, THE HISTORIAN, RELATIVE TO AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1774–1783.

[*From a printed copy, very rare, almost unknown.*]

Edward Gibbon to J. Holroyd—afterwards Lord Scheffield.

February, 1774.

Dear Holroyd

You may suppose that nothing very important has occurred since you left town: but I will send you some account of America after Monday, though indeed my anxiety about an old manor takes away much of my attention from a new continent. The mildness of Godfrey Clarke is roused into military fury; but he is an old Tory, and you only fuppofe yourfelf an old Whig. I alone am a true Englifhman, Philofopher and Whig.

The Same to the Same.

Boodles, March 16, 1774.

Very little that is fatisfactory has tranfpired of America. On Monday Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to remove the cuftoms and courts of juftice from Bofton to New Salem; a ftep fo detrimental to the former town, as muft foon reduce it to your own terms; and yet of fo mild an appearance, that it was agreed to, without a divifion, and almoft without a debate. Something more is, however, intended, and a committee is appointed to enquire into the general ftate of America. But the adminiftration keep their fecret as well as that of free mafonry, and, as Coxe profanely fuggefts, for the fame reafon.

The Same to the Same.

March 29th, 1774.

America. Had I written Saturday night, as I once intended, fire and fword, oaths of allegiance and high treafon tried in England, in confequence of the refufal, would have formed my letter. Lord North, however, opened a moft lenient prefcription laft night; and the utmoft attempts towards a new fettlement feemed to be no more than invefting the governors with a greater fhare of executive power, nomination of civil officers, (judges, however, for life,) and fome regulations of juries. The Bofton port bill paffed the Lords laft night; fome lively converfation, but no divifion.

Bentinck-ftreet. Rofe Fuller was againft the Bofton port bill, and againft his niece's going to Boodle's mafquerade. He was laughed at in the firft inftance, but fucceeded in the fecond.

The Same to the Same.

April 13th, 1774.

We are all quiet.—American bufiness is fufpended and almoft forgot. The other day we had a brifk report of a Spanifh war. It was faid they had taken one of our Leeward Iflands. It fince turns out, that we are the invaders, but the invafion is trifling.

The Same to the Same.

Boodles, Jan. 31ft, 1775.

Sometimes people do not write becaufe they are too idle, and fometimes becaufe they are too bufy. The former was ufually my cafe, but at prefent it is the latter. The fate of Europe and America feems fully fufficient to take up the time of one man; and efpecially of a man who gives up a great deal of time for the purpofe of public and private information. I think I have fucked Mauduit and Hutchifon very dry; and if my confidence was equal to my eloquence, and my eloquence to my knowledge, perhaps I might make no very intolerable fpeaker. At all events, I fancy I fhall try to expofe myfelf.

Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam?

For my own part, I am more and more convinced that we have both the right and the power on our fide, and that, though the event may be accompanied with fome melancholy circumftances, we are now arrived at the decifive moment of preferving, or of lofing for ever, both our trade and empire. We expect next Thurfday or Friday to be a very great day. Hitherto we have been chiefly employed in reading papers, and rejecting petitions. Petitions were brought from London, Briftol, Norwich, &c. framed by party, and defigned to delay. By the aid of fome parliamentary quirks, they have been all referred to a feparate inactive committee, which Burke calls a committee of oblivion, and are now considered as dead in law. I could write you fifty little Houfe of Commons ftories, but from their number and nature they fuit better a conference than a letter. Our general divifions are about two hundred and fifty to eighty or ninety. Adieu.

Edward Gibbon *to Mrs.* Gibbon.

London, Jan. 31ft, 1775.

An idle man has no time, and a bufy man very little. As yet the Houfe of Commons turns out very well to me, and though it fhould never prove of any real benefit to me, I find it at leaft a very agreeable coffee-houfe. We are plunging every day deeper and deeper into the great bufiness of America; and I have hitherto been a zealous, though filent friend, to the caufe of government, which, *in this inftance*, I think the caufe of England.

Edward Gibbon *to* J. B. Holroyd.

February 8th, 1775.

I am not d——d, according to your charitable wifhes, becaufe I have not acted; there was fuch an inundation of fpeakers, young fpeakers in every fenfe of the word,

both on Thurfday in the grand committee, and Monday on the report to the Houfe, that neither Lord George Germaine nor myfelf could find room for a fingle word. The principal men both days were Fox and Wedderburne, on the oppofite fides; the latter difplayed his ufual talents; the former, taking the vaft compafs of the queftion before us, difcovered powers for regular debate, which neither his friends hoped, nor his enemies dreaded. We voted an addrefs, (three hundred and four to one hundred and five,) of lives and fortunes, declaring Maffachufetts Bay in a ftate of rebellion. More troops, but I fear not enough, go to America, to make an army of ten thoufand men, at Bofton; three generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. In a few days we ftop the ports of New England. I cannot write volumes; but I am more and more convinced, that with firmnefs all may go well; yet I fometimes doubt. I am now writing with ladies, (Sir S. Porten and his bride,) and two card-tables, in the library.

The Same to the Same.

February 25th, 1775.

We go on with regard to America, if we can be faid to go on; for on laft Monday a conciliatory motion of allowing the Colonies to tax themfelves, was introduced by Lord North, in the midft of lives and fortunes, war and famine. We went into the Houfe in confufion, every moment expecting that the Bedfords would fly into rebellion againft thofe meafures. Lord North rofe fix times to appeafe the ftorm, but all in vain; till at length Sir Gilbert declared for adminiftration, and the troops all rallied under their proper ftandard.

The Same to the Same.

Bentinck-Street, Auguft 1ft, 1775.

We have nothing new from America. But I can venture to affure you, that adminiftration is now as unanimous and decided as the occafion requires. Something will be done this year; but in the Spring the force of the country will be exerted to the utmoft. Scotch Highlanders, Irifh Papifts, Hanoverians, Canadians, Indians, &c. will all in various fhapes be employed. Parliament meets the firft week in November.

The Same to the Same.

Bentinck-street, October 14th, 1775.

I send you two pieces of intelligence from the beft authority, and which, unlefs you hear them from fome other quarter, I do not wifh you fhould talk much about. 1st, When the Ruffians arrive, (if they refrefh themfelves in England or Ireland,) will you go and fee their camp? We have great hopes of getting a body of thefe Barbarians. In consequence of fome very plain advances, King George, with his own hand, wrote a very polite epiftle to fifter Kitty, requefting her friendly

affiftance. Full powers and inftructions were fent at the fame time to Gunning, to agree for any force between five, and twenty thoufand men, *carte blanche* for the terms ; on condition, however, that they fhould ferve, not as auxiliaries, but as mercenaries, and that the Ruffian general fhould be abfolutely under the command of the Britifh. They daily and hourly expect a meffenger, and hope to hear that the business is concluded. The worft of it is, that the Baltic will be foon frozen up, and that it must be late next year before they can get to America. 2. In the mean time we are not quite eafy about Canada ; and even if it fhould be fafe from an attack, we cannot flatter ourselves with the expectation of bringing down that martial people on the Back Settlements. The priefts are ours ; the gentlemen very prudently wait the event, and are difpofed to join the ftronger party ; but the fame lawlefs fpirit and impatience of government which have infected our Colonies, are gone forth among the Canadian peafants, over whom, fince the conqueft, the nobleffe have loft much of their ancient influence. Another thing which will pleafe and furprife, is the affurance which I received from a man who might tell me a lie, but who could not be miftaken, that no arts, no management whatfoever, have been ufed to procure the addreffes which fill the Gazette, and that Lord North was as much furprifed at the firft that came up, as we could be at Sheffield. We fhall have, I fuppofe, fome brifk fkirmifhing in parliament, but the bufinefs will foon be decided by our fuperior weight of fire. *Apropos*, I believe there has been fome vague but ferious converfation about *calling out the militia*. The new levies go on very flowly in Ireland. The Diffenters, both there and here, are violent and active. Adieu.

The Same to the Same.

London, January 18th, 1776.

You know we have got eighteen thoufand Germans from Heffe, Brunfwick, and Heffe Darmftadt. I think our meeting will be lively; a fpirited minority, and a defponding majority. The higher people are placed, the more gloomy are their countenances, the more melancholy their language. You may call this cowardice, but I fear it arifes from their knowledge (a late knowledge) of the difficulty and magnitude of the bufinefs. Quebec is not *yet* taken. I hear that Carleton is determined never to capitulate with rebels. A glorious refolution, if it were fupported with fifty thousand men !

The Same to the Same.

January 29th, 1776.

What think you of the feafon ? Siberia, is it not ? A pleafant campaign in America. I read and pondered your laft, and think that, in the place of Lord G. G., you might perhaps fucceed ; but I much fear that our Leaders have not a genius which can act at the diftance of three thoufand miles. You know, that a large draught of guards are juft going to America ; poor dear creatures ! We are met ; but no bufinefs. Next week may be busy ; Scotch militia, &c.

The Same to the Same.

May 20, 1776.

To tell you any thing of the change, or rather changes of governors, I must have known fomething of them myfelf ; but all is darknefs, confufion, and uncertainty, to fuch a degree, that people do not even know what lies to invent. The news from America have indeed diverted the public attention into another, and far greater, channel. All that you fee in the papers, of the repulfe of Quebec, as well as the capture of Lee, refts on the authority (a very unexceptionable one) of the provincial papers, as they have been tranfmitted by Governor Tryon from New York. Howe is well, and eats plentifully ; and the weather feems to clear up fo faft, that, according to the English cuftom, we have paffed from the loweft defpondency to a full affurance of fuccefs.

The Same to the Same.

Almack's, June 24th, 1776.

We are in expectation of American news. Carleton is made a Knight of the Bath. The old report of Wafhington's refignation, and quarrel with the Congrefs, feems to revive. Adieu.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday, Auguft, 1776.

No public news, nor any material expected, till the end of this, or the beginning of next month, when Howe will probably have collected his whole force. A tough bufinefs indeed. You fee by their declaration, that they have now paffed the Rubicon, and rendered the word of a treaty infinitely more difficult. You will perhaps fay, fo much the better ; but I do affure you, that the *thinking* friends of Government are by no means fanguine.

The Same to the Same.

October 3, 1776.

I send you the Gazette, and have scarcely any thing to add, except that about five hundred of them have deferted to us, and that the New York incendiaries were immediately, and very juftifiably, deftined to the cord. Lord G. G., with whom I had a long converfation laft night was in high fpirits, and hopes to re-conquer Germany in America. On the fide of Canada, he only fears Carleton's *flownefs*, but entertains great expectations that the light troops and Indians, under Sir William Johnfon, who are fent from Ofwego down the Mohawk River to Albany, will oblige the Provincials to give up the defence of the Lakes, for fear of being cut off. The report of a foreign war fubfides. Houfe of Commons dull, and oppofition talk of fuspending hoftilities from despair.

The Same to the Same.

Almack's, November 7th, 1776.

Letters from Burgoyne. They embarked on the Lakes the thirtieth of Sep-

tember, with eight hundred Britifh failors, fix thoufand regulars, and a naval force fuperior to any poffible oppofition: but the feafon was fo far advanced, that they expected only to occupy and ftrengthen Ticonderoga, and afterwards to return and take up their winter quarters in Canada. Yefterday we had a furprize in the Houfe, from a proclamation of the Howes, which made its firft appearance in the Morning Poft, and which nobody feems to understand.

The Same to the Same.

Friday Evening, November 22d.

News from the Lakes. A naval combat, in which the Provincials were repulfed with confiderable lofs. They burnt and abandoned Crown Point. Carleton is befieging Ticonderoga. Carleton, I fay; for he is there, and it is apprehended that Burgoyne is coming home. We difmiffed the Nabobs without a divifion. Burke and the Attorney General fpoke very well.

The Same to the Same.

Bentinck-Street, January 18th, 1777.

Things go on very profperoufly in America. Howe is himself in the Jerfeys, and will pufh at leaft as far as the Delaware River. The continental (perhaps *now* the rebel) army is in a great meafure difperfed, and Wafhington, who wifhes to cover Philadelphia, has not more than fix or feven thoufand men with him. Clinton defigns to conquer Rhode Ifland in his way home. But, what *I* think of much greater confequence, a province made its fubmiffion, and defired to be reinftated in the peace of the King. It is indeed only poor little Georgia; and the application was made to Governor Tonyn of Florida. Some difguft at a violent step of the Congress, who removed the Prefident of their Profincial Affembly, a leading and popular man, co-operated with the fear of the Indians, who began to amufe themfelves with the exercife of fcalping in their Back Settlements.

The Same to the Same.

Almack's, Wednesday Evening.

America affords nothing very fatisfactory; though we have many flying reports, you may be fure that we are ignorant of the confequences of Trenton, &c. Charles Fox is now at my elbow, declaiming on the impoffibility of keeping America, fince a victorious army has been unable to maintain any extent of pofts in the fingle province of Jerfey. Lord North is out of danger (we trembled for his important existence).

The Same to the Same.

1777.

Lee is certainly taken, but Lord North does not apprehend he is coming home. We are not clear whether he behaved with courage or pufillanimity when he surrendered himfelf; but Colonel Keene told me to-day, that he had feen a letter from Lee fince his confinement. "He imputes his being taken, to the alertnefs of

"Harcourt, and cowardice of his own guard; hopes he shall meet his fate with "fortitude; but laments that freedom is not likely to find a resting-place in any "part of the globe." It is faid, he was to fucceed Wafhington. We know nothing certain of the Heffians; but there has been a *blow*.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday Night, April 12th, 1777.

We talk chiefly of the Marquis de la Fayette, who was here a few weeks ago. He is about twenty, with an hundred and thirty thoufand livres a year; the nephew of Noailles, who is ambaffador here. He has bought the Duke of Kingfton's yatch, and is gone to join the Americans. The Court *appear* to be angry with him.

The Same to the Same.

Dover, Tuefday Evening, May 6th, 1777.

My expedition does not begin very aufpicioufly. The wind, which for fome days had been fair, paid me the compliment of changing on my arrival; and, though I immediately fecured a veffel, it has been impoffible to make the leaft ufe of it during the whole courfe of this tedious day. It feems doubtful, whether I fhall get out to-morrow morning; and the Captain affures me, that the paffage will have the double advantage of being both cold and rough. Laft night a fmall privateer, fitted out at Dunkirk, with a commiffion from Dr. Franklin, attacked, took, and carried into Dunkirk Road, the Harwich Packet. The King's meffenger had just time to throw his difpatches over-board. He paffed through this town about four o'clock this afternoon in his return to London. As the alarm is now given, our American friend will probably remain quiet, or will be foon caught; fo that I have not *much* apprehenfion for my perfonal fafety; but if fo daring an outrage is not followed by punifhment and reftitution, it may become a very ferious bufinefs, and may poffibly fhorten my ftay at Paris.

The Same to the Same.

December 2d, 1777.

By the inclofed you will fee that America is not *yet* conquered. Oppofition are very lively; and, though in the Houfe we keep our numbers, there feems to be an univerfal defire of peace, even on the moft humble conditions. Are you still fierce?

The Same to the Same.

Monday Night, December, 1777.

I congratulate your noble firmnefs, as I fuppofe it muft arife from the knowledge of fome hidden refources, which will enable us to open the next campaign with new armies of fifty or fixty thoufand men. But I believe you will find yourfelf obliged to carry on this glorious war almoft alone.

The Same to the Same.

Paris, Auguft 13, 1777.

WHAT a wretched piece of work do we feem to be making of it in America! The greateft force which any European power ever ventured to tranfport into that continent, is not ftrong enough even to attack the enemy; the naval ftrength of Great Britain is not fufficient to prevent the Americans (they have almoft loft the appellation of Rebels) from receiving every affiftance that they wanted; and in the mean time you are obliged to call out the militia to defend your own coafts againft their privateers. You poffibly may expect from me fome account of the defigns and policy of the French court, but I choofe to decline that talk for two reafons: 1ft, Becaufe you may find them laid open in every newfpaper; and 2dly, Becaufe I live too much with their courtiers and minifters to know any thing about them. I fhall only fay, that I am not under any immediate apprehenfions of a war with France. It is much more pleafant as well as profitable to view in fafety the raging of the tempeft, occafionally to pick up fome pieces of the wreck, and to improve their trade, their agriculture, and their finances, while the two countries are *lento collifa duello*. Far from taking any ftep to put a fpeedy end to this aftonifhing difpute, I fhould not be furprifed if next fummer they were to lend their cordial affiftance to England, as to the weaker party. As to my perfonal engagement with the D. of R. I recollect a few flight fkirmifhes, but nothing that deferves the name of a general engagement. The extravagance of fome difputants, both French and Englifh, who have efpoufed the caufe of America, fome times infpires me with an extraordinary vigour. Upon the whole, I find it much eafier to defend the juftice than the policy of our meafures; but there are certain cafes, where whatever is repugnant to found policy ceafes to be juft. We are ftill in expectation, but in the mean while we believe (I mean minifters), that the news of Howe's victory and the taking of Philadelphia are true.

The Same to the Same.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Thurfday, Dec. 4, 1778.

DREADFUL news indeed! You will fee them partly in the papers, and we have not yet any particulars. An Englifh army of nearly ten thoufand men laid down their arms, and furrendered prifoners of war, on condition of being fent to England, and of never ferving againft America. They had fought bravely, and were three days without eating. Burgoyne is faid to have received three wounds. General Frafer, with two thoufand men, killed. Colonel Ackland likewife killed. A general cry for peace.

PETERSFIELD

(*To be continued.*)

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Letter from Mr. George R. Gleig, Chaplain-General of the British Army, to Honorable Horatio King.

[*Concerning the Battle of Bladensburg, in which Mr. Gleig was a participant.*]

Bylands, Winchfield. 11th Nov. 1885.

The Hon. Horatio King,

My dear Sir:

I am very much obliged to you for sending me a copy of the *Magazine of American History*, which contains your interesting paper on the Battle of Bladensburg and the Capture of Washington. You describe well the state of feeling among the inhabitants of the city, and are doubtless more correct than one of the invading force could be as to the strength of the defending troops brought into the field. But your authorities do us some injustice when they speak of large desertions from our ranks and acts of pillage, by our men. We did not lose a single man by desertion. And never perhaps was so little damage done to the persons, and property of the peaceable inhabitants by any hostile army on its march to or from the Capital. You know what my opinions are of the wanton destruction to public buildings in Washington itself. They were those of the Home Government at the time and are entertained now by all classes. But in the details related by you there are many ludicrous mistakes. I was one of the battalion which first took up a position on the high ground overlooking the Capital, and I can vouch for it that not a mortal shot was fired either before or after the conflagration took place. Of the dinner in the President's house I certainly did not partake, but I was told by more than one of the officers who professed to have been present at it, that it was a reality and not a myth. So likewise, in regard to our numbers, there can be no mistake. We landed four battalions of the line and one of Marines, 3600 bayonets, which the sailors who dragged our three pounder guns, and the fifty artillery-men who worked them, raised to about 4000 in all. Writing as I did without reference to official documents, I much over-rated our loss in the battle, which, including several deaths by sunstroke, amounted to little over 300, not 500. So difficult is it to be quite exact in writing history when historians of different nationalities undertake to describe events, each as it had represented itself to his own idiosyncracy.

Born in 1796, I shall complete my 90th year on the 20th of April next, if I live so long.

Let me add that while it lasted, the musketry fire of your people at Bladensburg was as sharp as any which I ever encountered from the French.

Once more thanking you for giving me the pleasure of reading your account of our operations, in which I took part upwards of seventy years ago, believe me

Very sincerely yours,

G. R. Gleig.

[NOTE.—Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, author of a "Historical Sketch" of the war, is the authority for stating that the British troops fired at the Capitol before entering and taking possession of it. He says: "Drawing up their column on the east of the building, after a short consideration whether it should be exploded by gunpowder, or consumed by fire, the latter was resolved upon by the enemy, as was believed, lest the blowing up should injure adjacent dwellings. The troops were ordered to fire a volley into the windows, after which the commanders let their followers into the interior." This statement is reiterated by a gentleman from Bladensburg, vouched for as reliable by Mr. Ingersoll, and "confirmed by the important testimony of a highly-respectable English officer." This Bladensburg gentleman, "with all the recollections (Ingersoll says) of the very spot," gives the following account of the firing on General Ross. He says that after Commodore Barney was wounded and captured, "his sailors and marines, retreating reluctantly, were burning with anxiety to have another brush with the enemy, but were marched off by the officers, their rear being closely followed by the British troops until they entered the suburbs of Washington, when a party of the sailors entered a three-story brick dwelling-house belonging to Robert Sewell, and awaited the near approach of the enemy's column, led by General Ross in person, when they fired a volley which killed or disabled the horse upon which the general was mounted. The sailors then retreated by the rear of the building, and the British set fire to and destroyed the house." With respect to the elaborate dinner said to have been set out for the President and invited guests at the White House, Ingersoll says: "Mr. John Siousa, Mr. Madison's porter, a respectable Frenchman, who still [in 1849] survives, pronounces all this account of food a fable."

The private houses and the stores pillaged, according to Ingersoll, were those of Messrs. Spriggs, Boon, Burch, Long, Rapine. Watterson, McCormick, Caldwell, Elliott, B. and G. Burns, Ricks, Crampton, and General Washington; and the dwellings burnt were those of Messrs. Sewell Ball, Frost, Phillips, Tomlinson, and Mrs. Hamilton, including the large hotel belonging to David Carroll, of Duddington & Co. In his official report, Admiral Cockburn boastingly said: "In short, sir, I do not believe a vestige of public property, or a store of any kind which could be converted to the use of the government, escaped destruction." H. K.]

NOTES

A WEBSTER PORTRAIT—"A friend of ours wants me to paint a full-length portrait of your late and noble friend, Mr. Webster, in the attitude of speaking. I now regret that I did not accept the invitation to Marshfield last summer. I never saw him but twice—at the Cooper Festival, and at the City Hall, in New York; but I remember him distinctly. Tell me if he exposed his upper or lower teeth, or both, while talking or speaking; also whether they were large or small. You know that when a man speaks he moves his under jaw, the upper remaining quite firm. The same when he laughs. Let me know his height, the color of his skin, eyes, hair, dress, style of shoes or boots, his manner of standing while making a speech, and whether he used his hands and arms extensively. When I saw him in the court-room of the City Hall he appeared uneasy, and was walking back and forth like a mad bull. Speaking of Webster reminds me of Washington. How comes on his monument? I do not fancy the design. It looks like a hundred-legged bug running away with a pillar, or a bunch of candles hanging down, or a whitewash brush standing ready for some giant to take up by the handle and sweep the streets of the metropolis."—Letter from William S. Mount, in *Haphazard Personalities*, by Charles Lanman.

THE MUSKINGUM—The Indian chief, *Corn Planter*, of the Seneca nation, informs that the word Muskingum, in one of the Indian languages, signifies "*the River of many People*," or "*the much peopled River*"—and that they have a tradition among the Six Nations, that formerly great numbers of inhabitants were settled upon that river, who, in consequence of a war, were extirpated and entirely driven off from their territory by the ancestors of the Six Nations. This was probably the case, and may account for the erection of the ancient fortifications at Marietta. Thus empires rise and fall, and one nation and language succeed to another.—*New York Packet, August* 11, 1789. PETERSFIELD

WOODSTOCK—The two hundredth anniversary of the first settlement of Woodstock, Connecticut, will be celebrated August 28, of this year. Historians have been appointed by the different churches and other organizations of the town to prepare historical sketches to be read at this celebration. Persons now resident in distant sections of the country, whose ancestors lived in Woodstock, are requested to send without delay any items of history pertaining to the town or to any of its early settlers, to Henry T. Child, chairman of the Town Committee, Woodstock, Conn., or to Miss Ellen D. Larned, Thompson, Conn., or Clarence W. Bowen, office of *The Independent*, New York, who have in preparation a history of the town.

THE POET BROWNING—Canon Farrar, while in this country, in his analysis of the great English poet, said: "Browning has been called a poet without an audience, but at last he is beginning to be more read both at home and in this country, and I have noted that where I have spoken on his work readers have sought out his poems in the bookstores

and studied them. I would have you know Browning as I know him. His work is of vast extent. He has been writing for fifty years, and during the half century has given us no less than twenty-five volumes of poems. Has been giving us the deepest thoughts concerning man expressed in the noblest speech. He was only twenty-one when he gave us his first poem and it was last year at the ripe age of seventy-two years he gave us his last. His works for fifty years show no failing of power or wisdom. He has given us not a book but a literature. To study and know him were a liberal education. He has all the richness of human nature. I know of no poet except Shakespeare in whom you may find so marvelous a portrait gallery. He brings his jewels from all countries and characters, from everything that can ennoble and delight the mind, from every passion that can elevate or debase the soul, and, above all, from love in every conceivable type. A hundred names from history would not exhaust the list of his *dramatis personæ*. His characters pass as the motley figures on a many-colored tapestry—a procession strange and magnificent. No other poet has sounded such depth in the human soul or startled it with a like rush of kindling energy."

QUERIES

"PECKATONE"—This grand old house, situated on the Potomac River, just above its junction with the Chesapeake, is said to have been erected by Henry Corbin in 1664. It has twenty rooms, some of which are very large and elaborately paneled to the ceiling, with entrance halls eighteen feet wide. It is a remarkable structure for the period in which it was built. It has been called the oldest dwelling-house in the United States. Is there any dwelling-house in existence at the present time that is known to have been built prior to 1664? Will some of the readers of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY kindly enlighten us?

TRUTH SEEKER

IN A BROWN STUDY—*Editor Magazine of American History:* What is the meaning of and origin of the expression "in a brown study?"

MOBS HILL

ROBINSON—*Editor Magazine of American History:* Tradition says that one John Robinson, who settled at Marcus Hook, near Chester, Pennsylvania, was "son of the son" of the Reverend John, of "blessed memory," pastor at Leyden. It is supposed that this John Robinson, who settled in Pennsylvania (and became the father of another John, who married Miriam Wade, grandniece of Robert Wade), came from New England about the time of the Quaker persecution. Savage's *Index* gives some notes of the family of Reverend John, but principally of the son Isaac. It is known from the census taken at Leyden in 1622, that the Reverend John had at least three sons—John, Isaac and Jacob. (Babson's *History of Gloucester, Mass.*) Is there any publication which will give information of the early immigrants from New England to the more southern colonies, and particularly of any descendants of Reverend John?

There has been in the possession of this branch of the Robinson family for four generations, and probably more, a seal-ring, bearing a coat-of-arms—three stags and a chevron with three quatrefoils, upon a shield of green and gold, and crest, a stag. In the memoir of the Reverend John Robinson, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, it is stated that nothing is known of the family from which the pastor sprang. Is there anything to prove that this may not have been his coat-of-arms, and consequently that of his family, which could thus be traced? (Information is received from the Herald's College, London, that a family of Robinsons bear these arms.) MILNOR R———

STOCKBRIDGE—*Magazine of American History:* Can you furnish any information concerning Lieutenant John Stockbridge, or his descendants? He was in the Revolutionary army from the beginning to the close, and nearly all that time in a regiment of body guards of General Washington. What regiment was it?

C. WEBSTER

FRANKLIN, MASSACHUSETTS

BUNGTOWN COPPERS [xiii. 206; xiii. 304]—Prince (*Coins and Medals* p. 108) says, tradesmen's tokens were called by this name in New England. From what time does the phrase date? Is Bungtown geographically fictitious?—or has it a local habitation? If so, where is it? How far back can the phrase be traced?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN

REPLIES

THE GUARDS [xv. 407]—In reply to "Halifax" I would state that the Grenadier, Coldstream and Scots Fusilier Guards did serve in this country during the Revolutionary War. The Royal Horse Guards did not. A battalion of one thousand men was formed for service in North America consisting of fifteen men from each of the sixty-four companies of the three regiments of Guards, besides commissioned and non-commissioned officers. After being reviewed on Wimbledon Common by George III., they embarked for this country under the command of Colonel Edward Mathew of the Coldstreams, and landed at Staten Island on the 12th of August, 1776.

They were almost immediately engaged against the American forces, fighting at the battle of Long Island on the 27th of August. They subsequently participated in the battles of White Plains, capture of Fort Lee and Fort Washington, Brandywine, Germantown, Guildford Court-house, finally surrendering at Yorktown with Cornwallis. Their return gives the list of those surrendered as comprising 3 lieutenant colonels, 12 captains, 1 ensign, 2 adjutants, 1 quartermaster, 1 surgeon, 12 drummers, and 465 rank and file. They were ordered as prisoners of war to Lancaster, and while there one of the captains of the Grenadier Guards, Asgill, drew the fatal lot which sentenced him to be hung in retaliation for the murder of Captain Huddy. Asgill was subsequently released through the intervention of the Count de Vergennes.

During the war the Guards garrisoned at different periods both in New York and Philadelphia. Neither the Royal Horse Guards nor the Royal Rifle Guards served in America. In fact I do not believe any cavalry regiment, borne as such on the regular force of the British Army, served during our Revolutionary War.

DAVID FITZGERALD

WASHINGTON, D. C., WAR DEPARTMENT LIBRARY, *March* 30, 1886

CONTINENTAL SOLDIERS [XV. 312]—As no reply to the query of F. E. H. has appeared, I venture to send the following meager facts:

Captains Charles Parsons and Jonathan Titus of New York were entitled to half pay under the Acts of Congress.—*Saffell*, pp. 430 and 435.

Temperance Davis, the widow of Sergeant Richard Davis, was a United States pensioner, and in 1840 resided with her son, Richard Davis, in Brookhaven, Suffolk County, New York.—*Census of Pensioners*, p. 106.

Benjamin Eaton was also a pensioner, residing in Urbana, Steuben County, New York, in 1840.—*Ib.* p. 98. There was a Benjamim Eaton appointed second lieutenant in Colonel John Crane's Artillery at Morristown, April 16, 1780.—*Drake's Knox*, p. 159. Crane's was a Massachusetts battalion, and it appears there was a transfer of men to Camb's New York Artillery.

William Gortley was appointed a gunner in Colonel Ebenezer Stevens' New York Artillery on the 10th of May, 1777.—*Saffell*, p. 157.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

BRIDGER [XV. 93]—There are several incidents that associate the mountaineer captain with the explorers Parker and Whitman, who were sent out fifty years ago by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to learn the condition of the country, character of Indian tribes, and prospects for introducing Christian civilization. Rev. Samuel Parker, in 1838, published his *Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains*, which for its geographical, geological, and benevolent views, was valued by some of the best minds of the day. He circulated several editions while lecturing through the country in behalf of the Red Men, and on the growing importance of our "New West," until the Oregon treaty was assured. He was first to suggest the possibility of a railroad through the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific—even anticipated its early completion. pp. 77–328. His associate, Dr. Marcus Whitman, with a practical and irrepressible energy, entered the field of his life work, and comprehending its national significance, led in an army of sterling emigrants, thus defeating the schemes of the Hudson Bay Company, and "shaped the destiny of the Pacific Coast." From St. Louis, by favor of the American Fur Company, Parker and Whitman accompanied Fontenelle's caravan of sixty men, sent out with supplies for the traders, hunters, and trappers, of which there were about three hundred constantly employed, in and about the Rocky Mountains. All these, together with Utahs, Shoshones, Nez Percés, and Flatheads, were assembling at Green River rendezvous, with their annual product of furs, when the caravan

arrived, August, 1835. "By a divine Providence here were met the leaders and guides, about to unite in indissoluble bonds of interest and friendship, who shall pioneer the making of a country's history." Carson is here, yet to be the famous guide of Fremont, p. 84. Of our proper subject Parker says: "While we continued in this place, Doctor Whitman was called to perform some very important surgical operations. He extracted an iron arrow, three inches long, from the back of Captain Bridger, which was received in a skirmish, three years before, with the Blackfeet Indians." [*Irving's Bonneville*, vi.] "It was a difficult operation, because the arrow was hooked at the point by striking a large bone, and a cartilaginous substance had grown around it. The Doctor pursued the operation with great self-possession and perseverance; and his patient manifested equal firmness. The Indians looked on meanwhile, with countenances indicating wonder, and in their own peculiar manner expressed great astonishment when it was extracted. The Doctor also extracted another arrow from the shoulder of one of the hunters, which had been there two years and a half. His reputation becoming favorably established, calls for medical and surgical aid were almost incessant." p. 80. During their Indian interviews, "The first chief of the Nez Percés, Tai-guin-su-watish, arose, and said, 'he had heard from the white men a little about God, which had only gone into his ears; he wished to know enough to have it go down into his heart, to influence his life, and to teach his people.'" p. 82. From such favorable impressions, from information gained and digested, the hopeful Whitman decided to return with the caravan, procure an outfit, and thus gain a year for the Mission, leaving his senior in care of Captain Bridger and the Indian Chiefs. From August 21st to the 29th, Parker journeyed in company with Captain Bridger as far as Pierre's Hole valley. "In this place I parted with Captain Bridger and his party, who went north-east into the mountains to their hunting grounds, which the Blackfeet claim, and for which they will contend." p. 97.

There seems to have been a permanent friendship between Whitman and Bridger. Their mutual services in the common cause may be unknown. Twelve years later, when Whitman's part in the great work was ended, it was known at the Mission, that one of his adopted children, sick in the room where the deluded Indians were dealing death blows at their benefactor [*Magazine of American History*, xii., 202–3], was the "half-breed daughter of the Mountaineer Bridger."

H. E. P.

Michigan City, Indiana

SOCIETIES

THE LINNEAN (SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL) SOCIETY (Lancaster, Pa.) has elected the following officers for the ensuing year: President, Hon. J. P. Wickersham, Vice-presidents, Dr. J. H. Dubbs, C. A. Heinitsh; Recording Secretary, S. M. Sener; Corresponding Secretary, Miss E. V. Baker; Treasurer, Dr. S. S. Rathvon; Librarian, Mrs. L. D. Zell; Curators, Dr. S. S. Rathvon, Prof. J. S. Stahr, C. A. Heinitsh and S. M. Sener.

This Society will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary on February 8, 1887, and it is the intention of the members to make the occasion exceedingly interesting.

WEBSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the annual meeting of this Society, held in the Old South Church, Boston, it was reported that it now had 1200 members. The officers elected for the coming year were: President, Hon. Joshua L. Chamberlain of Maine; Vice-presidents, Hon. Alexander H. Rice, Hon. George F. Edmunds of Vermont, Rev. Noah Porter of Connecticut, Hon. Henry Howard of Rhode Island, Hon. Austin F. Pike of New Hampshire, Hon. James G. Blaine of Maine, Hon. Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, Hon. William M. Evarts of New York, Hon. J. Henry Stickney of Maryland, Hon. D. W. Manchester of Ohio, Hon. John Wentworth of Illinois, Hon. Lucius F. Hubbard of Minnesota, Hon. J. C. Welling, District of Columbia, Hon. George C. Ludlow of New Jersey, Gen. William T. Sherman of Missouri, Dr. Edward W. Jenks of Michigan, Capt. C. B. Sears of Tennessee, Hon. Joseph B. Young of Iowa, Hon. Horace Noyes of West Virginia, Hon. James H. Campbell of Pennsylvania, Hon. W. H. Baker of New Mexico, Rev. Charles M. Blake of California; Treasurer, Mr. Francis M. Boutwell; Recording Secretary, Mr. Nathaniel W. Ladd; Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Thomas H. Cummings; Actuary, Mr. William H. Colcord.

Rev. Thomas A. Hyde then delivered an address upon "Webster as an Orator." The lecturer treated his subject from a mental, physiological, and expressional stand-point. Webster, he said, won his triumphs by his eloquence. Washington made the country, Grant preserved it by the sword, while Webster preserved it by his eloquence, and he stands to-day as one of the great orators of the world.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY met on the evening of March 29, Vice-president Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley in the chair. After the general business of the meeting was transacted, Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp, of Baldwinsville, the noted Indianologist, was introduced, who delivered an able and very interesting address on the Iroquois, which was highly appreciated by the large audience present. He said: "It is not known definitely when the league of the Iroquois was formed, but it was probably not earlier than 1580. In 1535 the Mohawks were in Canada on the St. Lawrence. The Algonquins then came in and oppressed them so that the result was they left Canada, came to New York, and became a nation. The Mohawks had the sign of the flint and steel, which they got from the Europeans.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SO-

CIETY held its quarterly meeting April 6. President Gammell said he had lately received from the Rev. Dr. Henry A. Niles, a venerable and scholarly clergyman of Hingham, Massachusetts, a printed copy of a sermon which was preached in Boston, in 1869, by Ezekiel Carré, minister of the Huguenot Church at Frenchtown, in Narragansett. He announced also the presentation of a cane to the Society, made from the wood of the Confederate ram *Merrimac*. It was presented by Mrs. Elizabeth Biglow Updike, of Boston, to which lady's husband it was left by her brother, the late Francis Gardner Adams, who was on board the *Monitor* in the famous conflict between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.

Rev. J. P. Root then read an interesting paper concerning the home life of Captain Arthur Fenner.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION —Organized in Saratoga, in September, 1884, for the promotion of historical studies, will hold its third meeting in Washington, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 27th, 28th and 29th of April. The officers of the Society are: President, George Bancroft; Vice presidents, Justin Winsor, Charles Kendall Adams; Secretary, Herbert B. Adams; Treasurer, Clarence Winthrop Bowen; Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers), William B. Weeden, Providence, Rhode Island; William F. Allen, Madison, Wisconsin; Charles Deane, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale College, New Haven.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the stated meeting, April 6, Colonel Thomas Pinckney Lowndes, of Charleston, South Carolina, and Charles A. Whitney and Frederick W. Whitridge, of this city, were elected members. The librarian reported numerous additions to the library, including several valuable volumes, presented by the late John B. Moreau shortly before his decease, and the *Bibliotheca Aegyptica Manuscripta* and *Clavis Aegyptiaca*, a collection of bilingual and other hieroglyphic inscriptions, bequeathed to the society by the late Prof. Gustavus Leyffarth. The paper of the evening was an able and eloquent address on "Henry Clay: His life in and out of Congress, his Principles, Compromises, Virtues and Errors," by the Hon. Erastus Brooks. In a carefully digested summary of the salient points of the great statesman's illustrious public career, his private life, and magnetic character, the learned speaker interspersed many interesting personal reminiscences and incidents connected with his leadership and prominence in the once powerful Whig Party, afforded by a close friendship and political affiliation with him through many years. After delineating with admirable vigor and clearness Mr. Clay's position on the important political questions of his day, the lecturer closed with an eloquent estimate of his great services to his country, his enduring place in the memory of its citizens and growing luster on the pages of history. The paper was a valuable contribution to our historical and political literature.

BOOK NOTICES

GOODHOLME'S DOMESTIC CYCLOPÆDIA OF PRACTICAL INFORMATION. Edited by TODD S. GOODHOLME. New edition revised. 8vo., pp. 652. New York, 1885. C. Montgomery & Co.

This unique and valuable cyclopædia is filled with information of a practical character, as its title indicates. It is a cook-book for the housekeeper, a medical hand-book for all members of the family, a dressmaker's guide, a floral dictionary, a house-builder's assistant, and serves in a thousand other directions for the general good. If your friend has been rescued from the sea in a drowning condition, or struck by lightning, you have only to turn to this volume to learn what to do for him. If your bright-eyed little daughter tumbles down stairs, or falls into the fire, you have in this work an ever present instructor in the art of binding up wounds, soothing pain, and saving life. If you wish to give a dinner the rules are all here, even to your bill of fare, and how each dish and course shall be served. If you are selecting a home this book is a wise counselor; and if you are furnishing a house for the first time it tells you exactly how to do it, not omitting the items for the servant's bedroom, and the dippers, potato-mashers, and candlesticks for the kitchen. Nothing could be more appropriate for a wedding present than such a cyclopædia. Every household, whether its heads are young or old, however, will sooner or later find it indispensable. Its contributions have been prepared by well-known experts; thus it is not only adapted to the practical needs of all persons and families, but is notably trustworthy. We have examined it with care, and have no hesitation in pronouncing it the best cyclopædia of its scope and character in the English language.

The volume is elegantly printed on fine, super-calendered paper, contains some four hundred illustrations, and is handsomely bound. The enterprising publishers have added a ribbon book-mark for convenience in reference; and have also introduced an important feature in the binding, by having it strongly sewed on tapes instead of threads, so as to lie perfectly flat when opened, and it is strong enough to last for a lifetime. The work is provided with a copious and admirably arranged index, which will add immensely to its popularity.

CURIOSITIES OF THE OLD LOTTERY. By HENRY M. BROOKS. 16mo., pp. 73. Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1886.

The "Olden Times Series" comprises several volumes similar to the one before us, covering such topics as "Quaint and Curious Advertisements," "New England Sunday," etc. This is, we believe, the first considerable attempt to collate data concerning the lotteries so common during the early history of the country. As it is made up largely from newspaper clippings it naturally deals mostly with the lottery in its New England type. In its pages are found some of the most honored names of the Eastern States, names whose present owners would consider themselves forever disgraced at being connected with any of the lottery schemes of the present day. Churches, schools, hospitals, bridges, highways, and various private charities were endowed through lotteries, and it was not till a comparatively recent period that the lottery, as such, received the major excommunication. Several quaint engravings are reproduced from old newspapers, and altogether the work is a unique and worthy contribution to the literature of the present as drawn from the every-day life of the past.

THE HERO OF COWPENS. A Revolutionary Sketch, by REBECCA MCCONKEY. 16 mo., pp. 295. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Confessedly the "authoress" as she persists in styling herself, has drawn largely from "Graham's Life of Morgan," in this sketch of the gallant revolutionary partisan. Her motive, however, seems to have been in great part to prove that Benedict Arnold was not the hero that history makes him out prior to his treason, but that in reality he owed to Morgan whatever of fame rested upon his shoulders. There are good portraits of Morgan and Marion, and a page of small portraits, including one of Washington, which bears not the remotest resemblance to the familiar type. The book is somewhat helter-skelter in style, if we may use the expression, but nevertheless possesses elements of popularity, and if properly placed on the market may command a host of readers.

ENGLAND IN EGYPT. By GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE. With maps. 16mo., pp. 93. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

The dainty little volumes of the "Timely Topic Series" are already welcome to the editorial table, and promise to form a handy compendium of useful information. The Egyptian question is not to the front just at present, but there is no telling how soon it may again rise to importance, and then this little book, with its maps and its trustworthy data, will prove very convenient for reference.

MYRTILLA MINER. A memoir. 16mo, pp. 127. New York and Boston: 1885. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

It is more than twenty years since this remarkable woman passed away. Her name is known to very few of the present generation of white people, but, among the blacks, or at least the intelligent portion of them, her memory is cherished as one of the earliest and most successful workers in the cause of negro emancipation. Miss Miner was impressed at an early age with the evils of slavery, and a personal experience, while teaching at the South, strengthened her convictions. She resolved to found a school in Washington for the education of negro children, and this she did in the face of opposition which rose at times to actual violence, in the face of opposition, public and private, from the whole—then nearly omnipotent—slave-holding interest. She was an invalid during a great part of her career, but the fire of apostlehood was in her spirit, she had a mission to perform, and right nobly did she carry out her purpose. The school that bears her name is her best monument. The preface is signed by Ellen M. O'Connor, who is by inference the author, or at least the editor of the memoir, which is, for the most part, composed of letters from Miss Miner's friends. To graduates of the Miner Normal School, and the many who have been benefited by its teachings, the little volume will prove an acceptable souvenir.

LETTERS AND ADDRESSES, IN MEMORY OF WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK. Contributed at a meeting of the Military Service Institution, held at Governor's Island, February 25, 1886. Square 8vo, pp. 89. Pamphlet. New York, 1886. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This beautiful memorial to General Hancock is as creditable to those who have given expression to their love and appreciation of the brave and brilliant soldier as it is a correct and imperishable portraiture of one of America's noble public men. General Fry in his preface says: "Hancock was the impersonation of modesty and valor. Not vain of his scars, but proud that bullets aimed at the heart of the Republic had been intercepted by his body." General William Farrar Smith in his memorable address says: "I doubt if it can be said of many candidates for the Presidency, within the last half century, what I believe myself safe in saying of General Hancock, that to the close of the political campaign (in 1880) no man was ever promised a place or office by him." General Sherman writes: "No matter what his opinions, and they were always strong, General Hancock was knightly loyal to his superior officers." General Crittenden writes: "The qualities which made General Hancock great, his love of truth, his splendid bravery, his integrity and patriotism, these have outlived all fashions of men and defied every age of corruption." General Franklin writes: "Throughout the whole war, wherever General Hancock went he did his whole duty, and when he fought, all the energy and dash of the man came out in a manner that attracted the admiration of all men at the time, and attracts it now, all over the world, wherever the story is told." General King writes: "Few public men held so deep a place in the affections of the whole people. General Hancock was a grand exponent of the possibilities open to every boy in the land, no matter how humble his origin." George M. Childs writes: "While General Hancock knew it must happen at times that the civil laws have to be held in abeyance in the midst of war, he also knew and practiced the other high principle of restoring the supremacy of the civil law the moment war was done."

Upwards of seventy short speeches and letters, all from persons of distinction either in military or civil life, and all breathing a similar spirit of generous affection, are comprehended in this volume. General Fry very justly says: "A few of the flowers of thought and feeling that sprang from the grave of General Hancock, gathered in the freshness of their bloom, are pressed between the covers of this monograph, in the hope that they may preserve their hues and fragrance, keep his memory green, afford comfort to the bereaved, encouragement to men, and express in some degree the prevailing sentiment concerning one of the best soldiers and purest men that our country has produced."

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY. Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN. Vols. IV. and V. Beal—Biber, and Bicheno—Bottisham. 8vo., pp. 464, and 448. 1886. Smith Elder Co., London; Macmillan & Co., New York.

The fourth volume of Mr. Stephen's great biographical work is occupied with the letter B, and contains some exceptionally interesting biographies. Edmund Gosse writes of the gifted dramatist and novelist Aphra Behn (1640–1689), who was the daughter of a barber, but married a merchant, through whom she gained an entrance to the Court of Charles II. Her husband died, and on the breaking out of the Dutch war she was sent by the government to Antwerp as a spy. She was afterward driven to support herself with the pen, and her works, which are extremely numerous, passed through many editions in the eighteenth century. Professor J. K. Laughton writes of Sir Edward Belcher (1799–

1877) who commanded an expedition to the Arctic in search of Sir John Franklin. Belcher was an American, that is, he was the son of Andrew Belcher, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and grandson of Governor William Belcher, of the same colony. The editor, Mr. Stephen, contributes an excellent account of George Berkeley (1685–1753) the famous bishop of Cloyne, whom Pope is said to have introduced to Lord Burlington. Berkeley, upon Burlington's recommendation, in 1721 was made Chaplain to the Duke of Grafton, the new Lord Lieutenant. It was in 1728 that Berkeley visited America, landing at Newport, Rhode Island, and purchasing a farm of ninety-six acres, upon which he built a small house that is still standing. A projecting rock near the sea is shown as the spot where he wrote "Alciphron." He helped to found a philosophical society at Newport; and he preached many sermons to men of all persuasions, enforcing the duty of general toleration upon his brethren. Meetings of the Episcopal clergy were held at his house. He remained in America till the autumn of 1731. He was consecrated Bishop of Cloyne in 1734. His industry was such that the simple list of his published works occupies nearly a page of the book. Sir Francis Bernard (1711–1779), a sketch of whom is given by T. F. Henderson, was also a voluminous writer. He was sent to America as Governor of New Jersey in 1758, and in 1760 was appointed Governor of Massachusetts Bay, in which position he remained some ten years. There is no sketch in the volume, however, more readable than that of Richard Bethell, first Lord Westbury (1800–1873), the Lord Chancellor, by G. P. Macdonell. It is a chapter in English history that is particularly interesting in this decade. Lord Westbury's character was full of contrasts. Few men have had greater power of sarcastic speech, and no one ever used such power more mercilessly. His style was mincing, drawling, half affected, but his sentences fell with blistering effect. The author says: "He deserves to be remembered as a zealous and wise reformer, and as the boldest judge who ever sat on the English bench; but he will probably be known rather as the author of audacious sayings, and as the mythical source of innumerable stories."

The fifth volume is also occupied with the letter B. The biography of Blackstone (Sir William, 1723–1780) the jurist and legal writer, is by G. P. Macdonell; that of Blackwood, the great publisher, and founder of *Blackwood's Magazine*, is by Francis Espinasse; and Professor J. K. Laughton writes at considerable length of Admiral Robert Blake (1599–1657). The audacious adventurer, Colonel Thomas Blood (1618–1680), who made an unsuccessful attempt to steal the Crown jewels, and was forgiven by Charles II., is the subject of a terse and engaging sketch by Rev. J. W. Elsworth, F.S.A. Bishop Bloet (1123) the Chancellor of William the Conqueror, who was sent to England with a letter praying Archbishop Lanfranc to crown William Rufus when the king lay on his deathbed at Rouen, is briefly treated by Rev. William Hunt. The Boltons occupy several pages of the volume. Edmund Bolton, the historian and poet (1575–1633) whose biography is sketched by Thomas Cooper, F.S.A.; Sir Richard Bolton, who succeeded Sir Adam Loftus in the Chancellorship of Ireland, in 1639, by J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A.; Robert Bolton (1572–1631), the famous and learned Puritan, by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, LL.D.; Robert Bolton, the Dean of Carlisle (1697–1763), and Samuel Bolton, the great divine and scholar (1606–1654), also by Dr. Grosart. The Rev. James Jay Bolton, son of Rev. Robert Bolton of Pelham, New York, who was a prolific writer for juvenile publications, is the subject of a brief paper by James Mew. The Rev. Alexander Gordon writes of both Thomas Bolton the elder (1677–1732), and Thomas Bolton, the younger, (1713–1767), who were Scottish divines of great versatility of genius. The greater portion of the biographies in the fifth volume are short, and admirably condensed in matter. Mr. Stephen contributes an interesting paper of several pages on James Boswell (1740–1795), the biographer of Johnson. But there are few contributions that extend over more than one page of space. The dictionary will become a necessity for all scholars, in whatever country they may reside. We see no reason why it should not have as large a sale in America as in England, since it contains precisely such information as is desired by every intelligent mind. It promises to be one of the most complete works of its character ever attempted in the British realm.

AN APACHE CAMPAIGN. By Capt. JOHN G. BOURKE, U. S. A. 16mo, pp. 112. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1886.

We cordially recommend this plain narrative of army life in the far West to all readers who fancy that our little force of regulars live in luxurious ease, and that its officers have nothing to do. Every officer who takes pride in his profession and an interest in the well-being of his men, can find enough to occupy him, even in a remote station on the plains. When it comes to a march of hundreds of miles across burning deserts and over barren mountain ranges, in pursuit of a war party of savages, the hardships of soldiering become only too apparent. Captain Bourke is already favorably known to the reading public as the author of "The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona," and the present narrative confirms the favorable impression made by its predecessor. It gives the history of the expedition led by General Crook into Mexico in 1883, which resulted in the capture of the entire band of 125 desperadoes whose progress through

Arizona had been marked by atrocities which not even the reckless journals of the West dare to put in print. These same irrepressible Apaches have recently broken out again, and although their numbers have been reduced, they have led the troops a chase much like that described by Captain Bourke. A small band of 11 of these fierce and warlike savages recently killed 21 of their own tribe, living in peace upon their reservation, and 25 whites, who were so unfortunate as to live near their line of march. In a country of such vast extent as ours the pursuit and punishment of such savages is a work of immense difficulty. Captain Bourke has had exceptional advantages for observing the manners and customs of the Apaches, whether at home or on the war-path, and the graphic, sketchy illustrations with which the book abounds add materially to its claims upon popular favor.

THE ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND, as Illustrating the Spirit of the Times of the Early Colonists. A Paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, January 25, 1886. By HENRY STOCKBRIDGE. 8vo pamphlet, pp. 87. Baltimore, 1886.

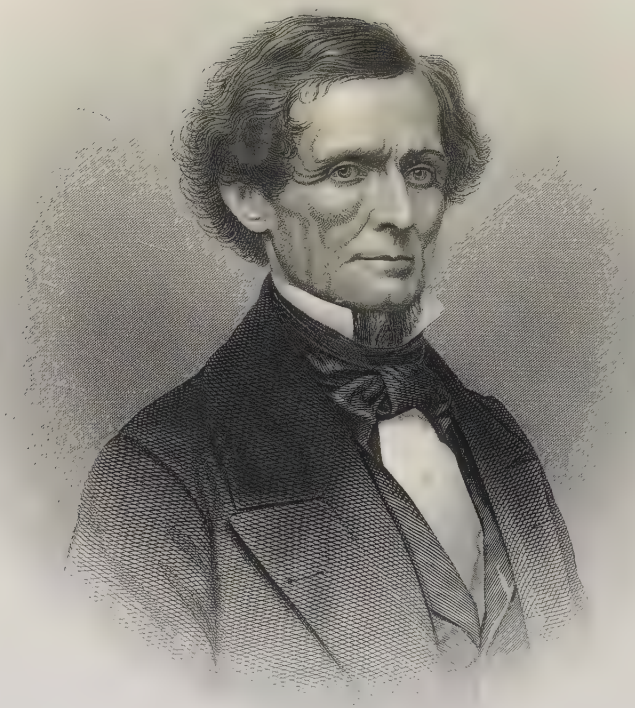
The suggestion of Lord Bacon, with which Mr. Stockbridge happily opens this paper, that "some books may be read by deputy," shows the reader at a glance that the intent in this case has been to present a sort of codification of the three volumes of Maryland Archives. The scholarly vice-president of the Maryland Historical Society has done much more than that, however; he has gathered into this little *brochure*, with a skilled hand, a mass of agreeable and valuable information and entertainment, which the historical student might search long through the arid region of dry statistics before discovering. Of the jealousy between the "Upper House" and "Lower House" of the Maryland Legislature, which developed at one period, about 1660, we have, for instance, some accounts none the less amusing because strictly true. The "Upper House" lectured the "Lower House" for not assenting to a certain measure. "For the four succeeding days the two august bodies maintained a most pugnacious attitude The upper house imperiously demanded an expurgation of the journal of the lower house; and the lower gave reason and rhetoric for its refusal." The lower house made another obnoxious entry in its journal, which in the end was compromisingly removed, but the members considered themselves seriously aggrieved.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS. A monthly catalogue. By JOHN H. HICKCOX. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 291. Washington, D. C.: The Editor. 1885.

This journal, of which the first volume is now complete, contains a catalogue of all the latest publications of the United States Government. It includes the books and pamphlets printed by the departments and bureaus of departments; of commissions and organizations which publish special works not included in the reports transmitted to Congress; all the documents issued during and after the sessions of Congress; all public and private acts, treaties, maps, and charts. These are arranged alphabetically and under authors' names, as far as practicable. The number of titles in the volume is about three thousand, all of which have a public interest quite apart from legislation. The elaborate and extremely useful index with which the volume closes will recommend it to scholars the world over. Mr. Hickcox is to be congratulated upon the excellence with which he has accomplished an important and laborious task.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURPLUS REVENUE OF 1837. By EDWARD G. BOURNE. 8vo, pp. 161. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885.

Within a little more than a year the nation will, unless some unforeseen disaster prevents, be brought face to face with a very serious financial problem, namely, how to dispose of a large surplus revenue. This result will be brought about by the redemption of all the outstanding bonds payable at the pleasure of the government. Either a sudden reduction of taxation must take place, or the remaining debt, mainly in 4 and 4½ per cent.'s must be bought in at a great disadvantage, or some $85,000,000 of surplus revenue must be disposed of. In view of the utter failure of our lawmakers to pay any attention to anything of vital importance, it may be assumed that they will dilly-dally over this matter until abundant mischief has resulted; but in the meantime some study of the past may be salutary, and in this direction Mr. Bourne has attempted to lead his readers in considering the experiences of former generations in the distribution of surplus revenues. He devotes special attention to the distribution of 1837, and for the first time the statistics, official and otherwise, are collected in compact and consecutive shape.



Jeff'n Davis.

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SKETCH OF SAN ANTONIO

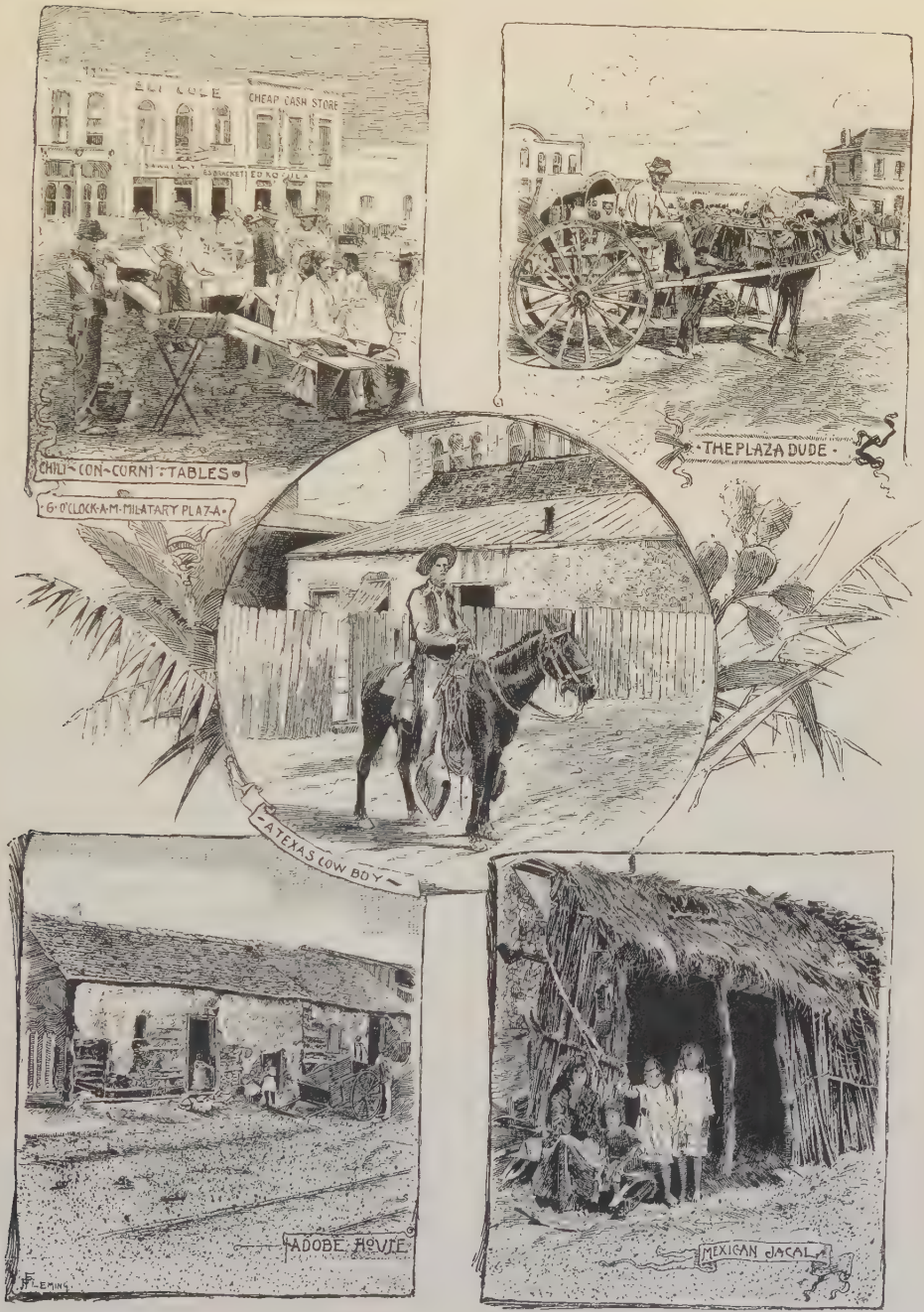
THE FALL OF THE ALAMO

TEXAS, that vast territory, nearly seven hundred miles long and eight hundred broad, was but little known outside of San Antonio until after the war with Mexico; this quaint old town possesses an interest purely her own, and one might spend weeks with profit in studying her peculiarities, the character of her people, and the underlying forces which hold so varied a populace together. San Antonio's first charter was granted by the King of Spain in the year 1733, or, as some writers say, in 1734. So numerous have been the contests for, and expeditions against the city—by the French, the Spanish, and the Indians—that San Antonio might be called the Richmond or Winchester (in our late war) of Texas. History is silent as to when the first settlers arrived, but the records show that Indian traders and fortune-seekers visited the place as early as the sixteenth century; in 1689, France and Spain were engaged in the struggle for the territory; in 1691 the French were driven from San Antonio.

A local historian, Stephen Gould, writes: "Wrested from its savage founders by the followers and contemporaries of the Spanish conquerors; made the head-quarters in Western Texas of the missionaries of Rome, and by them embellished and adorned by monuments of mediæval architecture; captured by American buccaneers; recaptured by Spanish royalists; again in the hands of Mexican republicans; then the head-quarters of the Mexican army in Texas; first republican then royalist; ruled over successively by a governor, a political chief, a general and an alcade; then captured by the American colonists; conquered by the bloody tyrant Santa Anna, and made the scene of the most noble sacrifice in the holy cause of liberty known in the history of the world; its stones baptized in the blood of patriots, and its fertile soil reinvigorated alike by the ashes of heroic martyrs and a savage foe; the western metropolis of the Lone Star Republic; then a frontier post of the State of Texas, continually harassed by Indians and menaced by Mexican invaders; the shuttlecock of military fortune, San Antonio had, finally, begun to per-

manently improve and attract to it distinguished citizens of every nationality of Europe, when the civil war again changed its allegiance, and it became a military post of the department of the Southern Confederacy. After four years, through the annihilation of the Confederacy, it became the military post of the army of the United States in the Territory of Texas. With the readmission of Texas into the Union, San Antonio again became the gem city of the Lone Star State, and since that time has steadily increased in population and wealth, until at the present writing its future bids fair to rightfully establish its claims as the metropolis of the great South-west."

A charming view of the city is had at eventide from the hills in the vicinity of the old Mexican burial-ground. San Antonio contains thirty-six square miles, being divided into four wards. Its population is now about thirty-five thousand. It is situated on an elevation six hundred feet above the Gulf of Mexico, and has always been free from the much dreaded "dengue" (the Texas fever, or breakbone fever) until the past year, when it made its appearance there for the first time. The term "breakbone" well describes this fever, the victims feeling as if every bone in the body was being broken. The disease is local to Texas. Many of the houses in San Antonio built by the early Spanish settlers are still standing, and these adobes, with their light, thick plastered walls and low, flat roofs, a thing of the past, contrast curiously with the more modern structures. In some parts of the town the pavements are laid of a lightish colored flat stone, irregular, somewhat after the pattern of a crazy quilt. The Veramendi house, where the nuptials of the famous Colonel James Bowie—inventor of the well-known Bowie knife—were celebrated, has lost something of its odd character, but enough remains to excite the interest of the visitor. The door with its ancient carvings still exhibits the wounds made in it during the storming of the town in 1835 by a detachment of Texans under the intrepid "Ben" Milam, who fell mortally wounded just within the doorway. Colonel Bowie resided in this house until he lost his life in the Alamo. The San Pedro park and springs are a garden spot of loveliness, and the United States Arsenal adds to the city's many attractions. A veritable paradise for the cowboy is San Antonio, for here one sees him in all his picturesque splendor, gorgeous, dazzling, not as on the plains, not as at the ranch, but the cowboy of the town. The real glory of San Antonio, however, lies buried in her missions, the broken links of a once remarkable ecclesiastical chain by which Texas hung round the neck of Spain. The ancient records and reports furnish volumes of interesting facts. The Count Revilla Gigedo, Viceroy of Mexico, in his official report,


CHEAP CASH STORE
CHILI-CON-CORNI-TABLES
6 O'CLOCK A.M. MILATARY PLAZA
THE PLAZA DUDE
A TEXAS LOW BOY
ADOBE HOUSE
MEXICAN JACAL
FLEMING

dated December 27, 1793, says: "An expedition including in its numbers nine Franciscan Fathers, headed by the Right Reverend Father Antonio Margil de Jesus, was sent out in the year 1716, and established six missions in the more northern part of the Province of Texas." The early records of the Catholic Church speak of the work of a Catholic priest in Texas in 1554. In the year 1730 three of these missions were transferred to the sites where they now stand on the San Antonio River; these are, Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion, San Juan Capistrana, and San Francisco de la Espada. Count Revilla further says: "The religious disciples from the Colleges of Santa Cruz de Queretaro and Nuestra Señora de Guadeloupe (Franciscan Fathers) have always been favorably noted for the commendable zeal and apostolic anxiety with which they have at all times dedicated themselves to the conversion of Indians. It is also well known that the Royal Treasury has contributed millions of dollars toward the success of this spiritual conquest, but neither our acquisitions nor the number of Indians congregated in the actual mission towns do by any means justify the enormous outlay incurred, nor the fatiguing labors undergone by the missionary Fathers. Exposing themselves to all possible dangers, they have always been compelled to reinforce the small number of their converts from the coast near the Bay of Espiritu Santo or San Bernardo, and from the vicinity of Nueva Santander, aided in their labors only by small escorts of troops; and although they have worked with the utmost zeal and all necessary precaution, in the more remote parts of the territory, they have as yet never been able to achieve the religious conversion of even one single entire tribe of the many that inhabit and roam over this vast district. Up to the present time (1793) we know of the following tribes: Texas, Vidas, Tancalmeshuitseis, Atacapaces, Horcoquisas, Flechazos, Yervipiamos, Nacogdoches, Asimias, Nasones, Cododachos, Taobayaces, Tahuacanas, Pasmismahas, and Osages, besides some tribes of the Apaches and Lipans, who dwell on the frontier of Coahuila. It may be that there are a few individual Indians of these tribes in the missions, but according to the names enrolled from their foundation, there remains no doubt that the greater part of them were brought from the coast of San Bernardo and the colony of Nuevo Santander, as previously stated."

This is also certified to by Lieutenant-Governor Marquis de Rubi in his report. With just cause he speaks of the opulence and wealth of the five missions on the banks of the San Antonio River, seeing their well-built and beautifully ornamented temples, their showy furniture of great value and exquisite finish, holy vessels, and other corresponding adornments. He found the houses of the missionary Fathers, and those of the Indians,

the granaries and all other buildings, supplied with all necessary conveniences; the fields of the various missions were in a fine state of cultivation, covered with grain, fruit and cattle, and he could find no fault with the Christian education of the Indians, nor in their political or home management. They were well supplied with abundant provisions, and with the proper humble but neatly finished clothing. This praiseworthy system

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCION

[*The First Mission.*]

of conducting the missions has never changed. The edifices and riches of their temples are still preserved, but their wealth of flocks and fields has rapidly gone to ruin, on account of the oft-repeated attacks of their Indian enemies. Nevertheless, those who are still assembled around these five missions, now reduced to four by the secularization of San Antonio Valero (the Alamo), suffer no want, and have become connected with Spanish families by marriage, and only desire to check the hostilities of the Indians, and continue the recruiting of converts from the colony of

Nueva Santander, so that with their additional help they can more thoroughly cultivate their fields and obtain security for their flocks and herds, and thus restore the missions to their former opulence. Count Revilla was at this time dispirited, and his report was a sort of plea for consolidation at the capital city of San Fernando—San Antonio—where it was proposed to continue a local mission. The Spanish Government, however, took another view of the matter, and the several missions were continued for a time, when a few of them were finally abandoned. The following tabulated statement of these missions is from the official report:

NAMES OF THE MISSION.	DATE OF FOUNDING.	DISTANCE FROM THE CAPITAL (SAN ANTONIO).	TRIBES WITH WHICH FOUNDED.	NO. OF SOULS.
San Antonto Valero, "The Alamo"	1716	Capital	Sanes, Payaes, and Vanos	45
Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion	1716	1 league E	Sampaos, Tacanes, and others	51
San Jose Aguayo	1720	2 leagues S	Pampopas, Mesquites, and others	114
San Juan Capistrana	1716	3 leagues S	Pamaques, Quijanes, and others	34
San Francisco de la Espada	1716	3½ leagues S	Pecos, Marquitas, and others	46
Espiritu Santo	1720	40 leagues S.E.	Quijanes, Carancahuaces, and Xaranes	82
Nuestra Señora del Rosario	1754	38 leagues S.E.	Quijanes and Carancahuaces	33
Nuestro Señora del Refugio	1791	50 leagues S.E.	Carancahuaces	62
Total				467

The Alamo being the most important of these missions deserves more extended notice. After the storming and surrender of San Antonio on the 5th of December, 1835, General Edward Burleson, who commanded the Federal troops, left the garrison and town in the full conviction of having secured a permanent peace for Texas. General Cos and his officers by the terms of the capitulation were allowed to retire with their private property to the interior of the young Republic under parole, and were not to in any way oppose the re-establishment of the Federal Constitution of 1824. Meanwhile Santa Anna's aggressiveness began to be severely felt throughout Mexico, and Texas resolved to hold out alone against the tyrant in favor of a Republic; he presently determined to conquer this embryo government by the people, and with a well-disciplined, armed and equipped army, flushed with minor victories, appeared before San Antonio on the 22d of February, 1836. The town was in consternation; and grave fears were entertained for Travis and his little band of patriots, the only safeguard of the people.

Colonel Travis now retired to the Alamo, leading his gallant handful of one hundred and forty-five effectives into that place, which he resolved

to hold or die in the attempt. Among these heroes were the gallant "Davy" Crockett and Colonel James Bowie. The name "Alamo" signifies "cotton wood" in Spanish, and it is supposed was given to it by the troops quartered there who came from Fort Alamo de Parras, in the Province of Coahuila, to which Province Texas was then attached, and who called the old mission "Fort Alamo," in honor of their former station. This name has since then been retained. The old records of the Church

THE ALAMO.

bear out this statement and contain memoranda of the baptism of soldiers who had been transferred from Fort Alamo de Parras to San Antonio. The city was first built in the vicinity of the Main and Military plazas, but owing to the frequent attacks of the Indians the settlement was extended to the bend of the river (San Antonio), along the present line of Commerce Street, as far as the bridge—built some time after the fall of the Alamo. So that the Alamo, which is now in the heart of the city, was then some distance to the east of it. The main chapel, which is now

known as the Alamo proper, is seventy-five by sixty-two feet, the walls being of solid masonry, four feet thick and twenty-two and a half feet in height. It fronts to the west, toward the ancient city, which was about a quarter of a mile distant. From the north-west corner a wall extended fifty feet to the convent building.

The convent was a two-story building with a flat roof, one hundred and eighty-six feet in length, and eighteen feet in width. From the north-east corner of the chapel a wall extended one hundred and eighty-six feet north, thence one hundred and two feet west, inclosing the convent yard. From the south-east corner of the chapel, a strongly built stockade extended seventy-five feet to a building called the prison, which was a one-story building, one hundred and fifteen feet in length by seventeen in width, and joined a part of the east wall; and some low buildings used as barracks formed a part of the west wall. The Alamo plaza inclosed within these walls was one hundred and fifty-four yards in length by fifty-four in width. The different inclosures embraced between two and three acres, and afforded ample accommodations for a thousand men. the outer walls were two and a quarter feet wide and eight feet high; though as they were planned for a protection against the Indians, the fortress was destitute of salient and dominant points in case of a bombardment. A ditch used for irrigation passed immediately in the rear of the church, and another touched the north-west angle of the main square. At the time of the memorable siege, which resulted in the death of all its heroic defenders on the 6th of March, 1836, three heavy guns were planted on the walls of the church—one pointed north toward the old mill, one pointed west, toward the city, and one south, toward the village of La Villeta, in the vicinity of the present location of the German-English school building, where Santa Anna pitched his chief camp. Two guns protected the stockade between the church and prison, and an eighteen pounder was planted at the south-west angle of the main square. A twelve-pound carronade protected the center of the west wall, and an eight-pounder protected the north-west angle. Two guns were also planted on the north wall of the plaza, making in all fourteen guns in position. Over the church building, the present Alamo, floated the flag of the Provisional Government of Texas, as it was called; but at that time the struggle of the Texans was for the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1824, and the securing of the granted rights to the colonists, and against the tyrannical policy of confiscation and annihilation as adopted by the usurper Santa Anna.

The Declaration of Independence of Texas was not passed until nearly

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF SAN ANTONIO FROM THE GOVERNMENT TOWER.

a month later. The flag, therefore, consisted of the Mexican tricolor, with the numerals 1824 in the place of the Eagle in the white stripe. As a mission the Alamo was known as San Antonio de Valero, being named for St. Anthony of Padua, and the Duke of Valero, one of the viceroys of Mexico. Some authorities state that this mission was originally founded in the *Cienega* of the Rio Grande in 1703, and was then moved to a place called San Ildephonso, and afterward moved back to the banks of the

Rio Grande, to be from thence transferred to San Antonio in 1716. The same authorities also state that this mission was first located at San Pedro Springs in another part of the city, and from there moved to the Military plaza, and finally located in its present situation. However that may be, a slab in the front wall bears the date of 1757, though the corner-stone is said to have been laid with appropriate ceremonies on the 8th of May, 1744. This mission was secularized by Royal decree prior to the year 1793.

Surrounded and cut off as he was, Travis managed to send a last appeal to his countrymen, by a courier, for assistance, declaring that if not soon reinforced he and his men would perish in the final struggle. The following affecting message was also sent by the same courier to a friend:

"Take care of my little boy. If the country is saved, I may make him a fortune. But if all is lost, and I shall perish, I will leave him nothing but the proud recollection that he is the son of a man who died for his country."

The advance guard of Santa Anna's army arrived on the 22d of February, 1836, and the next day Santa Anna came, bearing the red flag, which he displayed from the tower of the Cathedral between the Main and Military plazas, in plain sight of the Alamo. He then sent a summons to the Texans to surrender, but was answered by a cannon shot. This day Colonel Travis secured eighty bushels of corn and twenty or thirty beeves. On the second day the Mexicans bombarded the Alamo without effect. Colonel Travis sent out couriers to Goliad and Washington, Texas, for reinforcements. In his dispatch he said: "I shall never surrender or retreat." On the third day Santa Anna moved his headquarters across the river and made a personal reconnoissance. The Texans opened on the reconnoitering party with their batteries, killing two of the party and wounding six others. Late at night some of the Texans sallied out and burned some wooden buildings, behind which the Mexicans had taken a position. On the fourth day the Mexicans made an unsuccessful attempt to divert the water from the ditches which supplied the Alamo with water. That night the Texans burned some wooden buildings north of the Alamo. On the fifth day the bombardment was continued without effect. On the sixth day Colonel Travis sent John N. Seguin and a corporal to hurry up reinforcements from Goliad. On the seventh day the bombardment was continued without effect. On the eighth day thirty-two citizen soldiers from Gonzales reinforced the besieged Texans. In the afternoon a twelve-pound shot from the Alamo struck the house occupied by Santa Anna. On the ninth day the bombardment was vigorously con-

tinued, but with no casualties for the Texans. On the tenth day Colonel Bonham, who had been sent to Goliad for reinforcements, re-entered the Alamo, bearing word that no aid might be expected from that quarter. The bombardment was continued, Colonel Travis now made his last appeal for aid, this time to the Convention, and sent it by J. W. Smith, the guide who had conducted the Gonzales party to the Alamo. Smith left the Alamo at midnight, and crawled stealthily upon his hands and knees until safely beyond the Mexican lines. As he departed Colonel Travis said to him: "Every morning at daybreak I will fire a cannon as a sign that we still hold the fort, but when that cannon is heard no more, its silence will tell that the Alamo has fallen." Smith had gone but forty miles on his journey when he received information from a mounted Mexican of the fall of the Alamo and the massacre of its heroes. A daughter of J. W. Smith—Travis's courier—Mrs. W. G. Tobin, still lives in San Antonio. On the eleventh day the Mexicans continued the bombardment, but the Texans, being short of ammunition, seldom fired. Colonel Travis now despaired of succor, and, according to one account, he proposed to surrender to Santa Anna with a pledge of mercy; but Santa Anna's answer was: "You must surrender at discretion, without any guarantee, even of life, which traitors do not deserve." Santa Anna's excuse for this course was that it accorded with the will of the Mexican congress. It is also stated that when the above reply was sent to Colonel Travis, a Frenchman by the name of Arago, a brother of the celebrated astronomer of that name, occupied the position of chief of staff; but that he forthwith informed the Mexican blood-hound that he would be compelled to resign—he could take no part in the inhuman course which had been determined upon. Besides, there was nothing to be gained in the conquest by so large an army as that of the Mexicans of the exhausted and poorly armed handful of Texans who defied them. According to an account published in 1860 by a Mr. Rose, Colonel Travis now announced to his companions their desperate situation, and, after declaring his determination to sell his life as dearly as possible, drew a line with his sword and asked all who were willing to fight with him to form on the line. With one exception they all fell into the ranks, and even Colonel Bowie, who was dying, had his cot carried to the line. The man who declined to enter the ranks, that night made his escape through the Mexican line. That afternoon Santa Anna held a council of war, and, against the advice of his best officers, determined to storm the Alamo the next morning. The copy of his general orders tells the whole story.

During the night the Mexican army formed, and at the first light of

dawn on that memorable Sunday morning its bugles sounded the fatal peal. With a rush like tigers springing on their prey the men dashed forward, but the heroic Texans, roused to their last duty by the sound of the terrible *degucio* (the Mexican bugle call for "Death, no quarter") ringing in their ears, every one was at his post, and so well did they do their duty that twice the brutal hosts of Santa Anna were hurled back defeated, only to be again forced forward by the sabers of the Mexican cavalry. Then Santa Anna himself urged forward his troops. General Castillion's division, after half an hour's desperate fighting, and after repeated repulses and unheard-of losses, succeeded in effecting an entrance in the upper part of the Alamo, in a sort of outwork. The fighting had only begun. The doors and windows of the Alamo church were barricaded and guarded by bags of sand heaped up as high as a man's shoulders, and even on the roof were rows of sand-bags, behind which the Texans fought as never men fought before—muzzle to muzzle, hand to hand. Each Texan rifle-shot exhausted its force and spent itself in successive bodies of Mexicans packed together like a wall of flesh. Muskets and rifles were clubbed, and bayonets and bowie-knives never before wrought such fearful carnage. The ceaseless crash of firearms, the shots of the beleaguered, desperate, and defiant Texans, and the shrieks of the dying, made the din infernal, and the scene indescribable in its sublime terrors. Each room in the building was the scene of a desperate struggle with fearless men, driven to desperation and conscious that escape was impossible. They fought even when stricken down, and when dying, still struggled, not with death, but to slay Mexicans. In the long room, used as a hospital, the sick and wounded fired pistols and rifles from their pallets.

A piece of artillery, supposed to be that which Crockett had used during the siege, was shotted with grape and canister and turned upon the desperate occupants of the apartment. After the explosion the Mexicans entered and found the emaciated bodies of fourteen men, torn and mangled and blackened and bloody. Forty-two Mexicans lay at the door. Colonel James Bowie, whose name tells of his fearful knife and deeds, lay stark and stiff on a cot in this room. He was helpless and in bed when the Alamo was invested twelve days before, but the bodies of the victims of his unerring aim and invincible courage attested that his death was not accomplished without tenfold loss to the enemy. There are several accounts of the death of Colonel Travis, one of which is that he was shot in the head by a rifle-ball, but even then had strength enough left to impale on his sword a Mexican officer who was attempting to mutilate him. Another account, derived from a Mexican soldier in the army of Santa Anna.

is that "Colonel Travis and David Crockett were found lying among the Texan dead, utterly worn out by sleepless nights of watching and long-continued fighting. When discovered, Colonel Travis gave a Mexican soldier some gold, and while conversing with him, General Cos, with whom Colonel Travis had dealt very generously when San Antonio was captured by the Americans, appeared. Cos warmly embraced Travis, and induced other Mexicans, and among them General Castillion, to join with him in asking Santa Anna to spare Travis' life. Then David Crockett also wearily arose to his feet from among the corpses." The brutal Santa Anna was terribly enraged at the disobedience of his orders, saying: "I want no prisoners," and turning to a file of soldiers ordered them to shoot the heroes. Colonel Travis was first shot in the back. He folded his arms stiffly across his breast and stood erect until a bullet pierced his neck, when he fell headlong among the dead. David Crockett fell at the first fire, his body being completely riddled with bullets. Even a cat that was soon after seen running through the fort was shot, the soldiers exclaiming: "It is not a cat, but an American."* Major Evans was shot while in the act of applying a torch to the magazine, in time to prevent an explosion. Filisola, the Mexican historian who accompanied the army of Santa Anna, thus concludes the account of the battle of the Alamo:

"Finally, the place remained in the power of the Mexicans, and all its defenders were killed. It is a source of deep regret that after the excitement of the combat many acts of atrocity were allowed, which are unworthy of the gallantry and resolution with which this operation was executed, and stamps it with an indelible stain in the annals of history. These acts were reproved at the time by those who had the sorrow to witness them, and, subsequently, by the whole army, who were certainly not animated by such feelings, and who heard with disgust and horror, as becomes brave and generous Mexicans, breathing none but noble and lofty sentiments, of certain facts which I forbear mentioning, and would wish, for the honor of the republic, had never taken place."

In one of the rooms of the Alamo were three non-combatants: Mrs. Dickinson and her infant daughter, and a negro servant of Colonel Travis. Mrs. Dickinson, now Mrs. Hanning, alone survives, and resides in Austin. Her infant daughter afterward married and was the mother of A. D. Griffith, who resides in Yarrelton, Milam County, Texas. She died in 1868. It is related that the last Mrs. Dickinson saw of her husband, Captain Dickinson, was when he rushed into her room and said: "My dear wife, they are coming over the wall; we are all lost." He then

* See MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, vol. xi., 177, 265.

silently embraced her and their babe, and said: "May God spare you and our dear baby." He drew his sword and went out, and his body was afterward found riddled with bullets. In the autumn of 1878, an aged Mexican applied for a pension as a survivor of the Alamo. His story is that he was one of the soldiers under Colonel Travis, and continued to fight until the enemy had entered the inclosure. Seeing that further resistance was useless, he entered the room in which were the women, and was concealed by them under some bedding, where he remained until night, and then made his escape. Although he has steadfastly maintained the truth of this story since 1843, his veracity is doubted by many of the early inhabitants. The evidence he offered the Court was so strong, however, that he was placed on the pension list, and to the present writing has received aid from the State.

After the Alamo had fallen and the massacre complete, Santa Anna ordered the Texan dead to be burned; accordingly they were stripped, and after being subject to indignities, in which Santa Anna joined, were taken to a point on Alameda Street, near the present location of St. Joseph's (German) Catholic Church, where the funeral pyre was erected, there first being a layer of fence rails, then bodies, then rails over, and so on until all the bodies were in place. Brush was then piled on and around the pyre and the torch applied. Then arose to Heaven a burnt-offering on the altar of Liberty which will never cease to be remembered in every true Texan's heart. Fire did not wholly reduce the bodies, and the charred remains were afterward gathered together and buried near the spot which they had hallowed by their heroic defense and bloody death. The number of Mexicans slain has been a mooted question; the Mexican adjutant-general placing it at sixty killed and two hundred and fifty-one wounded in the assault; but from the nature of the attack, the densely closed columns, through which repeated charges of grape and cannon-balls from the Texan cannons tore with such deadly effect that the whole army was twice driven back, the noted deadly effect of Texan rifles, and the terrrible hand-to-hand conflict which closed the battle, all point to a much larger number of Mexican dead. We are therefore constrained to believe that the number stated by Pancho Ruiz, the alcade of the city, and who superintended the burning of the Texan dead and the burial and disposal of the Mexican dead, is much nearer the truth. He stated, and the statement is now a part of our County records, that about two thousand Mexicans fell in the assault on the Alamo, independent of the casualties of the previous eleven days of the siege. In the face of this statement how puerile does the official report of Santa Anna read. Such a document

could only emanate from a dastardly liar, such as the Mexican tyrant ever proved himself to be. We give it in full:

To His Excellency the Secretary of War and Navy, General Jose Maria Torue.

Most Excellent Sir: Victory belongs to the Army, which at this very moment, 8 o'clock A.M., achieved a complete and glorious triumph that will render its memory imperishable. As I had stated in my report to your Excellency of the taking of this city, on the 27th of last month, I waited the arrival of the first brigade of infantry to commence active operations against the fortress of the Alamo. However, the whole brigade having been delayed beyond my expectation, I ordered that three of its battalions, viz: the engineers—

CATHEDRAL OF SAN FERNANDO.

[*Built by subscription in* 1732.]

Aldama and Toluca—should force their march to join me. These troops, together with the battalions of Metamoras, Jimenes, and San Luis Potosi, brought the force at my disposal (recruits excluded) up to 1,400 infantry. The force, divided into four columns of attack and a reserve, commenced the attack at 5 o'clock A.M. They met with a stubborn resistance, the combat lasting more than one hour and a half, and the reserve having to be brought into action. The scene offered by this engagement was extraordinary. The men fought individually, vieing with each other in heroism. Twenty-one pieces of artillery, used by the enemy with the most perfect accuracy, the brisk fire of musketry which illuminated the interior of the fortress and its walls and ditches, could not check our

dauntless soldiers, who are entitled to the consideration of the supreme government, and to the gratitude of the Nation. The fortress is now in our power, with its artillery, stores, etc. More than six hundred corpses of foreigners were buried in the ditches and entrenchments, and a great many who had escaped the bayonets of the infantry fell in the vicinity under the sabers of the cavalry. I can assure your Excellency that few are those who bore to their associates the tidings of their disaster. Among the corpses are those of Bowie and Travis, who styled themselves colonels, and also that of Crockett and several leading men, who had entered the fortress with despatches from their Convention. We lost about seventy men killed and three hundred wounded, among whom are twenty-five officers. The cause for which they fell renders their loss less painful, as it is the duty of the Mexican soldiers to die for the defense of the rights of the nation, and all of us were ready for any sacrifice to promote the fond object; nor will we hereafter suffer any foreigners, whatever their origin may be, to insult our country and to pollute its soil. I shall, in due time, send to your Excellency a circumstantial report of this glorious triumph. Now, I have only time to congratulate the nation and the President, *ad interim*, to whom I request you to submit this report.

The bearer takes with him one of the flags of the enemy's battalions, captured to-day. The inspection of it will show plainly the true intention of the treacherous colonists, and of their abettors, who came from the ports of the United States and the north.

God and liberty!

Signed Antonio Lopez De Santa Anna (Headquarters, Bexar, March 6, 1836.)

Don Ruiz states he gathered together the bodies of the Mexicans and buried them in trenches, and having filled the trenches, he stripped the remainder and threw them into the San Antonio River. For nearly a year the bones of the Texan patriots lay bleaching in the sun, where they had fallen. On the 25th of February, 1837, Colonel John N. Seguin, superintended the collection and proper interment of these whitened fragments. Some time after this, a monument to the memory of the heroes of the Alamo was erected at the entrance of the State-house in Austin, Texas; it was made by Texan artists from stones taken from the ruins of the Alamo, and is inscribed on its four sides as follows:

To the God of the Fearless and Free
Is Dedicated This Altar
Made From
THE RUINS OF THE ALAMO.
March 6th, 1836.

Be They Enrolled with Leonidas in the Host of the Mighty Dead.

"Thermopylæ had her Messengers of Defeat,
The Alamo had None."

Blood of Heroes Hath Stained me!
Let the
STONES OF THE ALAMO
Speak That Their Immolation Be
NOT FORGOTTEN.

In forty-six days after the terrible scenes of the Alamo, the battle of San Jacinto was fought, and the Declaration of Independence became a fixed fact; the tyrant Santa Anna was captured, and Texas took its place among the nations of the world. From this time until the 5th of March, 1842, San Antonio was free from Mexican foes, but the depredations of the savages gave the citizens little time for peaceful security. The Alamo

RUINS OF SAN FRANCISCO DE LA ESPADA.

[*The Fourth Mission.*]

has been called the "Thermopylæ of America," and the records of spiritual conquests are overshadowed by recitals of the deeds of its martyr defenders. The mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion la Purissima de Acuna, so named in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and Juan de Acuna, Marquis of Casa Fuerta, Viceroy in 1722, but now commonly called "Mission Concepcion," is designated as the First Mission. It is situated in a field overgrown with rank weeds, mesquito and

cactus on the left bank of the San Antonio River, some two miles below the city. It was founded in 1716, and moved to its present site in 1730. Some accounts, however, show that the corner-stone of the present building was laid on the 5th of March, 1731, by Father Bergara and Captain Perez. Some writers call its architecture Christianized Moorish. The front is a square flanked on either side by a dome-covered belfry, and the principal door-way is a triangular façade; the outside of the building is covered with a coating of cement or mastic, which was originally painted in various geometrical forms, somewhat after the fashion of tiles. One of the towers contained a room in which the sacred vestments and articles not in daily use were kept, the other was the baptistery, which also had an altar. The walls of this room are beautifully painted, emblematic of the Church in its early days. Here may be seen, among other emblems, the cord of the Franciscans, a serpent, and the seven dolores or sorrows which pierced the heart of the Virgin Mother. The entrance to the church is between the towers and through a vestibule. The auditorium is not large, but is lighted by a dome, less massive but far more beautiful in its proportions than that of the Capitol at Washington. This building now bears the marks of time, neglect and the desecration of vandal hands.

Two miles below this and on the right bank of the San Antonio, the second mission is situated, San Jose de Aguayo, so named in honor of St. Joseph, and Aguayo, one of the Spanish governors of Texas. According to the statement it was founded in the year 1720. This is the most interesting of all the Texas missions, and its beautiful ruins have probably suffered more from vandal hands than the great destroyer, time; to such an extent that much of its former beauty has disappeared entirely. Tradition says that the celebrated artist Huica was sent from Spain at the time of the founding of this mission, and that he spent several years in carving the various ornamentations about the building, its beautiful statues, etc., few of which now remain. A visitor some ten years ago described it thus: "The principal door-way is a wonderful work of sculptural art. In height it is about thirty-five feet. Fronting the door, which is semicircular, there is a sculpture of foliage and scriptural emblems intermixed. On the right stands a statue of St. Joseph; and on the left the Virgin Mother and infant Saviour. Above the keystone of the arch is a statue representing the Virgin in the posture which, in ecclesiastical art, indicates the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the arms partly raised and extended, with palms of the hands turned outward. Above this is a large window, with ornamental surroundings of sacred emblems, flowers, and foliage. There are also three statues of friars, in the habit of

THE PRINCIPAL DOORWAY. SECOND MISSION: SAN JOSE DE AGUAYO.
[*As it now appears showing the work of vandals.*]

their order. It is noteworthy that the female statues are less true to nature than those that represent the men and the children, of which there are several in the form of winged cherubs. The Madonna has the square jaw and hard features which are seldom found save in women whose lot has been full of danger, suffering, and hardship. The statue of St. Joseph and those of the friars are excellent. The good fathers would not sacrifice nature to art when they knew it, for in sculpturing the sacred Heart, which is several times prominently repeated, they made no imaginary one, as is now universally done, but represented one as faithfully as if just dissected, with the seam that divides the ventricles clearly depicted, and the cut ends of the aorta showing. San Jose was, perhaps, four times the size of the others. Its baptistery window is almost equal to the main door in sculptural beauty. The ruins are very extensive, more than half the walls having fallen. A few Mexicans live near and care for the Chapel, which was a model of rude neatness. The nice, clever, and evidently pious Mexican matron who brought the key for our entrance, had hung the altar with gaudy patchwork quilts of her own manufacture. The most exquisite tapestry could not have told the story of her devout love more plainly."

The third mission is situated on the right or west bank of the San Antonio River, six miles below the city. It is called San Juan Capistrana. Its architecture differs from all the others. It is a romantic ruin. The fourth mission is that of San Francisco de la Espada, founded in 1716 also, and is about nine miles below the city. This mission was first located on the banks of the Medina River, but in 1730 was moved to where it now stands as a point of security from the frequent attacks of the Apaches. The cathedral of San Fernando, between the Main and Military plazas in the city of San Antonio, was never a mission, though generally believed to have been. It was erected by subscription about the year 1732, on its present site. The main portion of the building in its modernized state was commenced in 1868, and finished soon after. The ancient ruins adjoin the main building as the chancel, and in the rear may be seen in all their ancient beauty. From the tower of the old building, now torn down, Santa Anna displayed the blood-red flag during the siege of the Alamo and the butchery of its heroes.

G. Norton Galloway
Historian 6th Army Corps

CANADA'S ACTUAL CONDITION

To my article in the February number of this Magazine on "The Disintegration of Canada," Mr. Watson Griffin has done me the honor of a reply, under the title of "The Consolidation of Canada." While my critic exhibits ability and moderation in his paper, he does not contribute much to the disproof of my facts, or the rebuttal of my arguments. Indeed, most of my points and assertions with reference to the present condition of the British North American provinces, the feelings of the people of each, their material and financial condition, with its disappointments and effects, and the prevalent social and other evils, have been skipped by unnoticed for sketches of confederation, Canadian parties under new names, the different national elements of the population, North-west matters, etc. I enjoy narratives and disquisitions on such subjects, however remote from the course of my facts and arguments, but they would carry greater weight if free from strong party coloring and more closely connected with the questions discussed. With the exception of the liberal space devoted to the few paragraphs I occupied with the Riel affair, Mr. Griffin has spent his force on only two or three minor points of my article, showing in the handling of them a hypercritical spirit. I need at present supply only one example. He objects to my application of the word "British" to the English-speaking population of the Dominion, and elaborately analyzes its elements to show that the majority are not of "English descent;" that the Irish, as to numbers, come before the English, the Scotch after the latter, or fourth, and the Germans fifth, on the census returns. In new countries, like Canada, possessing a mixed population, national designations are not ordinarily used with perfect accuracy; and for brevity, large, comprehensive appellations are preferred, particularly when such bonds of connection as race relationship and a common language can be pointed to. Everybody in the Dominion wishing to distinguish the French-speaking from the English-speaking inhabitants usually applies to the latter the designation "British," however well aware of the composite nature of this section of the population. But even precisians, I believe, would include Scotch with English, under this term, while North of Ireland people, largely descended from those races, and they are very numerous, in Ontario especially, would feel anything but insulted by this title. Since a large portion of the adults of the English-speaking prov-

inces are immigrants from the United Kingdom, there is the less inappropriateness in the name of "British," though in strict definition "British Canadians" may be the preferable term for their children. "The most intelligible terms are Canadians and French Canadians," says Mr. Griffin; but any one acquainted with the habits of the people of the Dominion knows that, in speaking of the great sections separately, the word "Canadian" is generally applied to the French, "British" being used to cover all of British and Irish origin. I thought, moreover, England and Ireland were styled Great Britain. The inhabitants of Canada could properly be called "Canadians," which term may, in future, be still more employed.

I will not pick holes in Mr. Griffin's narrative for the purpose of fault-finding, but I deem it right to correct important errors calculated to mislead certain of your readers not well versed in Dominion affairs. At the outset he states confederation was carried by a narrow majority in most of the provinces. Well, in the Legislature of Upper and Lower Canada, the principal provinces, it was carried in 1865 by 91 to 33; and although rejected in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, at first, it was adopted a year or so after, so as to allow the New Dominion to be proclaimed on 1st July, 1867. I will not notice at length the way in which my opponent disposes of the old and well-known Canadian parties. *Bleus*, Tories and Conservatives, are now labeled "Dominionists," while *Rouges*, Clear Grits and Liberals, are transformed into "Provincialists." I admit the distinction has the charm of novelty, but it is largely fanciful and misleading. The leaders of those old parties would not know themselves under the new names. The distinction does not clear up the question, as there are many in each party holding political and constitutional views which, according to this discrimination, would entitle them to be ranked with the opposite, with the main principles of which they entertain no sympathy whatever. For example, though the Liberals, in accordance with the Federal constitution, oppose undue interference with provincial affairs by the general government at Ottawa, they aim at no invasion of Federal rights or assault upon Federal interests. Nor would the Quebec French Tories favor Ottawa interference with their provincial rights or prejudices even, all the local authorities, in fact, feeling alike in this respect.

The ill-feeling that has prevailed between the Liberal Ontario government and the Dominion Conservative government for several years forms a serious obstacle to Canadian progress as well as a solid menace to confederation. The Dominion premier feels thwarted by Ontario ministerial opposition in regard to local measures and questions. If the "Dominionists" wish to speedily wreck the actual Federal constitution, they

will attempt to appropriate rights or powers belonging to the provinces. The present union is borne with impatience enough by large numbers in all the provinces; it is still on trial, many seriously doubting its permanence, unless great improvement in the circumstances and temper of the people takes place, while a closer, a legislative union would prove but the signal for an early break-up of the Dominion.

We are told that the "Dominionists" have been in power ever since confederation, with the exception of five years, and "while all their hopes have not been realized, much has been accomplished; and nothing but a one-sided study of events could make any unprejudiced person believe that the Dominion is undergoing a process of disintegration." It is gratifying to see my opponent admit any Conservative or Dominion failure, but in view of the facts I mentioned in my first article, touching Canadian provincial jars and race troubles, the serious and long-continued business distress, the enormous increase of the public debt, about trebled since confederation, the almost stand-still condition of the population of late years, even in progressive Ontario, the declining condition of Quebec, the deficits in the revenue of that and other provinces, and of the Dominion revenue itself, Mr. Griffin might have been more candid in this avowal. Regarding "the political consolidation of the country," "fast bringing about material consolidation," and the growth of national sentiment . . . commensurate to the progress that has been made," I shall mention some things rather in conflict with my critic's assumptions and accompanying conclusions. He cites the railway and canal connections made of late years, to impress upon us the extent and greatness of the material ties, so prolific of other advantages. The list of new railways includes the Grand Trunk, with its 2,694 miles; Great Western, with about 800 miles, and other shorter roads, the greater portion of which were constructed and working at the date of confederation. Mr. Brydges, for many years manager of the Grand Trunk Railway, reported in 1875 that the mileage of the then existing Canadian railways reached 4,957 miles. Mr. Griffin was, therefore, "hasty" in asserting that, "at the time of confederation, Canada was almost without railways;" and also in including the Welland Canal in recent works, it having been made so long ago as 1829. The Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific have been constructed since the Union, the former costing some $35,000,000, and, as yet, hardly paying expenses; the success of the latter still remaining to be proven. It has cost the Dominion some $55,000,000 to $60,000,000, and though it is paying back now $20,000,000 of the late government $30,000,000 loan, Sir Richard Cartwright, Finance Minister for the Liberal Government from 1873 to 1878,

asserts that this offer means but 60 cents on the dollar, and contends for the hundredth time that the road has greatly injured Canada, enormously increasing its debt, and preventing a moderately rapid settlement of the North-west by the various evils of a heartless monopoly. The Liberals still insist it was built unnecessarily through the 600 miles of hyperborean wilderness north of Lake Superior, and through hundreds of miles of alkali and other wastes, possessing no population but wandering bands of savages west of Manitoba, this side the Rocky Mountains. Now what is the basis of the local freight trade for this immense and costly railway, in the 700 miles between Manitoba and the Rockies? According to a recent government report, the total population in the North-west Territories is 48,362. The output of grain last year was 1,147,124 bushels wheat, 1,045,950 bushels oats, 257,479 bushels of barley, and 479,702 bushels of potatoes. The capital invested in all industries is $771,451; the value of raw materials used, $518,428, and of articles produced, $1,029,235. Comment is needless!

Manitoba is credited with a population of 200,000, which all unprejudiced thinkers consider a very poor exhibit for fifteen years of colonization, with all the aid of United States North-west Railways, free grants of rich prairie soil, unlimited puffing, government stimuli of all kinds, etc. Besides, Winnipeg was a well-known old Hudson Bay post, advantageously situated for trade and colonization, which should to-day have 60,000 instead of but 30,000 citizens. The land for miles around it is locked up in the hands of selfish speculators, leaving only a score or two of farmers where hundreds should be raising large crops and helping on the progress of the whole district. Monopoly has also oppressed and discouraged the people and driven many thousands to Dakota, now half Canadian, and to other sections of the United States North-west.

After taking a *couleur de rose* view of the "amicable relations that really now exist between the French and English speaking citizens of Montreal," Mr. Griffin says: "Undoubtedly it would be far better for Canada if the French-Canadians would intermarry with the rest of the population and adopt the English language, but there are no indications of that. This generation certainly will not see a fusion of the two races, but there is no reason to expect that the people will not live amicably side by side, etc." I think nothing could more effectively justify the views I propounded in February last in regard to the discordant, the refractory elements of the Canadian population, the extreme difficulty of assimilating them, as evinced by the admittedly slow progress of this work in a whole century, than such a confession. He further on adds that Riel's fate and

connected events will have upon this race an excellent disciplinary effect, for they "have been taught that they are only a part of the Canadian people, and that the laws of the Dominion will not be set aside at the dictation of mob orators; moreover, they are likely to take more interest in the management of North-west affairs in the future, and this will be the means of lifting them out of their narrow, provincial rut." But I differ from Mr. Griffin. I do not believe the French-Canadians needed or deserved any harsh discipline of their moral sense, much less any violence to their natural feelings. Nor can the spirit displayed by my critic on the policy confessed have any other effect than the aggravation of existing differences and prejudices, and the further postponement of that union and mutual respect between the chief Canadian races, which would undoubtedly benefit them largely.

But what could look more extraordinary than the following assertion? "The only question that ever threatened trouble was the hanging of Riel, and the excitement over that has almost entirely subsided without any evil effects." Really it is difficult to imagine that Mr. Griffin lives in Montreal! Riel's execution forms at present writing the subject of a momentous debate in the local Parliament of Quebec. And did it not occupy the Dominion Parliament a large part of last March? many predicting a government defeat, although it was subsequently sustained by a majority of 94. The vote, however, was not a strictly party one, over 20 Liberals approving the government action in this matter and many French-Canadians condemning it. The Liberal leader, Hon. Mr. Blake, denounced Riel's hanging in a magnificent five hours' speech, his French-Canadian colleague, Hon. Mr. Laurier, making an oration of several hours' length, on the same side. The speech of the latter has been pronounced by many persons the finest made at Ottawa since confederation. Even before this great impressive parliamentary protest against ministerial action there were abundant evidences of French-Canadian dissatisfaction with the North-west policy, and of a sense of injustice and soreness which would produce important results for many a day, certainly till after the next election. Mr. Griffin tells us also that neither Riel nor the half-breeds appealed to the government, an assertion completely disproved by the statements and events of the Riel controversy as well as by the speeches of clergymen and members of Parliament. Since last November, I, too, believe that by even tardy attention to the Metis petitions, by a good prospect of redress even a few weeks before the Duck Lake catastrophe, the insurrection could have been prevented; but, as Mr. Laurier too truly and pathetically exclaimed in his famous speech, it was then "*too late, too late.*" And the Dominion

is paying a terrible price in blood and treasure for this indifference to the claims of a portion of her people—the $8,000,000 lost give but a faint idea of the money sacrifice.

Here is an equally strange statement: ". . . . There is no evidence the Orangemen interfered in the matter, in any way." Every one in Canada knows that the Orangemen were deeply interested in the Riel execution, on account of the latter ordering the shooting of one of their members, Scott, in 1870, and that the government at Ottawa feared the effect upon this powerful organization of a commutation of sentence. I have seen resolutions of one Lodge in Ontario calling for the hanging, and I have a copy of those of a Manitoba Lodge, No. 1406, passed at Morris, October 22 last, ending as follows: "Resolved also: That should the government yield to French rule and draw upon itself the contempt of all civilized society, we can only say, 'What portion have we with such a government?' 'To thy tents! O Israel.' 'Now see to thy house.' 'No loyal man can ever again rush to the rescue of such a despisable body, unworthy the name of government.'"

In the paragraph beginning, "Canada is not a paradise, nor will it ever be," we are told "it has its peculiar troubles, as other countries have; but nowhere else are prosperity and liberty, without license, more general. The standard of the judiciary is very high, lynch law is never heard of, even in the new settlements, and divorces are almost unknown." I am happy to bear testimony to the absence of the two latter evils, which reflects creditably upon the sound moral sentiment of the majority. Long may this condition of things prevail! As to the judiciary, it is also but fair to state that, although most of the appointments are governed by political influence and personal objects, Canada has many honest and efficient judges. Nobody, however, imagines that were the Dominion to link her political fortunes with this republic, her moral degradation would immediately ensue. Not to scrutinize Canadian ways, political and other practices, too closely, it is to be feared that there is a good deal of glass in the Canadian House—that political corruption, including the bribing of members of Parliament, and other party supporters, at the expense of the public resources, timber limits, ranches, contracts, and fat sinecures, East and West, is a vice rather prevalent at Ottawa, not to mention Quebec, where the corruptions and iniquities of the famous Chapleau government nearly ruined that province. Able and upright members in both Parliaments, men of veracity and high personal character, give names and particulars in support of such charges against the government, on the strength of official returns and other reliable information.

In reference to Mr. Griffin's attempt to combat a portion of my statement in regard to the condition of the provinces to the North, their progress in population and taxation, as compared with the taxation of the United States, information that has since been published, including the budget speech of the Canadian Finance Minister, Hon. Mr. McLelan, and the reply of Sir Richard Cartwright, shows most forcibly that I have understated, and not overstated, my case. For the sake of brevity, I will notice but a few telling and suggestive facts in this connection. For instance, Newfoundland's revenue this year has fallen short of the estimates by $107,000, accompanying an over-expenditure during the same period; Nova Scotia renews her demands in decidedly emphatic terms for an increase of subsidy from the Dominion government; and the discontent prevailing in New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward's Island against the Dominion Government is notorious to all who read the papers from those provinces. The opposition of the Maritime province people to United States vessels landing and shipping fish in bond to the Republic may lead to trouble between both countries and a serious controversy between Canada and England. Another difficulty which may prove a great strain on the Federal bond is Ontario's threat to demand reparation from the Ottawa government for assistance to railways of other provinces, having built her own unaided. And besides, the smaller, poorer provinces have contracted the habit of rushing to the Dominion, hat in hand, for additional subsidy, when need strikes, the concession of which increases the general taxation, demoralizes the suppliants, and affords the reigning Ministers mischievous opportunities of political corruption, of which the Ottawa Government has fully availed itself. Local blundering and extravagance are thus dangerously encouraged.

Then as to the growth of the Canadian population, truth compels the reiteration of assertions not complimentary to the Canadian system and policy since confederation. The population has declined in some of the provinces, and in others it is of slow growth, if not of the stand-still character. The smaller population is unquestionably due to emigration to the United States. A late number of *The Chicago Times* says on the subject: ". . . There are now living in the North-eastern States more than 750,000 persons—native Canadians—who have settled there within a comparatively short period, and in the North-western States and Territories over 500,000. . . . In addition to this there are on the Pacific slope about 50,000 more, raising the total to 1,300,000, which is more than one-fourth of the present population of the Dominion." I may add that Sir Richard, in his speech on the budget, last month, put the number of Canadians in the

United States, up to the present, at two millions, denouncing the extravagance, corruption, and general misgovernment of the Dominion, with its high tariff and neglected resources, as the chief cause of this enormous loss. With a debt of nearly $300,000,000, and a large deficit this year, with additional taxation, to pay for the late provoked rebellion, monopolies like the Canadian Pacific Railway, and such unprofitable works as the Intercolonial Railway, etc., it was no wonder, he argued, that Canadians became discouraged, and left for homes in a country possessing much greater resources and population, a boundless new territory free to all, a declining debt, and the grandest prospects that ever stirred the imagination. Annexing Canadians at the present rate leaves the annexation of their country only a question of time!

My opponent thinks me wrong in saying that, however injured in feeling a provincial minority may be, or however threatened with injustice by the majority, the kindred or sympathizing majority of no other province can help it; each majority is independent as to local and municipal affairs. He cites the veto power, to disallow any objectionable or unjust local act, resting with the Dominion Ministry. But offense and injury to remote minorities can be given indirectly, and without glaring violations of the Union Act; besides, party loyalty is a powerful force, and Federal cabinets depending for support upon this or that province—Quebec, for example, will hesitate tremulously before offending such a valuable majority. On the other hand, the Ontario local majority, being hostile to the existing government at Ottawa, it has promptly disallowed acts it or its Ontario allies did not like, though the reasons for them were strong enough to secure their subsequent sanction by the highest tribunal, the Privy Council. Outrageous injustice by provincial majorities it would be foolish for them, under ordinary circumstances, to attempt; but the ways of irritating and over-riding a minority, of disregarding its most enlightened and sensible views, however large its stake in the country, are neither few nor impracticable, so long as the majority row in the same political boat with the ruling party at the Federal capital. Whatever the theory of the constitution, or its application under ordinary conditions, it is generally felt throughout the provinces that their best chance of the protection of minorities, so far apart as those of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Quebec, on the one side, Manitoba, or British Columbia, on the other, lies in the actual strength of each, not only in its own province, but its influence, by political alliance or other advantage, with either of the great parties at Ottawa. If weak in either region, the position of an offended or aggrieved minority will be the reverse of enviable.

My statement that the value of real property in Ontario fell $30,000,000 last year, I find denied, with the accompanying allegation that "neither the Dominion nor Provincial Government published any statistics bearing on the value of real estate in Ontario last year." This "drop in the value of farm lands," to use the *ipsissima verba* of Sir Richard's Lucknow speech, was announced on the authority of the Bureau of Industries for Ontario. Such an enormous loss within one year, in the most prosperous province of the Dominion, he added, "has been partly balanced by the increase in the value of stock and implements in 1884."

In conclusion, I may observe that the continuance of the Canadian Federation depends mainly upon its financial condition, which cannot be satisfactory without economical administration of its means and resources, and wise legislation generally. For the last three years the farming, the largest interest, has not done well; prices of all agricultural products being low, debts and mortgages have increased extensively, many poor farmers abandoning old homesteads for work in the cities, or in this Republic. The ex-Finance Minister puts the fall in the prices of farm stuff at $20,000,000 a year, $100,000,000 worth being sold in the good times recently. Of the finances of the Dominion, he asserts the deficit of the current year should be stated at $3,900,000, even allowing for the $1,700,000 of the rebellion outlay charged to this year; $38,500,000 was, as he understood it, the estimated outlay for the coming year, the $3,500,000 to be paid for the rebellion to be charged improperly to capital account. The coming deficit would be $4,900,000. In relation to Canadian trade, on the other hand, it has declined from $207,000,000 in 1873, to $183,868,000 in 1885! With such facts before him, and the enormous migration of Canadian and British emigrants from the Dominion to this Republic, with a taxation of $6 a head in Canada as against $4 in the United States, it is not strange that Sir Richard, allowing something for party coloring, considered the political and financial condition and prospects of his country most discreditable to the Canadian authorities.

The above summary of the leading facts of the Canadian financial situation of to-day closely resembles that I have already signalized in the February number of this Magazine, as threatening an early dissolution or material change of the actual constitutional system of the Dominion.

Prosper Bender

BOSTON, *May*, 1886.

MR. BANCROFT ON SELF-GOVERNMENT

ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Brothers of the American Historical Association:—

I welcome you to this third anniversary of your existence. You, who, in our universities instruct the coming generation in the history of their race; you, who break from duties in Church or in state, to show your love for your fellow-men by your zeal in the study of their progress; you, who for a moment throw aside the cares of the press, the toil of authorship, or the delights of study in retirement, in the name of the Association I bid joy to you all at your renewed presence with one another.

The object of our pursuit is one of the grandest that solicit the attention of man. The movement of mighty states over the scene of ever-succeeding action is like the march of so many armies with their various civilizations for their banners: they themselves have faded away; their career, their enduring contributions to the sum of human knowledge, their men of transcendent genius, such as are vouchsafed to the race at great intervals of centuries, all come within the range of our pursuits. Moreover, we are nearest of kin to the students of moral philosophy.

The movements of humanity are governed by law. It is true that the sparrow, when the time comes for its fall to the ground, obeys a law that pervades the Kosmos; and it is equally true that every hair in the head of a human being is numbered. The growth and decay of empire, the morning luster of a dynasty and its fall from the sky before noonday: the first turning of a sod for the foundation of a city to the footsteps of a traveler searching for its place which time has hidden, all proceed as it is ordered. The character of science attaches to our pursuits.

The difficulty of discerning the presence of law in the actions of rational beings grows out of the infinite variety of the movements of the human will and of the motives by which it may be swayed. In the department of history the difficulty of judgment is diminished, for history deals with the past, which is beyond the reach of change. The discerning statesman may forecast the character of coming events, and form a plan of action with a reasonable confidence in its wisdom; but the critic who does not bring with him the spirit of candid inquiry, cannot comprehend the institutions that are forming themselves before his eyes.

In all antiquity no true democracy existed as a government; yet our

national organization accepted elements from the political organizations of the Greeks; it counts Christianity among its sources; it profited by the experience of the Roman empire in establishing inter-citizenship and domestic free trade. It was essentially imbued with the spirit of the Reformation, which rose up in Germany with Luther and was developed by Calvin in France and in Switzerland. It drew from England ideas of personal liberty and elements suited to the form of government which it had to frame. In its colonial period it derived from its own experience an opulence of forms of representative government. The American people have cause to be grateful to preceding generations for their large inheritance. Here is no rule of "the many;" it is the government by the people, the government by all; were individuals or a class to set themselves apart, they would constitute only a sect. A government that is less than government by the entire people will by its very nature incline to the benefit of classes. The government of our "new nation" is rightly described by one of its greatest exponents as "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The singular combination of the best elements of the past in our institutions favored our increase of territory. Our fathers expressed their vast aspirations in the articles of confederation. We never extended our limits in the direction which they pointed out; but it was not long before we reached the Gulf of Mexico. When a foothold was offered to the United States in the West India Islands, they, after reflection, refused to plant their foot on the richest of them all, and have never departed from the decision not to enter the tropics. The completeness of the country was not established till a President of the United States succeeded by one treaty with Great Britain and another with Mexico to enter into the peaceful possession of the continent for sixteen degrees on the Pacific. It was this settlement which perfected the Union. From that moment its majesty and safety rested on the line of east and west; and as far as the human eye can see we may in consequence hold our Union in perpetuity.

In the first Congress slavery brought danger to the Union; under the Presidency of John Adams it took steps for an early dissolution; it was quieted for a while by Jefferson and his immediate successors; but from the moment that the country had its vast establishment on the Pacific the dissolution of the Union became impossible. The will of the people was able to exact its preservation; but what an infinity of power was necessary to carry out that will! To express it I adopt the words of an English writer, who is a master of his own noble language, a thorough scholar, and honored as an historian in both hemispheres. "There are certain things,"

he says, "which only democracy can execute. No monarchy or privileged order could have dared to take the measures necessary to maintain the American Union. They would infallibly have wrecked themselves in the effort." *

We may ask, What is the spirit of this government which has saved its life by its incomparable energy? Because the United States know their Constitution to be for them the ripened fruit of time, they have never been propagandists. Washington, in the letters in which he declares in favor of republican government for the United States, gives as his reason that no other government is suited to their social and political condition. The United States have never importuned or encouraged others to adopt their principles of government prematurely.

What traits belong specially to government by the people? Montesquieu, the upright magistrate, who, living under despotic rule, nevertheless insisted that by the Constitution of France its king was not absolute, sought in the records of history to discern the tendency of each great form of government, and has left his testimony that "the spirit of monarchy is war and aggrandizement; the spirit of a republic is peace and moderation." "L'esprit de la monarchie est la guerre et l'agrandissement: l'esprit de la république est la paix et la modération." †

The necessary conditions of the American Union consisted in an absolute equality of rights among the States. It was hard for some of the original thirteen to think that territories, far in the interior, should be absolutely equal with the original thirteen, and the center of power be ultimately transferred to the West, which was then a wilderness; but the voice of wisdom and the counsels of hope prevailed, and when the only irresistible cause of antagonism in our country was removed, there ceased to be any cause of dissension between the North and the South. There never was and never can be a collision between the West and the East, for they both alike wish the highways between the oceans to be free; and by universal consent, from the remotest point where Maine touches Canada to the southwestern line of California, from the orange groves of Florida to the strait where the Pacific Ocean drives its deep tide swiftly between its walls of basalt, there is for the inhabitants the one simple rule of universal inter-citizenship and universal free-trade under government of the people by the people.

The people of the United States are the most conservative in the world, for they cherish self-government as the most precious of possessions. They make laws deliberately only after long reflection, and they only

* *Oceana*, by James A. Froude, 391–2. † Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, ix 2.

make laws within the limits of their Constitutions. From end to end of the United States two houses of legislation exist as the rule, and the executive possesses a veto. A Constitution may be changed only after a reference in some form to every individual of the community.

If the question may be asked, Does a king or a people give the most honest support to the institutions which they both have accepted, we must turn to France for a reply. Once in a reconstruction of its government a Bourbon was enthroned in France as a constitutional king; the first successor to the throne conspired against the Constitution and was driven into exile, all the world pronouncing the judgment that he justly fell. Next came the house of Orleans, holding up the flag of a monarchy that should be the best of republics. Its king, in many things a wise and faithful man, made the interest of his family paramount to the interest of the nation, and in legislation obstinately refused to extend the suffrage so as to conform it to the principle on which he received the crown. And he, too, having been false to the principle on which he accepted power, provoked an insurrection, and in the judgment of mankind justly fell. A member of another dynasty, being called to the presidency of the French republic, reached at the imperial crown, and carried France into an unequal and willful war with its neighbor, bringing utter defeat on himself and the heaviest sorrows and losses on the generous land which he had ruled.

The form of government of "the new nation" seems to the world to be but of yesterday; and it is so; yet this government by the people for the people is the oldest one now existing in the civilized world this side of the empire of the Czars. Since the inauguration of Washington, Portugal and Spain have passed from irresponsible monarchy to constitutional rule. The republic of Holland has disappeared. In France government by the people exists by the deliberate choice of the nation. Germany, which in the middle of the last century was divided into hundreds of sovereignties, has formed itself into one consolidated government with a parliament elected by universal suffrage. The republic of Kosciuszko has utterly perished. Switzerland has thrown aside its mediæval form of confederacy, and is now a true government by the people. It would be hard to count the revolutions which the Grand Duchy of Austria has undergone within the last ninety-six years. Italy, thank God, is become one. The United Kingdom, too, is revolutionized. The case of England is simply this: its king and its church long time ago broke from the Roman see; many of the people accepted the Reformation; Englishmen, including dissenters, were driven through a series of conflicts to the attempt to found a government of the people by the people; the attempt was premature and failed. The

court again conspired against the rights of Englishmen. The people, especially the dissenters, kept themselves in the background, and in 1688 intrusted the conduct of a new British revolution to the aristocracy. The price taken by the aristocracy for success was their own all but absolute rule of Great Britain. The House of Commons became master of the king; and that master of the king was elected chiefly on the dictation of the majority of the landowners. The system was secured by bringing in a new dynasty, which had only a parliamentary title to the Crown. This was the revolution of 1688.

The aristocracy of England seemed to have founded its power upon an everlasting rock; but the great expansion of industry and commerce and the consequent immense accumulation of wealth soon compelled them to make a place by their side for the moneyed interest. Commerce and industry went on; in due time the example of the United States had its influence in the world; France excited rivalry by once more entering upon the career of a free state; at last the reform of the British House of Commons began: next the corn laws were repealed; then science by its successful inventions almost annihilated the cost of transportation of articles, wheat among the rest, from continent to continent, so that land in England lost its high value; the basis on which the rule of the British land-holders rested began to totter; and now, in the fullness of time, the House of Commons, which is the ruler of the United Kingdom, has taken itself out of the hands of the land-owners and placed itself in the keeping of the British and Irish people. "The people," says a late English writer,* "are now sovereign, and officials of all ranks will obey their masters."

The United States of to-day are the chief home of the English-speaking population of the world; for in all their extent English is the language of a people of sixty millions. Canada stretches along their border; a straight line from England to Australia would cross their domain; Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia flank them on the east; the Bermudas and the Bahamas are anchored near their doors; a general representation of all who speak the English tongue would find in the United States the central place most convenient for meeting.

Geo. Bancroft

* Froude, in *Oceana*.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY

History, like most of the works of human minds and hands, requires from time to time reconstruction, revision, readjustment to the truth of things. There is the same occasion, the same necessity for this faithful work in reproducing narrations of the great events of history in the past as there is for the production of treatises and essays presenting the freshest results in the advance of the modern sciences, the discoveries, and the inventions of the passing years.

I state thus strongly the equal force of the reasons which prompt the historical writer to revise the works of all his predecessors on the same subject, with those which require that in each of the progressive sciences we should have bulletins of the stages of experiment and knowledge reached in it, because I wish, by the statement, to meet a prevalent and superficial notion that seems to be a denial of it. The notion is, that the demands of a sufficient and faithful historical narration of great epochs and events have been substantially met in the mountain masses of volumes already gathered in our libraries. Why, it is often asked, why tell over and over again an old, old story, already repeated times enough, with its necessary mixture of truth and error, with variations, divergencies, corrections, and digests, meeting all the necessities of readers, and confounding them with the present supply? Continue as briskly as possible the unfolding revelations of science, but be content with the stories of the past, as abundantly recorded. This is the plea of saturated readers and of exhausted purchasers.

Objections founded on this plea are frequently urged to the scheme and method of an encyclopedia on a vast, comprehensive, and voluminous scale, like the *Britannica* or the *Metropolitana*. While the later volumes have not yet passed through the press, much of the matter in the scientific articles in the earlier volumes is already antiquated by fresh discoveries and inventions. So it is urged that it is unwise to bind together with such incomplete scientific matter articles in biography and history which are merely repetitions, because dealing with fixed facts in the past. But if one will run through the volumes of the newest and best encyclopedia he will find that the editor engages the ablest writers to reconstruct historical

narrations, and even biographies, that have been produced over and over again. There are reasons which justify, which demand this course, as much in the departments of even the most ancient matters of history as in the unfoldings of the rapidly progressive sciences.

Most wisely has the projector and editor of the elaborate and voluminous work, entitled *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, set for himself, among other rules for his guidance, these two: first, that he will not anticipate a purpose to be matured only at some later time, of attempting to turn into history our recent past of strife and war; and second, that the first of the eight volumes in the series, that one which is to deal with the most ancient themes, shall be the last for writers and printers to deal with. It is only in this passing year, as the opportune time in the ages, for the proposition to be seriously urged for removing the heaps of sand from the base and the lower portions of the Egyptian Sphinx, to learn what this mysterious emblem was when the light of the old sun first shone on its early freshness. The designation of *prehistoric*, as applied to times and events of which we have only monumental relics, without any written documents, is a most appropriate one; and how those times and events are to be made the themes of positive and assured statements, allowing a range for conjecture, inference, and theory, presents the gravest problem to the historian. It is an easy task to dig away the sand, but sand is not the only obstructing medium of truth about far-off times and things. No statute of limitation as to time and the hearing and searching of new evidence applies to themes of history, as it does to cases of civil litigation. The oldest controversies, the obscurest enigmas of history, and those who stand labeled in biography as culprits, may claim in perpetuity to have their records reopened.

There are two paramount reasons which warrant and demand reconstructions of historical narratives for successive generations of readers: first, the securing of the most accurate, and, if possible, exhaustive, information as to the facts relating to any subjects—and new facts are constantly coming to the light concerning the oldest themes; second, a severe impartiality in the statement of the characters, opinions, influence and actings of prominent persons. There are many pregnant historical questions still in the docket, which, from time to time, will have a rehearing, with fresh pleadings. It seems at times as if we were overlaying our own history by the innumerable productions which in recent years have come from individual pens, from State, county, and town annals, monographs on important events, centennial celebrations, etc. Yet in each and all of these there are pages, paragraphs, or at least sentences, which,

digested in elaborate volumes, will keep to the truest philosophy of history.

That would, indeed, be a most curious and instructive volume, and it would needs be a large one, which would essay to gather from all histories of all times the world over—histories, too, which have merits and repute—a classified list of the errors, misstatements, and absolute falsifications, which have found currency as attributable either to simple ignorance, credulity, the imagination, prejudice or malice in the writers. The blunder of an ignorant Dutchman in his attempt to turn a few sentences of English into French, came very near to having it pass into history that Washington admitted that he had *assassinated* Jumonville. Mr. Sparks found the rectification of the blunder required from him research and argument. Mr. Adolphus' history of our revolutionary war is in many respects creditable to him, but his readers learn from his pages (II. 257) that of the British soldiers who fell at Concord and Lexington, "several were scalped, or had their ears cut off by the Americans." To those who read in our papers of the periodical meetings and benevolences of the flourishing Society of the Cincinnati, since its Centennial, it is startling to read in Adolphus (III. 591) that the formation of the Society was so hateful and alarming to the people "that its extension beyond the persons of its founders was abandoned, and the project has no traces of existence, but in name and memory."

But far more than this. History is now put to the task of presenting to us something beyond a record of facts, however thoroughly sifted and authenticated. The application of the full theory of evolution to the composition of historical narratives might of itself alone require a general reconstruction of history for its interest and instruction. Heretofore a relation of facts, events, incidents, has been the chief object of the historian. Now these facts, stated with all lucidness and accuracy, are to form the mere elements and materials for a much higher use than they serve if we stop with themselves. They are now to be assorted, disposed, digested and interpreted as they bear upon the development of great forces and principles evolving a steady advance and progress. The relation between happenings, facts of occurrence, events, and the working forces in them, the action of new elements from a fresh field, causing the rotten decays of what grew on an old field—illustrated, for instance, in the agencies which wrought such different results between the American revolution and the immediately following French revolution—require something more than the certification of occurrences, and carry us down into the roots of the whole science of humanity and policy. No longer do we now read the history of our war for Independence—as written for nearly a century—as a mere

quarrel about taxes, the resistance by the colonists to the imposition of grievances by the mother country, but we trace in it the outburst and development of forces and events which were to give birth to an original nationality, on a new continent, with wholly novel instincts and institutions.

Far better is it that the history of all great events and eras should from time to time be reconstructed than that the old volumes should be reproduced from the press. How few, indeed, of these are found worthy of that renewal. Herodotus and Thucydides, Tacitus and Pliny, are kept in living type, not as repositories of facts of the past, but for quite other uses of discipline and study. Gibbon alone of all the historians has been read for a century, and the body of annotations needed to accompany his pages is constantly extended by successive editors.

George E. Ellis

TRIUMPH OF THE AMERICAN PRINCIPLE

THE TRENT AFFAIR

It is remarkable what misapprehensions prevail abroad in generally well-informed circles on American affairs, even political events, long after they have been settled by the fiat of diplomacy. Still more remarkable is it that many among our own countrymen are oblivious of facts upon which hang in large measure our political reputation.

One evening, over the after-dinner coffee, at the house of a foreign ambassador abroad, the conversation fell upon the humiliation of a certain nation consequent upon a political event then current in men's mouths, and a diplomatist present remarked that every government had at one time or another eaten its share of humble pie. "Your country, however, is an exception in that respect," said another, referring to the United States, "at least so far as respects humiliation toward foreign governments." "Oh, no, far from it," remarked a third, "you forget the *Trent* affair." "Yes," rejoined another, a young countryman of ours, "that is true, and we ate a full dish of it on that occasion."

For my own part I am by no means inclined to shirk a misfortune or a wrong political act if justly laid at our doors, believing that humble-pie eating is a useful penance to nations, as to individuals, when it atones for a fault. But in the case of the seizure of the so-called Confederate commissioners by Commander Wilkes, of the *San Jacinto*, on board the British mail steamer *Trent*, one has only to read the diplomatic correspondence—and how few out of the diplomatic regions do read such papers—to perceive that what so many people still consider to have been an act of great humiliation on the part of the United States was in point of fact a signal national triumph.

The story, as a good and, I believe, a correct story, may be worth giving even at this late day. Stripping it of diplomatic phraseology, I understand the affair to have been in this wise, and thus explained it to the gentlemen around me: When the news of the seizure reached the United States the effect upon the public mind was one of unaffected and undivided rejoicing. "Hurrah, boys! the spurious 'commissioners' have been stopped on their mischievous and traitorous errand. Three cheers for the gallant Wilkes! So soon as he arrives on our shores, what a wel-

come awaits him! He shall be dined and wined and fêted and glorified in every city he enters, and his name shall go down to posterity among the foremost of the patriots in this glorious war for freedom and the Union." That was the national sentiment so far as expressed by the unreflecting masses, who thought not of international law nor of governmental responsibility, nor of political consequences. A very different sentiment prevailed at head-quarters in Washington. There was no smile of satisfaction on President Lincoln's face, or on the faces of Secretary Seward and those of his colleagues in the Cabinet. It required not an instant's consideration to perceive that the impetuous and chivalric Wilkes had committed an overt act in direct violation of *our* interpretation of international law. Voluntarily, and without the slightest instigation or desire on the part of our Government, that well-intentioned officer had done by his own personal volition what was in opposition to the principle which the United States had for years advocated and to defend which they had been drawn into the war with England in 1812. That principle was, and is, that the flag on the high seas protects all under it. England had persistently violated this principle by a long and harassing course, seizing English seamen on American vessels, until what was an outrage on human rights became a danger to our liberties.

Why, then, did the United States Government delay the reprimand to Wilkes and the liberation of the men seized and held as prisoners? Not only were no steps taken to these ends, but no explanation was attempted to be made to the British Government for the delay. Calmly the Administration beheld the spectacle of the British lion rousing itself to action and heard the low growlings of belligerent preparations across the ocean. They were equally indifferent to the ridicule created by those preparations among our own people. The press took up the exciting theme, and, as usual, differed widely as to the course the Government should adopt. Meanwhile the keen-sighted and the adventurous began to talk of and to take steps toward the preparation of cruisers to prey upon the shipping of England; and an army of volunteers to meet the attack of the British army expected at Canada was on the *tapis*. Stocks went down at home and abroad as the warlike feeling in both countries went up, and to the public, war, for a while, seemed imminent. In London, as Thackeray puts it, "What an excitement prevailed! In every club there was a parliament sitting in permanence. 'They will never give up the men, sir:' that was the opinion on all sides, and if they would not, we knew what was to happen. Everywhere, at every fireside, all over the three Kingdoms, myriads of hearts beat with the thought, 'Will they give up the men?'"

Still, the Government at Washington spoke no word and made no sign. The leading statesmen, senators and members of Congress, clergymen and delegates from peace societies, newspaper reporters, speculators in the funds, and many other lesser men, openly or surreptitiously, worked heaven and earth to ascertain the intentions of the President, but in vain. Lincoln and Seward smiled calmly at the questioners and evaded a reply. What did this mysterious conduct, respecting a burning question on which the public desired and deserved information, mean? Why, especially, was every attempt on the part of the British ambassador to obtain information for his Government, frustrated by the Secretary of State? The sphinx was not more stone-faced and silent than was Lincoln, to his nearest and best political friends, who, with anxious faces, besought the President to at least say one word—"Is it to be peace or war?" Stay; the great man did, on one occasion, give a reply to a certain politician, who pressed him with more than ordinary cogent argument to relieve the public suspense, by an authoritative word. "Your question reminds me," said Lincoln, "of an incident which occurred out West. Two roughs were playing cards for high stakes, when one of them, suspecting his adversary of foul play, straightway drew his bowie-knife from his belt and pinned the hand of the other player upon the table, exclaiming: 'If you haven't got the ace of spades under your palm, I'll apologize.'" And this was the only revelation that could be extracted from the President.

The reader who is not fully cognizant of the diplomatic details of this episode in our history, and who attributed the silence on the part of the government to *hesitation*, may have perceived by this time its *raison d'être*. The cloud upon the Cabinet at Washington was not caused by the apprehension of a war with England, but by the blunder of Commander Wilkes, whose over-zealous act not only violated a cherished principle of the United States but promised to lead to complications most inconvenient at that perilous period in public affairs. The idea of a war with England to defend *her* policy, against which we had fought her in times past, was too absurd and indefensible for a moment's consideration. *Of course* the men must be given up, and, in the natural course of events, would have been given up on the instant and without waiting for England's demand: nay, without giving an opportunity to that Government to accept the position and thus satisfy her old claim—never officially withdrawn—to board foreign vessels in time of peace in search for British subjects. But the natural sagacity of Lincoln and the astute statesmanship of Seward saw under the cloud a silver lining of which they must then, if ever, avail themselves to bring England to terms on this important

question of the rights of our flag on the ocean highway. The men would be given up, but if this were done voluntarily and without waiting for a formal demand from the British Government, things would be as they were. It was true that since the "drawn" war of 1812 England had scrupulously avoided disturbing the peaceful relations between the two countries by exercising her pretended "right of search," but she had never retracted that claim or committed herself, diplomatically, to the recognition of the American principle maintained by us. Now was the moment to force her hand. Would she do so? Would she in this opportune crisis of irritation on her part commit herself by a formal demand, based as it must be, if at all, on the principle of international rights, if not of international law plainly expressed? We would wait and see. Meanwhile, "mum" was the word. The first movement must come from England and not from the United States. Our position on the question was clearly defined, and had been maintained first by argument and then by war. Masterly inactivity was clearly our policy, and it was justified by the end when England claimed diplomatically and by a formal demand the restitution of American citizens who were seized on board of an English vessel and under the protection of the British flag, as "the violation on our part of International law." We accepted the principle, *when so avowed*, and settled—it is to be hoped forever—an irritating and dangerous question between the United States and Great Britain, between whom no irritating questions or belligerent proceedings should ever arise.

It will be interesting to glance at the diplomatic proceedings. The seizure of Messrs. Mason, Slidell, McFarland and Eustis, passengers on board the "Royal Mail Contract Packet *Trent*" by Captain Wilkes, of the U. S. Steamer *Jacinto*, occurred on the 8th of November, 1861. On the receipt of the news at Washington Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, addressed a confidential note to Mr. Adams, our minister at London, mentioning the circumstance, and adding, "Lord Lyons has prudently refrained from opening the subject to me, as, I presume, waiting instructions from home. We have done nothing on the subject to anticipate the discussion, and we have not furnished you with any explanations. We adhere to that course now because we think it more prudent that the ground taken by the British Government should be *first made known to us here*, and that the discussion, if there must be one, shall be had here. It is proper, however, that you should know one fact in the case, without indicating that we attach much importance to it, namely, that in the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board a British vessel, Captain Wilkes having acted *without any instructions from the Government*, the subject is

free from the embarrassment which might have resulted if the act had been specially directed by us."

The italics in the above, and in further extracts to be quoted, are my own. On the same day that Mr. Seward was writing the above private dispatch to our minister at London, Earl Russell, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, addressed Lord Lyons at Washington, stating the case, as reported to him by the commander of the *Trent*, in which His Lordship "trusts" that the Government will offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, the liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your lordship in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed." The principal points to which it is necessary to call attention in this connection are contained in the following extracts of Earl Russell's and Mr. Seward's dispatches: "The commander of the *Trent*," says Lord Russell, "and Commander Williams, protested against the act of taking by force out of the *Trent* these four passengers, *then under the protection of the British flag* . . . an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and *a violation of international law*."

It was not until the 26th of December, during which interval, as we have seen, both countries were in a state of increasing political excitement, that Mr. Seward was in a position to receive and to reply to the dispatch of the British Government, which latter, in form and substance, could not have been more acceptable to our Government in view of the object they hoped to attain. Mr. Seward's note to Lord Lyons was a long one, as, before coming to the point at issue, he thought fit to exonerate Captain Wilkes so far as he could do so, on the ground that the latter acted on the assumption that the men arrested were "contraband of war." After a thorough examination of the technicalities of the law, Mr. Seward admitted that, however well-intentioned was Captain Wilkes in this respect, there was a question as to the mode of procedure in such cases where *men*, not goods, are contraband of war, and that apart from this the act was an incompleted act, inasmuch as the law requires the vessel itself—"being tainted and contraband"—to be captured and sent into a convenient port and subjected to a judicial prosecution in admiralty. This Captain Wilkes failed to do, and so left himself exposed to the sole responsibility of an act which international law and usage fail to justify. The Secretary proceeds to state that, under the circumstances of the case, he has but to act "upon principles that constitute a large portion of the distinctive policy by which the United States have developed the resources

of a continent, and thus becoming a considerable maritime power, have won the respect and confidence of many nations. These principles were laid down for us in 1804 by James Madison, when Secretary of State in the administration of Thomas Jefferson, in instructions given to James Munroe, our minister to England. . . . It will be seen, therefore, that this Government could not deny the justice of the claims presented to us in this respect upon its merits. *We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted all nations ought to do to us.* . . . It would tell little for our own claims to the character of a just and magnanimous people if we should so far consent to be guided by the law of retaliation as to lift up buried injuries from their graves to oppose against what natural consistency and the national conscience compel us to regard as a claim intrinsically right. Putting behind me all suggestions of this kind I prefer to express my satisfaction that, by the adjustment of the present case upon principles confessedly American, and yet, as I trust, mutually satisfactory to both of the nations concerned, a question is finally and rightly settled between them, which, heretofore exhausting not only all the forms of peaceful discussion, but also the arbitrament of war itself, for more than half a century alienated the two countries from each other and perplexed with fears and apprehensions all other nations.

"The four persons in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your Lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them."

On the same day Lord Lyons courteously acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Seward's note, and stated that he would "confer with the Secretary personally on the arrangements to be made for the transfer of the four gentlemen to the protection of the British flag." Thus terminated an episode which, under less able statesmanship, might have dragged on to disastrous consequences. The news that the men were to be given up, was at first received by the American public at large with disappointment. It was indeed a blessed relief to feel that with our hands full of intestine strife at home a foreign war was to be averted ; but in perfect ignorance of the principle which actuated the Government in this decision there was a general idea that we were humiliated. The wound they thought would rankle until our condition at home would enable us to pay off the score against England, who seemed so ready and willing to avail herself of our embarrassed condition to make war upon our country, a war which in effect would be to support the cause of the Confederate States, and assist in the dissolution of the Union. After a while the feeling of release from foreign complications, together with the compelling occupation of the civil

war, overcame the popular susceptibilities, and the "*Trent* affair" was consigned to the things of the past.

Still, as I have said at the commencement of this article, misapprehension on the subject continues to prevail, and in quarters where least suspected. In England, as I have shown, outside of diplomatic circles, and frequently within those circles, the case is still misrepresented, and our position is even now asserted to have been one of humiliation.

"It seems to me," wrote Thackeray, who I have already quoted, "that in giving up the men the United States Government have done the most courageous act of the war." This clever novelist and essayist was no diplomatist, and probably never read the official correspondence on the subject. He thought, as multitudes of his countrymen did, and do think, that we ate the national humble pie "courageously," not seeing the point at issue. He is very kind, and his American experiences of hospitality when he visited us to deliver his satirical and humorous lectures on the "Four Georges," sent him home with sympathetic remembrances of his "American cousins." It is well, however, to remember that although the American people can suffer national humiliation—as we suffered it during the War of the Rebellion—with moral and physical fortitude, the "*Trent* affair" must not be classed in the category of "humble pie" eating, but of diplomatic successes.

It is true that the British Government, in its formal rejoinder to Mr. Seward's dispatch, declined to acknowledge the principle upon which our Government acted; but that was to be expected. To have admitted that it had been caught in its own trap, would have been to expect too much from a proud and stubborn race like the English; but the demand which our Government enforced will govern the international relations between the two peoples, and the principle now so clearly established will in the future never be violated by either with impunity.

Charles K. Tuckerman.

THE CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA, 1788

The report of debate in the Convention of Virginia, which exceeds six hundred pages, discloses three great currents of opinion. One, that the Constitution was acceptable upon its merits; one, that it was not, but indispensable; and one, that it would be, if amended, though not until amended. The former was in a minority; even with the addition of the second a majority was doubtful, and if tradition may be trusted, only in the closing days of the Convention were the few votes necessary to ratification secured; and then, only by an abandonment of the pretensions which at the outset had characterized its advocates. The amenity so conspicuous in the Convention of Massachusetts is less apparent in the Convention of Virginia; but the circumstances were not the same. Massachusetts had a question almost abstract to resolve; if she rejected, a preponderance of strength and wealth would have responded to her decision. If Virginia rejected, the only ally to be counted on was North Carolina. The issue, therefore, was no longer simple; the dangers of disunion, as well as the merits of an instrument, had to be weighed, and the friends of adoption, standing on vantage ground, were little disposed to conciliation. The question forces itself upon the mind, why men almost universally satisfied with the structure of the proposed government, content with the apportionment of influence among the States, craving a union, and professing the same objects of political desire, divided into parties, almost hostile. The discord cannot be accounted for merely as a recurrence of the historical fact that in religion and in politics, men who agree upon ninety-nine out of one hundred points, are dogmatical, indeed fanatical, upon the single point, and paradoxical as it sounds, are the farther apart the nearer they are together, because the less that is to be yielded, the more each thinks that the other ought to give way. There were two causes, one of which lies on the surface, and one which will appear in this debate. Unfortunately, the Federalists, early, as can be seen in the letters of the very moderate Madison, arrogated to themselves a monopoly of Unionism and patriotism; and if they did not distinctly designate themselves, as Cicero did his party, the Good, came dangerously near the thought, and its expression. As human nature is constituted, they could scarcely do otherwise, under their intense conviction that the then, was the golden moment, that the opportunity lost, could never be regained, that the rejection of the Constitution must be

followed by anarchy, and anarchy by inter-State wars, to a common destruction. The anti-Federalists, principally consisting of the less timid classes in each State, held such fears to be preposterous. They knew that there was then a Union, and they believed that it would continue to exist, that it must exist, because its advantages were palpable to every man and every State. They did not believe that it could depend upon any one special set of words, or if it could, that the Constitution was that special set of words, and they felt that the assumption of a lack of patriotism, or Unionism, in an opposition to it was an affront; that the reason that Mason gave in the Federal Convention for refusing his signature; "I will not say take this, or nothing," was their reason, and while they were satisfied to vest in a Federal Government every power necessary to a Union, they were determined to have nothing but a Union, and resolved that every expression in the Constitution should be so precise and clear, that a possibility of doubt, or pretext for quarrel, should be excluded. When Mr. Lincoln said "that the human mind cannot reach to the audacity of denying any right plainly written in the Constitution," he spoke the praise, although the epitaph, of the policy which sought to have every right and power plainly written. Possibly it is a matter of regret, that the criticism of the anti-Federalists had not been more minute and searching, and their emendation more thorough. War, and the change of the principle of government from consent to force, might have been averted. With such parties existing, the debate in the Virginia Convention opened. Among the debaters were men whose names are inseparable from the history of the United States—Madison, Henry, Marshall, Monroe. With these were associated others, perhaps not inferior in mental power, if less fortunate in opportunities for displaying it. The preamble and first article having been read in the Committee on the Whole, Nicholas rose to commend it. He reviewed the plan of representation in its different characteristics; the qualification of electors, of those they might elect, the number, tenure of office, and powers of the latter; and lastly the security of the people. The qualification of electors for the general and State legislatures was the same; a reasonable provision, as the qualifications of electors varied in the States. The qualifications of the elected were age and residence; one, requisite for maturity of judgment, the other for an identity of interest with a State. The term of office, neither too long, nor too short, conciliated duty to the Union, with responsibility to constituents, for intelligent and faithful service. The number had to be fixed arbitrarily at first, but upon the disclosures of a census, would be altered to exactness. So far as the security of the people might be involved: the House had a greater weight in the system, than the Com-

mons in that of England. The Commons had overmatched greater powers than the House would have to encounter, and their responsibility to constituents was less. This power so vested cannot be abused, for experience has proved that men can trust those whose rights are identical with their own. Still more, the people being possessed of the supreme power, can change the government when they please. The power to regulate the time, manner, and place of elections for federal offices in the House, he deemed to be indispensable ; without it, there could be no security for the general government against the hostility of State legislatures. If a State legislature, by accident or design, failed to regulate, the inaction would eventually put an end to the Union. Again, there might otherwise be as many different periods of election as States, therefore, without a power in the Federal government to prescribe uniformity, a full house might be unattainable. Henry inquired of the delegates to the late Federal Convention what was the purpose of that body, what did it mean by "We the People" instead of "We the States?" Did it design a great confederated government? Randolph seized the opportunity to deny vacillation. He had refused to sign because he thought amendments necessary, Had this Convention met at an earlier date, he should have thought them a condition of acceptance. Now, it was too late, the hope of subsequent amendments was all that was left to him. The objection to "We the People," was the least and most trivial of all possible objections, it carried its answer with it. Should not the people be consulted upon the construction of a government by which they were to be bound?

Mason claimed that direct taxation, before requisition made and refused, in which case it would be proper, subverted every principle hitherto maintained, and would make the system a consolidated government. The plan he had hoped for, was one which would draw a line between the general government and the State governments, so distinct as to prevent that clashing of interests and powers, which must otherwise end in the destruction of one or of the other.

Pendleton admitted that a consolidated government—one with sole, exclusive and unlimited power, executive, legislative, and judicial—would be inadmissible; but the Constitution is neither such, nor could by any possibility be made such. It only extended to the general purposes of a Union, and did not intermeddle with the local particular affairs of the States. The Federal government depends upon the existence of the State governments; without those, to continue the existence of Congress, and preserve order and peace within their boundaries, it must be destroyed. Fault has been found with the expression, "We, the People." If the objection means

that a union ought not to be of the people, but of the governments of the States, the choice of words is very happy. What have the State governments to do with the Constitution? If they were to determine upon acceptance, the people would not be the judges of the terms on which it was adopted. Direct taxation encounters objection. A government must be supported; for support it must have its own revenue. If it had to depend upon requisitions, precious time might be lost between its necessities, and the possibilities of supply through the action of the State governments. Requisitions might be neglected, even refused; collision might ensue, and the Union be dissolved.

Henry rejoined: "The fate of America is involved in my question. Whether this plan is a confederation of States, or a consolidation of States, turns upon that little 'We, the People.' The inquiry is not how trade may be increased, or a great and powerful people may be formed, but how liberty, which ought to be the direct end of government, may be secured. Unfortunately nothing will preserve it but force. To give up the means to preserve it, will be ruin. My great objection to this government is, that it does not leave us the means of defending our rights. It is said that it is not safe to reject it. Why not? It is said that there is a plain way of getting amendments. Am I mad, or are my countrymen mad?

"Six-tenths of the people of four States, not one-twentieth of the American people, can deny the most necessary alteration. The gentleman who presides (Pendleton) tells us that to prevent abuses in our governments we will assemble in convention, recall our delegated powers, and punish our servants for abusing their trust. There would be fine times if, to punish tyrants, it were sufficient to assemble the people. The arms will be gone, and neither an aristocratic nor a democratic spirit be left. In what nation was a revolution ever heard of, compassed by those without any power at all, against those with power? There will be a standing army. How can that be punished? Will your mace-bearer be a match for a disciplined regiment? What will be the situation? Power of direct taxation unbounded and unlimited, power of exclusive legislation over ten miles square, and over all places purchased for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals and dockyards, is conceded. What resistance could be made? The attempt would be madness; the country would be in the hands of enemies; their garrisons in its strongholds. Even the discipline of the militia is to be alienated. Will the oppressor let go the oppressed? Was there ever such an instance? Can the annals of mankind exhibit one single example, when rulers, overcharged with power, let the oppressed go

upon their most urgent entreaty? Sometimes the oppressed have got loose by one of those bloody struggles which desolate a country; but a willing relinquishment of power is one of those things of which human nature never was, nor ever will be capable. The first consideration should be Liberty, the second, Union. Are not the means confounded with the end, *in this government?* There is no responsibility, no punishment for the grossest maladministration, for the most outrageous violation of immunities. By what law can aggressions be punished? none is visible. The preservation of liberty depends upon the chance of men being virtuous enough to punish themselves.

Randolph pressed the consideration of safety. Were I convinced that our accession was not necessary to preserve this Union, I would not accede without previous amendments, but I am satisfied that it will be lost if we reject. The Union is necessary to the safety of Virginia, and indispensable to her happiness. I confess that it is imprudent for one nation to form an alliance with another, whose situation and construction of government are dissimilar, but can Virginia exist without the Union? She cannot, as I will prove. He detailed the reasons for his belief that she would not be capable of defense against the bordering States, if they should be hostile, and that they would be hostile, he justly inferred from human nature.

Madison was pained to hear continual distortion of the natural construction of language. It was enough for any human production to bear a fair discussion. If powers be necessary, apparent danger is not a sufficient reason against conceding them. Since the general civilization of mankind there had been more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people, by the gradual and silent encroachments of those in power, than by violent and sudden usurpation. The history of ancient and modern republics, showed their destruction to have resulted from turbulence, violence, and the trampling of the rights of a minority, by a majority. On consideration of the peculiar situation of the United States, and the causes of the diversity of sentiment which pervaded their inhabitants, there is great danger that the same causes may terminate in the same fatal effects they had produced in other republics. That danger ought to be wisely guarded against, and perhaps in the progress of this discussion, it might appear that the only possible remedy for those evils, and the means of protecting and preserving the principles of republicanism, would be found in that system which is declaimed against as the parent of despotism. The principal question is, whether the proposed government be federal, or consolidated. It is of a mixed nature, in a manner unprecedented. There is not an express example in the experience of the world. It stands by itself. In some

respects it is of a federal nature, in others of a consolidated nature. In the manner in which the Constitution is investigated, ratified, and made the act of the people of America, it is not completely consolidated nor entirely federal. Who are the parties to it? The people, but not the people as composing our great body, but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties. No State is bound by it without its own consent. Should all the States adopt it, it will be a government established by the thirteen States of America, not through the intervention of legislatures, but by the people at large. In this respect, the distinction between the existing and proposed system is very material; that, was created by the dependent, derivative power of the legislatures of the States, this, will be by the superior power of the people. This same idea is in some degree attended to in the provision for alterations. A majority of the States cannot introduce amendments, nor are all required for that purpose. Three-fourths must concur. In this there is a departure from the federal idea. The members of the House of Representatives are to be chosen by the people at large in proportion to the numbers in the respective districts. The Senate is elected by the States in their equal and political capacity. Had the government been completely consolidated the Senate would have been elected by the people in their individual capacity. Thus it is of a complicated nature, and the complication may be hoped to exclude the evils of an absolute consolidated government, as well as those of a mere confederacy. If Virginia was separated, her power and authority would extend to all cases; if all powers were vested in the general government, it would be a consolidated government, but the powers of the general government are enumerated. It has legislative powers on defined and limited objects, beyond which it cannot extend its jurisdiction. If any of those powers be necessary, inconvenient though they be, Virginia must submit to receive them, or to lose the Union. Direct taxation will probably be unnecessary for the general purposes of government, but in case of war, every resource must be at its command.

Corbin considered Madison's definition of the proposed government exact, and its appropriate designation, a representative federal republic, as contradistinguished from a confederacy. It placed the remedy for disorder in the hands that felt it, not as the other, in the hands that caused it. The evils justly complained of in popular governments—faction, dissension, and the consequent subjection of the minority to the caprice and arbitrary decision of a majority—will be excluded by the Constitution, for faction must be less when the interest of a nation is entirely concentrated, than when it is entirely diversified. This government, which will make us one people,

which will have a tendency to assimilate our situations, and which is so admirably calculated to produce harmony and unanimity, cannot possibly admit of an oppressive combination by one part of the Union against the other. Therefore what end will be answered by an attempt to obtain previous amendments? Will the States that have adopted rescind their resolutions? Had we adopted, would we recede to please the caprice of another State? Must there not be another Federal Convention? Must there not be another convention in every State? If our conditions are rejected, we must be excluded from the Union, or other conventions must be called, eternally revolving and devising expedients without coming to a final decision. Let us go hand in hand with Massachusetts, adopt and propose amendments. Henry resumed: We are told that this government, taken collectively, is without example, that it is national in this part, federal in that; in the brain it is national, in the stamina federal; some limbs are federal, some national; it is federal in conferring powers, it is national in retaining them; it is not to be supported by the States, the pockets of individuals are to be searched for its maintenance. What signifies the most curious anatomical description of it, in its creation, to all the common purposes of legislation? it is a great consolidation of government, but, when it works sorely on our necks, we may have the consolation of knowing that it is a mixed government, and of saying that it was Federal in its origin. Is it not absurd to adopt this system, and to rely upon its being afterwards amended. Is the rage for novelty so great, that you are first to sign and seal; and then retract? You are to bind yourself hand and foot, for what? to be unbound. You are to go into a dungeon, for what? to come out. Is there no danger when you go in, that the bolt of federal authority will shut you in. Lee answered: This new system shows in stronger terms than words could declare, that the liberties of the people are secured. Its principle is, that all powers are in the people, and that rulers have no powers but what are enumerated in that paper. When a question arises with respect to the legality of any power assumed, or exercised by the Congress, it is plain on the side of the governed. Is it enumerated in the Constitution? If it be, it is legal and just; if otherwise, arbitrary and unconstitutional. Monroe stated distinctly the ground upon which many who recognized the superiority of the Constitution in most respects to the confederation and were desirous to adopt it, felt compelled to insist upon a previous amendment. "Power is divided between the State and Federal governments. It is distributed in the Federal Government, for better administration, between three branches; there is little danger of either being subverted by the others, but, *if the Federal*

Government and a State differ as to the boundaries of power, there is very great danger that their coalition, for they will naturally coalesce, may subvert the rights of the people. Where is the security for rights? where is a check within the system? I cannot see any. There ought to be a third distinct branch to maintain an equilibrium." Though no immediate answers were made to Monroe, two were incidentally attempted in the course of debate. Madison found a solution of the difficulty in the virtue of the people. If they were not virtuous enough, and intelligent enough, to elect men of virtue and intelligence, no theoretic checks, or forms of government could insure. The experience of the world is directly opposite. "The nature of a government may make bad men better, or good men less good. If the application be narrowed to Republican governments, or still more restricted, to the United States, the statement is just as untenable. If a theory of government, that is, rights and duties are reciprocal and coextensive, the character of men will be higher than if it fails in that respect. If the theory of a government admits of a penalty for disregard of duty, each succeeding generation will become more and more self-controlled. If there be no penalty, each succeeding generation will become less and less self-restrained." Marshall supposed the solution to be found in the independence of the judges. But he, like Madison, begged the question. Independence is not impartiality. The appointing power necessarily has a bias, it selects for a judge a man known to have the same bias. It cannot be otherwise, when the construction of a constitution is the basis of parties. A Protestant would not be willing to submit the points on which he differs from the Church of Rome to the decision of the College of Cardinals, eminent as that body may be, nor would a Roman Catholic, to the Bench of Bishops in England, or to a synod of Presbyterian divines, strong as may be the intellect, pure the nature, and just the intention of the bishops and divines. What makes the impossibility of freedom from bias in a Federal Judiciary more striking is, that nominally the Federal Government is the party appointing, but the real party is the States. The question of Monroe—"What prevents a coalition, and with a coalition, what becomes of rights?"—remains unanswered.

Marshall followed. "The supporters of the Constitution idolize democracy. They admire the system, because they think it establishes a well-regulated democracy. What are the favorite maxims of a democracy? Strict observance of justice and public faith, from which no mischief or misfortune ought to deter, and a steady adherence to virtue. The friends of the Constitution are as tenacious of liberty as its enemies. They desire no power in the government to endanger it, only such as will protect and

preserve it. What are the objects of the national government? To protect the United States in war, and to promote the general welfare. It must have powers commensurate with its objects, and the right of direct taxation is so essential, that without it the plan may as well be rejected. It is said that there are no checks; what has become of the American spirit? In that source, if oppressed, will be found the check and control. In this country there is no exclusive personal stock of interest. The interest of the community is blended and inseparably connected with that of the individual. When he promotes his own, he promotes that of the community; when he consults the common good, he consults his own. Such checks abound. Is it an absurdity to adopt before amendment? is the object of adoption, solely amendment, is it not besides, safety, protection from faction? If on trying the system, amendment shall be found necessary, what restrains amendment? The government is not supported by force, it depends on our free will. When experience shows us any inconvenience, we can correct it; but until we have experience on the subject, amendments, as well as the Constitution, are to try. There is such diversity in human minds that it is impossible we should concur in one system until we try it."

In the remarks of Marshall there is a statement which may have been justified by personal knowledge, but of which neither proof nor probability can be found in any recorded utterance. To him, in the Virginia, as to Wilson, in the Federal Convention, peculiar information on the matter seems to have been conveyed. "There are in this State and in every State many who are decided enemies of the Union. Reflect on the probable conduct of such men. What will they do? They will bring in amendments which are local in their nature, which they know will not be accepted. Disunion will be their object. This will be attained by the proposal of unreasonable amendments."

Mason and Henry were strenuous opponents of unconditional ratification, both were among the foremost men of their time, long in public life, and from official positions brought in contact with numbers. Mason's testimony on the point is explicit and full. "Foreigners would suppose from the declamation about the Union, that there was a great dislike in America to any general government. I have never in my whole life heard one single man deny the propriety and necessity of a Union. This necessity is deeply impressed upon the American mind. There can be no danger of any object being lost when the mind of every man in the country is strongly attached to it—to the blessings of a Union, I hope, not merely to the name. They who are loudest in praise of the name, are not more attached to the

reality than I. The security of our liberty and happiness is the object we ought to have in view in seeking to establish a Union. If we endanger, instead of securing those, the name of Union is a trivial consolation. We ask such amendments as will point out what powers are reserved to the State government, and clearly discriminate between them and those given to the general government, so as to prevent future disputes and the clashing of interests. Grant us amendments to that end, and we will cheerfully with our hands and hearts unite with those who advocate the Constitution, and will do every thing we can to support and carry it into execution."

Henry was not less emphatic. "The reality of Union, not the name, is the object which most merits the attention of every friend of his country. The American Union is dear to every man. Every man with three grains of information must think and know that Union is the best of all things. Let it be shown that the rights of the Union are secure and we consent."

Words may be false, but facts cannot mislead. No amendment was ever sought that was not general, and no amendment proposed had any object but Peace and Liberty.

Grayson held the radical defect of the Constitution to lie in the opposition of its component parts. "There were two opinions in the world upon the construction of governments, one that men can govern themselves, the other that they cannot, but must be ruled by some force independent of them. He believed in the possibility and advantage of self-government. If he was right a system should be purely federal, if he was wrong a system should be a complete consolidation, in which case the object to be sought was a yoke as light as possible. The proposed plan was too strong for a federal, and too weak for a consolidated government. Republican in form, it was founded on the principles of a monarchy, with the three estates, but without the inherent checks of the British Monarchy. Its executive was blended with legislative functions, contrary to the opinion of the best writers, and fettered in some parts, was as unlimited in others as a Roman Dictator. Its democratic branch was marked with strong features of aristocracy, and its aristocratic branch with the impurities and imperfections arising from inequality of representation and want of responsibility. The Constitution did not remove the fatal inconvenience of clashing State interests. The members of Congress from Virginia would be actuated by the interests of the State, so would those from every other State. I hope my fears may be groundless, but I believe as I do my creed, that the operation of the system will be a faction of seven States to oppress the rest of the Union. It may be said that we are represented. Will that lessen our misfortunes? a small representation gives a pretense to injure and destroy.

The British would have been glad to take us into the Union, like Scotland, giving a small representation. The Federal Convention, called to remedy the defects of the confederation, was asked for bread, and has given a stone. What was the defect of the confederation? No means of a revenue. Supply that defect by giving it the control of commerce, and as other defects become apparent, apply by a mode of amendment, the remedy. Apportion the public debts so as to throw the unpopular ones on the back lands, call only for requisitions for the interest on the foreign debt, and aid them by loans. Keep on so, till the American character is marked with some certain features, we are too young to know what we are fit for. The continual migration of people from Europe, and the settlement of new countries on our Western frontier, are strong arguments against making new experiments in government now. In framing a government, the genius and disposition of a people, and a variety of other circumstances, ought to be considered.

"But we are told that unless we adopt this constitution, that we shall be disunited and ruined forever, that we shall have wars and rumors of wars, and that every calamity shall attend us. Pennsylvania and Maryland are to fall on us from the north, like the Goths and Vandals of old: the Algerines, whose flat-sided vessels never come farther than Madeira, are to fill the Chesapeake with mighty fleets to attack us on the front; on the rear the Indians are to invade us with numerous armies, to turn our cleared lands into hunting-grounds; and the Carolinians from the south, mounted on alligators, I presume, are to come and destroy our corn-fields and eat up our little children. These dangers are merely imaginary, and ludicrous in the extreme. Are we to be destroyed by Maryland and Pennsylvania? For what will Democratic States make war? how long since have they imbibed a hostile spirit? But the generality is to attack us. Will they attack us after violating their faith in the first Union? Will they not violate their faith if they do not take us in their confederacy? Have they not agreed by the old confederation that the Union shall be perpetual, and that no alteration shall take place without the consent of Congress, and the confirmation by the legislatures of every State? I cannot think there is such depravity in mankind, as that after violating public faith so flagrantly, they should also make war on us for not following their example. We are told that we ought to take measures, which otherwise we should not, for fear of disunion. Disunion is impossible. The Eastern States hold the fisheries, which are their corn-fields, by a hair. They have a dispute with the British Government about their limits at this moment. Is not a general and strong government necessary to their interest? If

ever nations had inducements to peace, the Eastern States now have. New York and Pennsylvania anxiously look forward to the fur trade. How can they obtain it but by union? Can the Western posts be got, or retained without union? How are the little States inclined? They are not likely to disunite. Their weakness will prevent them from quarreling. Are not the inducements to union strong, with the British on one side, and the Spaniards on the other? Thank Heaven, we have a Carthage of our own."

Grayson protested against direct taxation. His mind could not conceive of two powers equally supreme over one object. Madison observed that requisitions were not only an awkward and roundabout way to attain a desired result, but were more calculated to insure inequality and dissatisfaction than direct taxation. Men will pay less grudgingly if certain that every one must pay, but with the possibility that some may escape payment, all must be reluctant. The experience of the confederation was conclusive against them. Besides, in case of war, some States would be more exposed to its evils than others; imports would be less productive and expenses increased, and the more secure any State was, the less it would feel the exigency which compelled requisitions. There was another consideration which might be operative in the future. As manufactures increased, the revenue from imports would diminish, and the vacuum must be filled by direct taxation. So far as a cession of power was involved, there was no augmentation, simply a change necessary to the efficacy of a power already vested in the confederation. The difference was not in a theory of government, but in the practice of government. Taxation to the same extent, and for the same purposes, was authorized by both systems, but one made a State the tax-payer, the other, individuals. The first had proved ineffectual, the latter would be adequate.

Pendleton had studied the Constitution, not, however, hoping to find a scheme free from the possibility of objections. That could not be expected of a human effort. He did see the seeds of disunion in it, though in the future, not the immediate operation of the government, but he trusted to the power of amendment to extrude those agencies. He could not see any difficulty in the duality of governments, their spheres of action being totally different, one embracing interests common to all the States, the other interests peculiar to each State. They ran on parallel lines; if each kept to its own sphere they could not conflict. Direct taxation might never be necessary, but it might become indispensable to the safety of the Union, and therefore the power of direct taxation ought to be possessed by the general government. He desired amendments as earnestly as

others, but Virginia had no right to ask the adopting States to accept conditions; she should put herself in the same position as those States; then her attitude would be conciliatory, and the amendments she craved would be unmistakably in the interest of all.

Grayson having remarked that manufactures were the resource of a redundant population, crowded into a limited space; that the extent and fertility of the territory would for many years attract labor almost exclusively to agriculture; that therefore imports must be more productive, and consequently that direct taxation could not be necessary, and its exercise might become a source of friction; Madison admitted that imports would increase until population became so great as to compel a recurrence to manufactures, but the unsettled parts of America would be inhabited at no distant period. In twenty-five years the population in every part of the United States would be as great as it then was in the settled parts; already, wherever there was a medium, manufactories were beginning to be established. In preparing a government for futurity it should be founded on principles of permanency, not on conditions of a temporary nature. Direct taxation could not be a cause of friction. When the authority of the general government was exclusive, no question could arise; when it was concurrent, future legislation must regulate action. It was necessary, however: men have to pay for the advantages of government, and it obviously could make no difference to them whether they paid to the Federal Government directly, or through the conduit of a State; but, to the public credit of the Union, the difference was very great whether its debts were to be paid from its own resources, or whether payment depended upon the compliance of thirteen bodies. No one would lend it a shilling on that contingency.

Henry rejoined. "We are told that all powers not given, are retained. Advert to the history of England. Its people lived without a declaration of rights till the war in the time of Charles I. Power and privilege then depended upon implication and logical discussion. Upon the expulsion of the Stuarts, a bill of rights prescribed to William of Orange on what terms he should reign, and the end of construction and implication was the end of revolutions. Did Scotland enter into a union with England and trust to subsequent amendments? No, all the terms of the bargain were settled beforehand. We are told that our safety is secured by representation. Is Virginia represented? Rhode Island and Delaware together, infinitely inferior in extent and population, have double her weight, and can counteract her influence. Representation, therefore, is not the vital principle of this government. He inquired why the States were not to pay their own agents,

why the salaries were not fixed, and why members of Congress should be permitted to abandon an office to which they had been elected by their constituents, for one to which they had not been designated. If incitement to office was desirable, the provision was proper; if not, it should be corrected by an amendment."

Madison developed the reasoning of the Federal Convention. "If compensation had been appointed by the State governments, the government of the Union would not have been safe; at least its existence must have been precarious, with members of the Congress dependent upon salaries from other public bodies competent to withold them. The salaries had not been fixed, because the purchasing power of money varies, and if they had become inadequate, the door would have been open to evils from inadequacy, which reflection must suggest as probable. This was the most delicate point in the organization of a republican government, the most difficult to establish on unexceptionable grounds. It appeared to him that the Convention had fixed on the most eligible; the Constitution takes the medium between two extremes, and perhaps with respect to the eligibility of representatives to office, with more wisdom than either the British or the State governments. They can fill no new offices created by themselves, nor old ones of which they have increased the salary. If they were excluded altogether, it is possible that disadvantages might accrue from the exclusion, not to mention the impolicy and injustice of denying them a common privilege. They will not relinquish their legislative, to accept other offices. They will more probably confer them on friends or connections. If this be an inconvenience, it is incident to all governments."

Grayson objected to the right of the Senate to propose or concur in amendments to money bills. Practically it was equivalent to originating them.

Madison answered that, in his view, a right of the Senate to originate money bills was unimportant, and if it had been given, would not have been objectionable. Its power of amendment was commendable. Without that, the slightest exceptionable feature might cause the rejection of a bill, and all the time spent and labor bestowed would be wasted. As an alteration cannot conclude the House, no harm was possible, many advantages might be gained, and the rights and interests of the States be better guarded.

Mason stated an amendment which ought to be made in that clause of the Constitution which confers the power to arm and discipline the militia. "I wish an express declaration that in case the general government shall

neglect to arm and discipline the militia, the State governments may." With this single exception I would agree to this part. Madison "could not conceive that by giving that power to the general government, the Constitution had taken it from the State governments. The power is concurrent, not exclusive. Does the organization of the government warrant a belief that the power will be abused, can that be supposed of a government of a federal nature, consisting of many coequal sovereignties, particularly as it has one branch chosen from the people."

Henry observed, "If you give too little power to-day, you may give more to-morrow, but if you give too much power to-day, you cannot retake it to-morrow; for that purpose, to-morrow will never come. If you have the fate of other nations you will never see it. It is assumed that American rulers will not depart from their duty. It is an universal principle in all ages and all nations, that rulers have been actuated by private interest, equally so will they be in America. In a sense of duty you will not find a check. If the power of arming and discipline is concurrent, the power of naming officers must be concurrent. To admit this mutual concurrence will carry you into endless absurdity, the Congress with nothing exclusive on one hand, nor the States on the other."

Nicholas confuted the argument: The power of arming and disciplining is already vested in the State governments, and, though given to the general government, is not given exclusively, because in every instance where the Constitution intends that the general government shall exercise any power exclusively, words of exclusion are particularly inserted. Consequently, in every case where such words of exclusion are not inserted, power is concurrent, unless it is impossible that the power should be exercised by both the general government and the State governments. It is not absurd to say that Virginia may arm the militia if Congress neglects to arm them, but it would be absurd to say that Virginia should arm them after Congress had done so, or to say that Congress should appoint the officers and train the militia when it is expressly excepted from their powers.

Marshall closed: "Each government derives its powers from the people; each is to act according to the powers given it. The State governments do not derive powers from the general government, then, must not every power be retained which is not parted with? If a power, before in the State legislatures, is given to the general legislature, both shall exercise it, unless there be an incompatibility or negative words precluding the State governments. All the powers which the States possessed, antecedent to the adoption of the Constitution, of which they are not divested

by any grant of, or by any restriction from, in the Constitution, they must necessarily be as fully possessed of, as ever they had been."

Henry was not yet satisfied. The nations which had retained their liberty were comparatively few. America would add to the number of the oppressed, if she depended on constructive rights and argumentative implication. If rights not given were retained, why were there negative clauses upon some of the powers of Congress? Concurrent power is not reducible to practice. If there was an insurrection in Virginia against the State, an insurrection in another State against the general government, the call of one or the other must be obeyed, of which? Madison replied: "The power must be vested in Congress, or in the State governments, or there must be a division, or there must be a concurrence. If in the State governments, where is a provision for the general defense? If it must be divided, let a better method be shown. When the militia are in the service of the United States, the United States govern them. What can be more positive than that the States govern them, when not. A State is not barred from calling forth its militia to suppress insurrections and domestic violence; and, in its right to call for Federal aid, it has a supplementary security."

What is the intent, it was asked, of the power to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the United States? Is a military government aimed at? The answer was, the meaning is plain—if the civil power be insufficient. Why not say so? was the rejoinder; we are all agreed upon that point, and, when the expression of a purpose is so easy, why leave a loophole for construction? On the face of the instrument there is nothing to exclude the danger of a future claim that the words mean exactly what they say, and no more. Madison answered by recalling "a remark which had fallen from a gentleman on the same side as himself, and which deserved to be attended to. If we be dissatisfied with this national government, and choose to renounce it, this is an additional safeguard to our defense."

Great objection was made to the exclusive jurisdiction over the ten miles square. Madison thought he had obviated it, by the suggestion that the Federal Government could not otherwise be guarded from the undue influence of some State, or be safe in its deliberations, and secure from insult. He pointed out that there must be a cession of the land by a State or States, which could settle the terms of cession, and make such stipulations as they pleased.

Grayson said: "There are no objections to giving all necessary powers, but there are objections to giving any unnecessary powers. Exclusive jurisdiction might be held to nullify, within that district, provisions of the

Constitution which had been considered sagacious. Governmental and police powers would answer all the ends proposed to be attained. No check could be found in terms of cession or stipulations, for the ten miles square might be located in a territory."

"That objection fails," answered Nicholas, "for the power of Congress over the territory is limited to making rules and regulations for its disposal, the grant of it was for the benefit of all the States; it cannot be perverted to the prejudice of any." Pendleton argued that "the clause did not by any fair construction give Congress any power to impede the operation of any part of the Constitution, or to affect the rights of the citizens of the Union. The jurisdiction is not opposed to the general powers of the Federal legislature, or to those of the State legislatures. It is opposed to the legislative power of the State, within which the ten miles square are situated. It does not go one step beyond the delegated powers."

Upon almost every clause of the Constitution as it was read, one point was raised, or one question reiterated. Where is the distinct acknowledgment that all power not conceded is retained? Where is there a word to foreclose the assertion that it is not? At this time you believe and say with perfect sincerity, not only that it is, but that the mind cannot conceive that it is not, but can you answer for the future? In every other system government has every power not expressly excluded. If, hereafter, men shall contend that this system is to be gauged by the rules applicable to other systems, what, so far as reasoning goes, is to confute them? You construe to-day, why shall not others construe to-morrow. What is to prevent "general welfare" or the "sweeping clause" being held in the future? absolute surrenders of every right, and an investiture of complete sovereignty. There is a clause in the Articles of Confederation reserving to each State, every power, jurisdiction and right not expressly delegated to the United States. That clause met general approval. Why was it not inserted in the Constitution? Would it have consumed too much paper? What was the motive for omitting it, or what could be the objection to adding it?

Mason stated that he was the more pertinacious upon this point, because he had perceived in the Federal Convention the disposition and moreover the intention on the part of some, to extend power by construction, so that by slow, gradual, incessant encroachments, the Constitution could be made, not what it purported to be, or was then represented to be, but what they thought it should have been.

Madison, unlike some great men of his party, sincere in advocacy, and sanguine in hope, demanded an explanation. Mason answered:

"The fact is well known, that the disposition was not merely prevalent in the Federal Convention, but that it exists in many men, in every State of the Union, among whom were men of great abilities and high character." From frequent intercommunication with Madison, he knew that such were not his sentiments, and he believed that they were not entertained by any delegate from Virginia. Madison was satisfied with the disclaimer, as to himself, but it does not appear that he denied the accuracy of the statement as to others. From the political action in the earlier years of the Republic, the disposition might have been then inferred, but from this debate we learn that the anti-Federalists were possessed of the views and objects of their opponents. It is now easy to account for the intensely bitter party spirit and the fierce hatreds, and fatal encounters of individuals. Few things irritate men more than the sense of trickery, intended or attempted.

Nicholas reasserted what his side had frequently asserted: "The sweeping clause" has the same effect and no more as if it had followed each delegation of power, and was bounded as a summary of them. The "general welfare" was united to the particular power of levying and collecting taxes, etc., and was not connected with any general power of legislature. The question had been put, why negative words were found in the Constitution? They created exceptions to a general power; for instance, under the power to regulate commerce, the slave trade might at once have been prohibited, but for the exception. To the question, how is the extent of power to be determined? he answered, "By the same power, which in all well-regulated communities determines the extent of legislative powers. If a legislature exceeds its powers, the judiciary will declare the excess void, or the people will have the right to declare it void. It is universally agreed that the people have all power; if they part with any, is it necessary to declare that they retain the rest?"

Mason denounced the clause which admitted a slave trade. He would have preferred to it a Union excluding the States which exacted it. Slavery was a great misfortune; only one could be greater—manumission. Henry equally deplored slavery, and dreaded manumission. These sentiments appear to be contradictory, but they are not. An abolitionist in a slave-holding community is such from his reason, not his emotions. His aim is to reconcile, not to antagonize, the present and the future with the past. He recognizes his duty to the master as a fellow-citizen, to the slave as a fellow-man. Duty to the master was held to be the higher, as the obligation to him was two-fold, whence his consent must be coaxed, or bought. Duty to the slave was held to consist not merely in freedom from thrall, but in betterment of existence. Therefore all the early

abolitionists, and they were many, considered that abolition and colonization must go hand in hand. They believed that of two free races, inhabiting the same country, intermarriage being repugnant, one must finally be extirpated. They did not believe that intermarriage was among the possibilities of the future, basing their opinion on the example of the colonists, who shunned that relation with the Indians, though white women were scarce, and red women comely. This generation is either better or wiser, but as the learned, the pious, the liberal Dr. Arnold, not many years since, thought the difficulty insuperable, it may be indulgent to the mistakes of its ancestors.

Madison "would conceive the clause impolitic if it were an evil which could be excluded without encountering greater evils. The Southern States would not have entered into a union without that temporary permission; and if excluded, the consequences might have been dreadful to them and to us. We are not in a worse situation than before. The traffic is prohibited by our laws, and the prohibition may be continued. The Union in general is not worse off, for, in the confederation, the importation might be continued forever, while now, it may be forbidden after twenty years. Great as the evil is, a dismemberment of the Union would be greater; those States, if disunited, might solicit and receive aid from foreign powers."

Mason claimed that a separate clause in the Constitution ought to settle distinctly the status of property in slaves. Any species of property exclusively held by some of the States, which the other States neither wanted, nor would want, must have a safeguard; for, if it may be assumed that men may be trusted to govern others, when they themselves will suffer from misgovernment, it does not follow that they are capable of just power when others only bear the evils of injustice. Federal taxation might be so used as to destroy the value of slave property. The right of reclamation of the fugitive slave was of little importance; the meaning was that the fugitive should not be protected. It may be doubted if then there was a man in the United States who conceived that "delivering" was a State duty, much less a Federal duty. The anti-Federalists at least understood the phrase to mean that in every State, process of law for recovery of property should be as applicable to property in men as to property in things. When the political idea was dominant that the Federal Government would be the stronger the more it meddled, the Fugitive Slave Law was passed, and its constitutionality was affirmed judicially, upon that political theory, not upon history or language.

Madison answered that the Southern States most affected were satis-

fied and dreaded no danger to their property. The extent to which the general government could intermeddle with slavery, was levying a tax of ten dollars a head upon importations, and prohibiting the slave trade after a fixed period.

It was suggested that the Vice-Presidency was a useless office, attended with possible dangers, besides giving some one State a greater representation in the Senate.

Madison disclosed the reasoning of the Federal Convention on the subject. Some officer was necessary to continue the government in case of an accident to the President; and a casting vote, in case of a tie, was a desirable legislative expedient. He added, that as the Vice-President would probably be always selected from one of the larger States, the inequality, which was excessively slight, would be least inequitable.

Inquiry made, why, in a certain contingency, the President was to be elected in the House, by a vote of States, Madison answered that it was the result of a compromise between the larger and the smaller States.

Pendleton opened the debate upon the judiciary clause. His opinions carried great weight from his judicial experience. He was satisfied, except with the expression "law and fact," which he admitted to be unfortunate. The authority of Congress over "exceptions and regulations" relieved him, however, from an anxiety he should otherwise feel.

Mason agreed that in cases affecting diplomatic agents, in controversies between States, between citizens of the same State claiming land under grants from different States, and in Admiralty and maritime questions exclusive Federal jurisdiction was proper; and equally so, with some restrictions, in controversies to which the United States were parties. In disputes between a State and citizens of another State, a foreign State, its citizens or subjects, Federal jurisdiction was manifestly improper. He objected to the word "arising," as vague, ambiguous, and inconsistent with any conception of limitation. Anything might be said to arise under a constitution.

Henry added: There never seems to be any difficulty in finding apt words for grants of power, but for the security of liberty, language is apparently only capable of ambiguity. Are the judiciaries and citizens of all the States so lost to shame as to be incapable of justice? Is an individual to summon a State before a court, especially a foreigner? Was it ever heard of that such a privilege should be given a foreigner? Was war to enforce the judgment of a court? Congress, it is said, may be trusted to make such exceptions and regulations as experience will suggest. It is not the business of representatives, but conventions, to settle the basis of

government. Why cannot a State be trusted to do justice between a citizen and an Englishman or Frenchman? The provision is disgraceful; it will degrade the judiciary, and prostrate the legislature of Virginia.

Madison asked the committee to consider the difficulties in organizing a government for the United States. They who prepared the paper on the table found difficulties not to be described. Mutual deference and conciliation were absolutely necessary. It was settled, when no party was formed, no particular propositions made, when the minds of men were calm and dispassionate; yet even under such circumstances agreement upon a general system was very hard to be attained. The judiciary clause claimed the indulgence of a fair and liberal interpretation. He would not deny that more accurate attention might place in it terms which would remove some of the objections which had been made; but with a liberal construction there was nothing dangerous nor inadmissible. Surely it was not supposable that an individual could drag a State into court; the only operation of the clause will be, that a State must sue an individual in a Federal Court. Perhaps disputes between citizens of different States had better have been left to the courts of the States.

Marshall considered this part of the plan a great improvement on the system about to be abandoned. There are tribunals for the decision of controversies, before not at all, or improperly provided. The opposition is based upon the idea that the Federal courts will not determine causes with the same fairness and impartiality as other courts. Why not? Why do we trust judges? From their appointment and independence in office. Will not the judges in the Federal courts be chosen with as much wisdom as the judges in the State courts? Will they not be equally, if not more independent? If there is as much wisdom and knowledge in the United States, as in any one State, will not that wisdom and knowledge be exercised in the selection of judges? Why conclude that they will not decide with the same impartiality and candor. It is said that it is disgraceful that the State courts shall not be trusted. Does the Constitution take away their jurisdiction? It is necessary that the Federal courts should have cognizance of cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States. What is the service and purpose of a judiciary, but to execute the laws in a peaceable, orderly manner, without a recurrence to force, conflict, and bloodshed. To what quarter can you look for protection from an infringement of the Constitution, if power is not given to the judiciary, no other body can afford such protection. It is objected that Federal officials may be secured from merited punishment by Federal courts. What bars the injured from applying for redress to the State courts? It is objected

that a State may be called to the bar of a Federal court. The intent is to enable a State to recover claims against individuals residing in other States. It is said that it would be partial to allow a suit by a State, and not against a State. It is necessary, and cannot be avoided. There is a difficulty in making a State defendant, which does not prevent its being plaintiff. Objection is made to suits in the Federal courts by the citizens of one State against the citizens of another. Were I to contend that it was necessary in all cases, and that the government would be defective without it, I should not use my own judgment; but is not the objection carried too far? What can they get more than justice? It has been urged that we ought not to depend upon others to rectify defects which it is our duty to remove. Our duty is to weigh the good and the evil before we decide. If we be convinced that the good greatly preponderates, though there be small defects, shall we give up the good, when we can remove the little mischief?

Grayson answered. The excellence of human nature has been invariably urged in all countries when the cession of power was in agitation. It seemed to be the basis of all the arguments on one side. The judiciary clause is so vague and indefinite in expression that human nature cannot trace the extent of its jurisdiction, nor ascertain its limitation. Between the Federal and the State courts the line should be so distinctly drawn that interference will be impossible, otherwise there can be no arbiter but the sword. The judiciary itself is upon as corrupt a basis as the act of man can place it. The salaries may be increased. That a State may be sued by or sue a foreign State is a new law of nations. Consent must be had, it is said. The foreign State must consent, the American State must submit. Is it not so written in the Constitution? Congress we are told will eliminate defects. If it cannot make a law against the Constitution, neither can it make a law to abridge the Constitution, and the judges can neither extend nor abridge it.

Randolph, though he could not concur with those who thought the judiciary clause so formidable, must admit that the words used to define jurisdiction were ambiguous in some parts, and unnecessarily extensive in others. What are cases in law and equity, arising under the Constitution? What do they relate to? The phraseology is very ambiguous, and can carry jurisdiction to an indefinite extent. He thought that the intent of one clause was, that a State might be sued by an individual, and approved of it, any objection which might be obviated by honesty had with him little weight. If he was asked why, knowing the Constitution to be ambiguous, he would vote for its ratification, he answered, because it contains

within itself the means of removing defects, because he believed that any defects would be removed, and because he believed men capable of honesty, even under temptation. If he did believe that all power not expressly retained, was parted with, he would detest the system; therefore he proposed that Virginia should ratify; putting in the form of ratification the words "that all authority not given is retained by the people, and may be resumed when perverted to their oppression; and that no right can be canceled, abridged or restrained by the Congress or any officer of the United States." Those words he supposed would manifest the principles on which Virginia adopted the Constitution, and entitled her to consider the exercise of a power not delegated, a violation of it.

Henry replied. He saw the dangers which may and must arise if the Constitution was accepted. There could be no reliance on it for rights and liberties. There will be an empire of men, not of law. Rights and liberties would depend upon men. These wisdom and integrity may preserve, these ambitious and designing views may destroy. Already it must be seen that the friends of the Constitution do not agree as to its meaning. A Constitution ought to be so clear as to be comprehended by every man. Wythe admitted the imperfections of the plan and the propriety of amendments, but the excellency of many parts could not be denied by its warmest opponents. Experience, the source of improvement in the science of government, could alone develop consequences. He proposed ratification, and the recommendation of such amendments as were thought necessary. They certainly must be obtained, as amendments were desired by all the States, and had been proposed by some. Henry urged that the amendment to the necessity of which every one agreed, "that all power not expressly delegated, is reserved" should precede ratification. To talk of it as a thing subsequent, and not an inalienable right, is to leave it to the casual opinion of the Congress. They will not reason with Virginia about the effect of this Constitution, they will not take the opinion of this Convention as to its operation, they will construe it as they please. Subsequent amendments stand against every idea of fortitude and manliness in a State, or in any one. Evils admitted in order to be removed, and tyranny submitted to, in order to be excluded by subsequent alteration, were things new to him.

Madison claimed great allowance for the plan. Its friends have never denied that it has defects, but have claimed that the defects were not dangerous. As all are agreed that it has defects, it will be easy to remedy them by the healing power in the instrument itself. Other States have been content to ratify, and rely on the probability of amendments. Why should not Virginia do the same? She has hitherto always spoken with

respect to her sister States, and has been listened to with respect. It is neither the language of confidence, nor respect, to say that she does not believe that amendments for the promotion of the common liberty, and general interest of the States will be consented to by them.

Innes took the subtle ground, that if previous amendments were proposed, the people would not have had an opportunity of expressing their views upon them; whereas upon subsequent amendments, they would have a facility of examination, and an expression of judgment. He did not apprehend any danger from the dissimilarity of interest, North and South. He could not conceive that with the brotherly affection, reciprocal friendship, and mutual amity, so constantly inculcated, and with the strongest reasons of self-interest besides, the Northern States could be so blind as to alienate the affections of the Southern States, and adopt measures which would produce discontent, and terminate in the dissolution of a union so necessary to the happiness of all. To suppose that they would act contrary to such principles would be to suppose them not only destitute of honor and of probity, but void of reason; not only bad men, but mad men.

It is apparent, that if the Federalists had profited by the example of Massachusetts, had at once admitted defects, and concurred in amendments, their object would have been gained with little loss of time, and great saving of temper. As soon as they yielded what they should have proffered, the Constitution was ratified by 89 yeas to 79 nays. What would have happened, if they had continued obstinate, may be learned by the vote upon a motion to strike out one of the proposed amendments. Although all the great leaders who had championed ratification spoke and voted for the motion, it was defeated by a majority of twenty.

The form of a ratification drawn up by a committee exclusively Federalist, Randolph, Nicholas, Madison, Marshall and Corbin, contains these words: "The powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and every power not granted thereby, remains with them and at their will." As soon as possible after the Constitution became the government of the United States the amendments so eagerly desired were embedded in it. The ninth and tenth meant something to the mind of that generation; to subsequent generations the meaning depended upon degrees of latitude.

A. W. Olason

BATTLES OF PORT REPUBLIC AND LEWISTON

CAMPAIGNING IN THE MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT

[*Continued from page* 491.]

At daybreak next morning Schenck's command was called up, and ordered to prepare to lead in that day's battle. In expectation of immediate action, the soldiers breakfasted hastily, examined their muskets, and replenished their ammunition. Soon after sunrise the command to advance was given, and Schenck's regiments moved promptly, feeling their way through the woods. In a short time we came upon the scene of the previous day's conflict, but to our great surprise no picket was met, no shot fired, and no enemy in sight. The Confederate dead, unburied, lay scattered numerously through the woods. Among the enemy's slain I noticed, as we passed along, the body of a young man about twenty years of age who lay where he had fallen, beside a tree. He had been instantly killed by a musket ball striking him in the forehead, and his face was illumined with a happy smile, as though death had been to him a joyous trance. In singular contrast with this in the road a little farther on was the body of an old man, also killed instantly, whose extended hands were clenched, and whose features were distorted as if in a paroxysm of agony and horror. A third body, carefully deposited in the door-yard of a farm-house, and covered with a blanket, was that of a young Confederate officer, whose noble head and intelligent face were of a most captivating type of manly beauty. Schenck advanced over the ground which had been occupied by the enemy, prepared to encounter him at any moment, and halted at the Mill Creek Church. In and around this solitary building many Confederate dead were lying, indicating that it had been used as a field hospital. Far ahead a column of dense black smoke was seen, betokening the destruction of the Port Republic bridge, and the escape of Jackson's entire army. All the fine hopes we had entertained of capturing our supple antagonist vanished immediately—vanished in smoke. But where was Shields, and what had happened to him? Let us see.

While Frémont was fighting Ewell and Dick Taylor at Cross Keys, Jackson was at Port Republic with two brigades—Winder's and Taliaferro's—looking personally after his sole avenue of retreat. His trains were yet parked on the north side of the river, and the bridge-head on the south

side was held by a detachment of cavalry. Advancing up the Luray Valley, Shields' column had been detained by floods resulting from the extraordinary rainfall, and also by the destruction (by Jackson's cavalry) of the principal bridges over the Shenandoah. Carroll's brigade, holding Shields' advance, was hurried forward to guard the river at Port Republic, and cut the Virginia Central Railroad at Waynesboro.

The village of Port Republic is situated in the angle formed by the junction of the North and South rivers, tributaries of the South Fork of the Shenandoah. Over the North River, which is the larger and deeper of the two streams, there was a wooden bridge connecting the town with the road leading to Harrisonburg. Across the South River there was a passable ford. The Confederate infantry with Jackson—Taliaferro's brigade of Winder's division—was encamped on the high ground north of the village, about a mile from the river.

Riding ahead of his infantry, Carroll arrived on the bank of the South River opposite Port Republic about six o'clock on the morning of the 8th with a squadron of Virginia cavalry, and four pieces of Ohio artillery. Seeing Jackson's wagon trains and beef cattle, with but a small guard, on the opposite side of the stream, Carroll charged and drove off the Confederate videttes at the crossing, and dashed across the South River into the town. So unexpected was this attack that two of Jackson's staff officers were captured, and his wagon-guards and teamsters fled in a panic. The Confederate cavalry was chased out of the town, part of it escaping across the bridge, and part of it in another direction. Two pieces of the Ohio artillery were then brought up and posted, one of them at the south end of the bridge. But Carroll, instead of destroying the bridge, of which he had possession for half an hour, bethought himself only as to how he should hold the town. Jackson, on the other hand, rushed for his infantry camped on the hills on the north side of the river, and with the first gun and regiment that were ready, made for the bridge on the double-quick. Seeing this our cavalry broke and fled in every direction, leaving the bridge and the gun an easy prey to the charging Confederates. The other gun, posted in the town, was brought off, but in following the panic-stricken cavalry to the woods, became entangled in the brush, and was abandoned. In a few minutes the whole north bank bristled with the enemy's cannon, and a shower of shot and shell rained upon our fugitive troopers, and upon the infantry which was approaching to re-enforce them.

Bringing off with difficulty two guns which he had posted upon an eminence to cover the bridge, Carroll retreated down the river to Lewiston—three miles—and at 2 P.M. was re-enforced by Tyler's brigade, sent

forward to his support. Shields, with the remainder of his division, was yet at Conrad's Store, twelve miles below. Tyler and Carroll concluded that it would be hazardous, while they were so far from the main body, to undertake another attack with the force they had, and decided to halt and observe the movements of the enemy. They did not have to wait long for interesting developments.

Having withdrawn Ewell from before Frémont, Jackson began crossing the Shenandoah at daybreak on the 9th, and turned his course down the river. Upon discovering this movement, Tyler, against the judgment of Carroll, who advised retreat, decided to stay where he was, and fight it out. He had posted his command on high ground, with his right extending through open fields and his left resting in a dense wood, east of the main road. His right wing, which was commanded by Carroll, comprised the Seventh Indiana, Colonel Gavin; Twenty-ninth Ohio, Colonel Buckley; Seventh Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Creighton; Fifth Ohio, Colonel Dunning; and the First Virginia, Colonel Thoburn. On the left were the Sixty-sixth Ohio, under Colonel Candy, commanding on that part of the field, and the Eighty-fourth and One Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania. Along the line, which was so formed as to cover all the approaches from Port Republic, were distributed the guns of Clarke's, Robinson's and Huntington's batteries. Winder's brigade, leading Jackson's column, soon appeared on both sides of the road, and drove in Tyler's skirmishers. Carroll opened at once with his artillery, firing grape and canister, and did such execution as to hold the enemy in check. Unable to either withstand or silence our guns, Winder, re-enforced from Taylor's brigade, undertook to charge and capture them. But Carroll was ready for him, and drove back his whole force in disorder. Carroll then charged in turn, and captured one gun—taken by the Fifth Ohio.

While this was going on, Jackson sent two regiments and a section of artillery, under Colonel Allen, around by his right flank to assail our left. With much difficulty Allen's force succeeded in breaking through the thickets, but no sooner did it appear before our lines than it was overwhelmed by a storm of musketry and canister which drove it back in confusion. Jackson then sent the bulk of Taylor's brigade to execute what Allen had failed to accomplish, and after passing our flank, Taylor fell upon it so suddenly as to capture six guns. But Colonel Candy was not dismayed, and with the help of the Fifth and Seventh Ohio sent to his assistance, he repulsed Taylor, and retook the lost pieces. Unfortunately the horses had all been killed, and the guns again fell into the hands of the enemy. "Three times," says Jackson's report, "was this

battery lost and won in the desperate and determined efforts to capture and recover it."

Soldiers could not fight more stubbornly and bravely than did ours. But Jackson, astonished at the resistance which he met, called up nearly his whole command. Taylor was re-enforced, and returned to the charge. Taliaferro's brigade and some additional batteries came to the help of Winder, who rallied his broken regiments and renewed the assault. Right and left, simultaneously, our troops were overwhelmed by nearly three times their number, and Tyler was obliged, at last, to follow Carroll's advice, and order a retreat. As soon as the withdrawal of our forces began, the captured guns were turned upon our rear regiments, and the enemy's cavalry charged, causing, for a time, what seemed to be a complete rout. Colonel Carroll was directed by Tyler to cover the retreat, and with much difficulty organized a force for that purpose. The enemy pursued for five miles, and captured an additional gun. He also took about 450 prisoners and 800 muskets.

Thus Jackson bore off the honors of the campaign, and made for himself an open road to Richmond, whither he was soon summoned to aid Lee in repelling McClellan. By orders from Washington, Shields was at once recalled to Luray so that McDowell might go to McClellan's assistance. Frémont was directed to withdraw to Harrisonburg and there halt, but believing that place to be untenable, he decided, upon his own responsibility, to proceed further down the valley.

Frémont did not finally halt, as we shall see, until he reached Middletown. At Mount Jackson he reported to the President (June 12) that he had retired thither "upon intelligence of General Shields' defeat and withdrawal towards Richmond," and asked for re-enforcements, particularly Sigel's corps. On the same day he sent by Colonel Zagonyi, a member of his staff, a written communication to the President, making substantially the same representations and requests. On the 13th he suggested that Shields—whose position at Luray he deemed "very much exposed," should be directed to join him at Mount Jackson. He also inquired whether Sigel was under his command.

The President, in different communications, replied that he had ordered the halt at Harrisonburg to prevent Jackson from returning to the Upper Potomac, and to protect West Virginia against a raid, but that he acquiesced in the withdrawal to Mount Jackson; that Sigel was under Banks, and that Banks, though not subordinate to Frémont, would co-operate with him; that if Sigel and McDowell (Shields) were sent forward to Frémont, "Jackson would break through at Front Royal again;" that Jack-

son's game was to divert as much of our force as possible from Richmond by spreading exaggerated reports of his numbers and movements; that Jackson was "much more likely to go to Richmond than Richmond to come to him;" that "the true policy" was for Banks and Frémont, keeping within supporting distance of each other, to hold both the "Front Royal line" and the "Strasburg line," and that neither Frémont nor Banks would be overwhelmed by Jackson if due vigilance should be exercised.

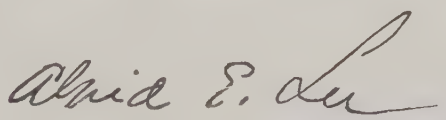
On the 14th Frémont again telegraphed for re-enforcements to hold Mount Jackson, although there appears to have been no particular cause for his solicitude, except that "the enemy's pickets were ten miles this side of Harrisonburg." On the 15th Frémont reminded the President that when he was assigned to "this command" he was informed that he should have "a corps of 35,000 men." He asked for a "fulfillment of this understanding," in order, as he says, that he may "take Staunton, hold the railroad there, go down through Lexington, seize the railroad between Lynchburg and Newberne and hold it for General Banks' troops, or destroy it, according to circumstances." He represented that "whether from Richmond or elsewhere," the forces of the enemy are certainly coming into this region;" that his own force has been greatly weakened by "casualties," and that "our troops are so scattered as to be liable to attack by superior numbers."

The President on the 16th replied somewhat caustically, that he was "ready to come to a fair settlement of accounts" "on the fulfillment of understandings," adding: "Early in March last, when I assigned you to the command of the Mountain Department, I did tell you I would give you all the force I could, and that I hoped to make it reach 35,000. You at the same time told me that within a reasonable time you would seize the railroad at or east of Knoxville, Tennessee, if you could. There was then in the department a force supposed to be 25,000, the exact number as well known to you as to me. After looking about two or three days, you called, and distinctly told me that if I would add the Blenker division to the force already in the department you would undertake the job. The Blenker division contained 10,000, and at the expense of great dissatisfaction to General McClellan I took it from his army and gave it to you. My promise was literally fulfilled. I have given you all I could, and I have given you nearly, if not quite, 35,000. Now for yours. On the 23d of May, largely over two months afterward, you were at Franklin, Virginia, not within three hundred miles of Knoxville, nor within eighty miles of any part of the railroad east of it, and not moving forward, but telegraphing here that you could not move for lack of everything. Now do not misun-

derstand me. I do not say you have not done all you could. I presume you met unexpected difficulties; and I beg you to believe that, as surely as you have done your best, so have I. I have not the power now to fill up your corps to 35,000. I am not demanding of you to do the work of 35,000. I am only asking of you to stand cautiously on the defensive; get your force in order, and give such protection as you can to the Valley of the Shenandoah and to Western Virginia. Have you received the orders, and will you act upon them?" Frémont dryly responded by telegraph: "Your dispatch of to-day is received. In reply to that part of it which concerns the orders sent to me, I have to say that they have been received, and that, as a matter of course, I will act upon them, as I am now doing."

The retrograde march of Frémont's force from Port Republic began on the morning of June 10, in the midst of a drenching rain, which crowned with discomfort the disappointing outcome of all the hard marching and fighting of the campaign. The extraordinary exposure, fatigue, and nervous strain had by this time told fearfully upon the men, the majority of whom were yet fresh in the service, and those who were down with malignant fever or other maladies, added to the wounded in battle, more than filled all the ambulances and other disposable vehicles. The strength of many who were really not well had been sustained by the exhilaration of the pursuit of Jackson, but suddenly collapsed as soon as that stimulus was withdrawn; and thousands who were too sick to walk were nevertheless obliged to do so, or remain behind and be captured. Thus the army of stragglers that spread out through the fields and woods became nearly or quite as numerous as the army marching with the colors. The writer, who had been suffering from the prevailing malady of the camp since leaving Mount Jackson, now found himself barely able to walk even with the assistance of a fellow-soldier.

Returning to Harrisonburg, the army took its course down the turnpike to Newmarket and thence to Mount Jackson, where a halt was called for a day or two. From Mount Jackson the movement was continued to Strasburg, and on the 24th of June the forces led by Frémont joined those under Banks and Sigel at Middletown.



RETREAT OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

FROM RICHMOND TO THE GULF

The Confederate Congress had adjourned *sine die* on the evening of the 17th of March, just two weeks before the fall of Richmond. During that interval there prevailed in the doomed city feelings of intense anxiety. Each day furnished some new fact to justify the opinion that General Lee would be compelled to withdraw his army from the "Richmond lines." Members of the Confederate Congress who had remained in Richmond were daily urging Jefferson Davis to remove the government further southward, in rear of General Lee's army, to a place of probable security. After earnest consideration, Charlotte, North Carolina, was chosen, and a few days preceding the evacuation the President sent his family, accompanied by his private secretary, young Colonel Harrison, to that place.

During the week before the capture of Richmond many prominent officials, after handing in the usual excuses to conceal their fears and anxiety, left the city for their homes. General Breckinridge, then Secretary of War, was among the fearless, who remained with the President. General Cooper, our adjutant-general, Judge Reagan, Postmaster-General, Secretary Trenholm, of the Treasury, and Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, also continued with Mr. Davis, as did the members of his personal staff, Colonel William Preston Johnston, son of General Albert Sidney Johnston, and ex-Governor Lubbock, of Texas.

The writer was in Richmond, serving with the troops in defense of the city at the evacuation. The excitement was at fever heat all day on Saturday, April 1, when the news reached the city of the result of the battle of Five Forks. It was evident that Grant was enveloping Petersburg with his army, while General Lee was slowly falling back before him, thus leaving Richmond at the mercy of the enemy's right flank. Late on Saturday evening Commodore Semmes, of the *Alabama*, then in the city, and the writer were at the War Department. General Breckinridge, who was present, joined, and assisted us in packing most of the valuable records of his office, which were placed in boxes securely nailed, to be shipped to Charlotte if the occasion required. The other Cabinet officers were, with their assistants, industriously engaged in the same manner. The most cheerful man present was Secretary Benjamin. Although small of stature, he pos-

sessed wonderful physical and intellectual energies. He had some years before written a humorous song, which he called "The Exit from Shocko Hill." Late at night our party visited his rooms, and found him sitting on a box of documents engaged in singing this little song. Cooper, our adjutant-general, with some young men from his office, also came in, and seeing the Secretary thus amusing himself and others, remarked. "Nero fiddled while Rome was burning." Mr. Benjamin, who had a keen sense of the ridiculous, instantly stopped singing and began whistling the same song. This was too much for the stately old soldier. Cooper was provoked beyond endurance and left the room in anger.

Early on Sunday morning the city was filled with rumors respecting the fate of General Lee's army. About noon the writer was authoritatively informed by General Breckinridge that the city would be evacuated at once, and added: "Mr. Davis has just been notified by General Lee that he could not hold the 'Richmond lines' much longer, and urged the Government to move southward as speedily as possible." No time was to be lost. A train was made ready to transfer the Government to Charlotte. The work of sending the official records and public documents to the depot went on all day. Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston, ex-Governor Lubbock, of Mr. Davis' personal staff, aided by the chief clerk of the executive office, M. H. Clark, were indefatigably engaged in aiding President Davis to settle his private affairs.

About dark the depot was thronged with the heads of departments, members of the Confederate Congress and other dignitaries, including Jefferson Davis. It was fully eight o'clock when the train departed. Many failed to obtain seats in the cars and were greatly disappointed, for there was little, if any, prospect of another train leaving before the "Yankees" should arrive in the town. With many it was thought doubtful whether Sheridan's cavalry would not capture the train that had just left before it could reach Danville, Virginia, which, for the time being, was the objective point. Many who could procure horses rode in the direction of General Lee's army. The roads were filled with little parties, both civil and military. It was after midnight before our small detachment started, some being detained for want of horses. When we left the city our purpose was to reach Burkesville Junction, expecting there to procure transportation on one of the trains moving southward. After crossing the river, some fifteen (of whom were Colonel Ball, General Clark, Captain Key, Captain Ed. Coleston, the latter a young man from Maryland and a friend of the writer) of our party pushed rapidly onward until sunrise, some twenty miles beyond Richmond. About ten o'clock that Monday

morning we reached the left bank of the Appomattox, a few miles from the railroad crossing from Powhatan into Amelia. We were now directly in the rear of General Lee's army, which was falling back on that river in the direction of Farmville. After crossing the Appomattox, we stopped a few hours to feed our horses, and at noon started for Burksville Junction, which we reached late that Monday night, April 3.

The Junction was encumbered with broken-down trains, and no engines to move them. We rested until the following morning, Tuesday, April 4, and learned that General Lee would, after crossing the Appomattox, change front, and retreat on the Roanoke River, where he would unite with General J. E. Johnston, who was then falling back through North Carolina. While at Burkesville, we received the news that one division of Grant's army had entered Richmond, and that the city was in flames. Grant's skirmishers were only a few miles from Burkesville on Tuesday morning, and as there was no chance to get a train at the Junction, we decided to leave for Danville. It was time, for Grant's advance reached the Junction early next morning. After a rapid ride of fifteen miles south of Burkesville, in hourly danger of capture by detachments of Sheridan's cavalry, to speak in "lute strings" we "struck oil."

It was about two o'clock in the afternoon when, to the left of the road, we discovered a freight train with a locomotive in front, and two more behind, pushing up grade. Our party by this time was reduced to six, including General Clark and Captain Coleston. We rode rapidly across the fields in the direction of the train, which was moving up a heavy grade very slowly. Captain Coleston hailed the engineer, and begged him to stop and take us aboard when he reached the summit. This he agreed to do, and he kept his word. The train had left the Junction before daylight in the morning and had only made eighteen miles. Our horses were placed in box cars after some difficulty, and late at night the train reached the Roanoke.

Here we heard that the Confederate Government was reëstablishing itself at Danville, and that General Johnston's army was falling back on that place with great expedition. Encouraged by this information, we continued on the train and reached Danville on Wednesday night, April 5. Everything in Danville suggested at least the possibility that the Confederate Government would renew its customary work in a few days. President Davis with his cabinet, and his chief clerk Captain Clark, were busily engaged in fixing up rooms. General Breckinridge was present, and the writer and some others aided him all day on Friday in arranging apartments in a building for the temporary accommodation of the War Office. President Davis and some of his cabinet were hospitably entertained at

the residence of Mr. Seatlin, a wealthy gentleman of Danville. On Friday afternoon, April 7, the President and his cabinet determined to attend, personally, each to his respective department, on the following day.

Towards night, however, reports reached Danville that the "Yankees were coming." This threw a chill over the scene, and each man looked into the face of his neighbor with a countenance that seemed to ask "what next?" The hills surrounding Danville were strengthened with such troops as could be obtained. All were ready to defend the place. Admiral Semmes, of the Confederate Navy, who was present, assumed command of this volunteer force. These precautions was unnecessary, for it turned out that no enemy was within forty miles of Danville. Nevertheless, on the following day, Saturday, the town was filled with rumors, producing as much anxiety as that at Richmond the week before.

One week had effected a great change in the fortunes of the Confederate Government. Monday, April 10, President Davis received a dispatch from General Lee, informing him that he had surrendered the army of Northern Virginia, and urged the Confederate authorities to move further southward. A train was immediately prepared to convey the Government to Charlotte; but here, as at Richmond, the car accommodations were not equal to supply the demand for passengers, and many were obliged to make the journey on horseback.

The train that conveyed the President, his cabinet, and other officials, had attached to it a number of freight cars filled with the luggage of the various departments of the Government. Captain Coleston and myself attempted to board the train, but were not successful, although we had passes from General Breckinridge and General Cooper. It was uncomfortably crowded. Early on Tuesday morning, Coleston, the writer, and many others, left Danville for Greensboro. The roads were not in so bad a condition as we had expected, and we made good time. Along the way we could see how unfriendly the people were to us. Nearly every man with whom we conversed, showed in a manner not to be mistaken how glad he was at the fall of Richmond. And stranger still, almost everybody seemed to think that Mr. Davis was personally responsible for all our misfortunes, illustrating Napoleon's famous saying to O'Mara at St. Helena, "Throughout all history, whenever a popular revolution fails, the infamy attending it culminates on its chief." We reached Greensboro late on Tuesday night, and were informed that the Government was at the depot. The train which had preceded us was indeed still standing at the station with most of the passengers on board. We rode forward, and as we neared the train saw groups of men hovering around small fires conversing together.

I recognized the voice of General Breckinridge, and riding up to him asked what the strange scene meant. He walked aside with me and said, "We shall not be here long, but will move on to Charlotte in a day or so. From this point I shall ride southward on horseback; as the Federal cavalry have torn up the track and burnt the bridges, we cannot go forward in any other way." It may seem strange, but it is a fact, that such was the unfriendly feelings of the people at Greensboro towards the Confederate Government, that nobody offered the least hospitality. Their whole conduct showed very clearly that they would rejoice if we would only go away.

On the following day I was asked by many citizens, "How long are you going to stay?" They were impatient to have us move on. The head-quarters of the Government was on the train at the depot. Secretary Trenholm, of the Treasury, was ill, he was taken by some one to the house of Captain Wood of the Confederate Cruiser *Tallahassee*, who serving on the President's staff, took Mr. Davis from the train to his lodgings, previously hired in Greensboro; but the remainder of the Government officials found their accommodations for sleeping in the same cars that brought them from Danville. Their rations were procured from the commissaries. The most disgusted of the whole party was our adjutant-general, Samuel Cooper, whilst the most jolly was Secretary Benjamin. The object in view in the halt at Greensboro, was to consult with General J. E. Johnston in regard to the army under his command.

A conference was held at Captain Wood's house between President Davis, General Joseph E. Johnston, and General Beauregard, and between Mr. Davis and his cabinet. It resulted in General Johnston's receiving instructions to proceed to his head-quarters, then at Chapel Hill, and enter upon negotiations with General Sherman.

On the afternoon of the following day, President Davis and his cabinet, with many others, left Greensboro for Charlotte, North Carolina. Mr. Davis and General Breckinridge rode ahead of the procession on horseback. Others followed, some mounted, others in ambulances and wagons. It was difficult to procure anything in the shape of a conveyance; and he who was fortunate enough to possess a horse, had to keep a sharp look out lest he lose him. As the Federal cavalry had burnt the bridges along the line of the railroad leading from Greensboro to Charlotte, everybody had to look out for himself, and get along as best he could. The writer did not leave Greensboro that afternoon, although he rode with the party to the outskirts of the town, and witnessed the departure of the retreating Government of the Confederacy, which on the whole presented an appearance little calculated to produce enthusiastic admiration.

I was anxious before proceeding further southward to visit General J. E. Johnston's head-quarters at Chapel Hill. My object in doing so was to procure, if possible, some tidings of my only brother, then serving as a staff officer in General Sherman's army. I had not seen or heard from him since the battle of Gettysburg in July, 1863, very soon after which engagement he was sent to the Western army, with Hooker's corps. I was also hopeful that I could go to Chapel Hill, and reach Charlotte by passing through the counties of Randolph and Stanley nearly as soon as the President's party; and this I actually accomplished. The railroad between Charlotte and Raleigh was in good condition, and transportation trains were passing up and down. Some special exchange of prisoners was effected by this means; although Captain Norris, of Baltimore, and Major Hennings, of New Orleans, who a few days before went up to Raleigh on an expedition of this sort, were detained in Raleigh and held as prisoners of war. Late at night a train was being made up, and after much entreaty the captain in charge agreed to take me and my horse to Hillsboro, or if possible to a station beyond. With difficulty I managed to get my horse into a dilapidated box car, partly filled with salt sacks, and about daylight the train reached Hillsboro. General Johnston's army was falling back on Hillsboro, and its commander was in advance some miles, where his head-quarters were located in the direction of Chapel Hill. I soon learned that General Breckinridge and President Davis were expected. Surprised, I called on General Johnston for information in regard to the truth of the report, and was told that he was in communication with General Sherman, then in his immediate front, and that he had written to President Davis by an especial courier, to send some assistance in conducting the negotiations, but could not say whether any of the President's party would come. During the following day, Sunday, April 16, I made every effort to locate my brother's command, but was not successful. The army at Hillsboro was dispirited and anxious to go home. General Breckinridge, and Judge Reagan, our Postmaster-General, finally arrived. The courier sent by General Johnston to the President overtook him late on the evening of the second day after the party left Greensboro. As soon as Mr. Davis read General Johnston's dispatch he requested Judge Reagan and General Breckinridge to go at once to General Johnston's head-quarters, with the largest discretion in conducting the negotiations.

Breckinridge and Reagan started at ten o'clock on horseback, and rode until daylight, and in the same manner continued their journey the following day, until midnight, when they reached their destination. The tiresome and muddy ride was long to be remembered by both gentlemen.

General Sherman arrived at this juncture, and the work of formulating the terms and articles of surrender went rapidly forward. On Tuesday morning, the 18th, General Johnston proposed his terms to Sherman. These terms included a general amnesty to all Confederates, besides other provisions of the most liberal character. They were accepted on the spot by General Sherman. Nothing could have passed off more graciously than these negotiations. General Johnston impressed all with his superior knowledge of the law of nations in time of war. He was one of the best of conversationalists. Every sentence that fell from his lips dropped like a new coin. Being introduced to Sherman by Mr. Breckinridge, I ventured to inquire respecting my brother. I had scarcely mentioned the name when the General replied, saying: "I know him, he is alive and with me, I saw him a few days ago, but his division is some sixteen miles from here." Rejoiced to know that he was alive, I at once wrote to him. I was over a hundred miles from Charlotte, and determined to start for that place early on the following morning, Wednesday, by way of Ashborough, the county seat of Randolph County. I begged General Breckinridge to join me, which he agreed to do, but no sooner had the conversation ended than the whole party was thrown into confusion by a dispatch received by Sherman, informing him of the assassination of President Lincoln.

The excitement was the greater because the dispatch gave no particulars of the crime. Wonder and astonishment were expressed in every countenance. I noticed that General Johnston was so much affected that he did not attempt to conceal the strong emotion which he felt. General Breckinridge and Judge Reagan were deeply moved, and the latter, who was one of the most energetic supporters of the Confederacy, expressed the hope that it would be shown that no true friend to our cause had a hand in the dreadful business. General Breckinridge fully stated his firm belief, that the death of Mr. Lincoln at that time would prove a great national calamity, and that in him the "conquered South" had lost their best friend. He immediately sent the news to President Davis by a courier, in a brief dispatch, a copy of which the writer took at the time and had it on his person when captured in Georgia, a month afterward, an oversight which caused him to be sent to Fort Lafayette.

The dispatch was in these words:

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Charlotte, N. C.

The President of the United States was assassinated last Friday night at Ford's Theater, and at the same time, a dastardly attempt was made on the life of Seward in his own house.

J. C. BRECKINRIDGE,
Secretary of War.

The route from Virginia to the extreme South lay through North Carolina, and as Lee's army had surrendered and Johnston's also, the roads leading southward were filled with officers and men returning home. Early on Wednesday morning I started for Charlotte by way of Ashborough, with a company of some thirty or forty mounted men. Captain De Saussure, of South Carolina, went to tell General Breckinridge that we were ready, but he said we could go on and he would overtake us. We pushed on briskly during the entire day, and late at night reached Ashborough. We camped just outside of the village. We thought General Breckinridge and his friends would overtake us by morning, but he did not, and after breakfast the party rode forward, all except myself, Captain De Sanssure, and a young lieutenant of cavalry named Prialeau, also a South Carolinian. It was decided that we would remain all day, and perhaps General Breckinridge, Judge Reagan and their friends would reach us. We remained until daylight on Friday morning, when we rode forward toward Charlotte. After a good day's journey, for those muddy times, late in the evening our little party reached Albemarle, the county seat of Stanly. Here we passed the night, and at the first streak of daylight mounted and pushed forward.

We expected to reach Charlotte earlier than we did, but the roads were so muddy that we were kept back, and it was late in the afternoon when we entered the town. President Davis and his party had arrived but a few hours before. As we entered, General Basil Duke, of Kentucky, rode into the town with his cavalry brigade, and, drawing up in front of the house where the President and his staff were located, the general and his men gave three cheers for Jefferson Davis.

Mr. Davis came out on the steps and made a brief address to General Duke's command, paying a high compliment to the gallantry and patriotism of the troops before him, and expressed his determination to stand by the cause for which the people of the South had shed their blood to the last extremity. Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston and Governor Lubbock stood by the side of the President, and as Mr. Davis concluded I dismounted, intending to inform Colonel Johnston of Mr. Lincoln's assassination; but while I was in the act of doing so, a gentleman in the crowd read aloud the dispatch sent to the President already referred to. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Davis never referred to the assassination, for if he had I should have known that he knew of it, and I would not have attempted to inform him.

Reagan and Breckinridge having arrived in Charlotte from Chapel Hill, Mr. Davis called a meeting of his cabinet, and requested their advice as to what steps he should pursue in his then emergency.

It was resolved that each member of the cabinet should freely submit his views and advice in writing; this was done on Sunday and Monday, the 23d and 24th of April. The constitutional advisers of the President urged him to accept the situation, and as General Lee and General Johnston had already surrendered, it would be hopeless for him to continue the struggle, and recommended him to immediately resign a trust to the States which he was no longer able to defend. One of the best papers offered was that of Reagan.

Judge Reagan was appointed by the President to act as Secretary of the Treasury, thus holding two offices at one time; which Mr. Benjamin laughingly said, "he believed unconstitutional." The whole party now resolved to move southward, and started for Yorkville, South Carolina. General Basil Duke, of Kentucky, then quite a young man, with his cavalry guarded the Government on the line of its retreat. President Davis and staff rode on horseback to Yorkville, South Carolina, which was reached after a weary journey. Mr. Trenholm did not go with us, but remained at Charlotte. Mr. Davis had expected to meet General Bragg at Yorkville, but learned that he was at Chester, South Carolina.

Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston, of the President's staff, took a locomotive and an engineer, and ran back to Chester and brought General Bragg over to Union Court House, South Carolina, where Mr. Davis and part of his cabinet, with General Breckinridge, were camped. General Bragg's advice was eagerly sought by all present. He gave as his decided opinion that to continue the war would be fruitless, and concurred in the advice given the President by his cabinet. Whatever hope Mr. Davis entertained of reaching General Kirby Smith's command in Texas, and prolonging the war, the writer feels confident was relinquished at this meeting. It was here that Secretary Benjamin determined to leave us and the country; he was going to Europe as speedily as possible. Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston urged Colonel Levoy to accompany Benjamin.

The retreating Government now pushed forward to Abbeville; from this time forward nearly every man thought of little save the best and surest way to get out of the reach of the common enemy. The night after we left Union Court House, Breckinridge called me aside and said, "I want you to keep close to me. I shall get you a better horse in a few days. I have my eye on one or two more of your friends. The last information from our scouts is that the Federal cavalry are in great force in Georgia and Southern Alabama. We shall move forward to Washington, Georgia, and that place no doubt will cause a change in the direction of our line."

Abbeville was at length reached, and was as lovely a little spot as can be found in the South. It was on the first or second of May when we reached that beautiful village situated on an eminence. The next day I think was Sunday, it was the only Sunday on which the writer had enjoyed the least rest since he left Richmond.

Mr. Davis had expected to find his wife and family at Abbeville, but on reaching the village they had left for Washington, Georgia. The Government remained three or four days, and the village was crowded with many distinguished Confederates. The President and some others were the guests of Colonel Burt, with whom and Mrs. Burt, Mrs. Davis and her children remained while they were in Abbeville.

There were present in Abbeville, Mr. Davis, General Breckinridge, Secretary Mallory, Judge Reagan, Secretary Benjamin, General Duke, of Kentucky, General J. S. Williams, of Kentucky (Cerro Gordo), General Dibrill, ex-Governor Lubbock, Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston, Taylor Wood of the navy, and many others.

At Abbeville the vast crowd began to melt away. Some sought refuge in Texas, others who had little to fear returned to their respective States. After a few days the party moved forward to Washington, Georgia. I think on Wednesday the 7th of May, General Basil Duke, of Kentucky, sent a detachment of his cavalry as escort as far as the Savannah River, with a special guard the whole distance. I saw Mr. Benjamin just as he was leaving Abbeville; he went with the Presidential party to the river, and after breakfast left them in a buggy accompanied by Colonel Levoy, now a distinguished lawyer of New Orleans. He sailed almost immediately for London. When the writer was in Europe, in 1870, he spent a week with him at his cottage near Maude Grove, one of the suburbs of London. He gave me a detailed account of his great difficulties in reaching the Bermudas from our seaboard. Before his death Mr. Benjamin attained the highest honors of the English bar. His indefatigable industry and wonderful powers of concentration and analysis, and his deservedly great fame as a brilliant and eloquent speaker, would have secured for him the highest honors in any country.

At Washington there were many quarter-masters, who were of service in issuing supplies to our almost famished and exhausted cavalry. We remained there a few days, when Mr. Mallory deserted us, and went to the Southwest, stopping at La Grange, Georgia. Mr. Davis, ex-Governor Lubbock, Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston, Mr. Thornburn, and John Taylor Wood soon left Washington; the President having struck the trail of his family, rode forward toward the Gulf of Mexico. Colonel Thornburn,

who was an old *blockader*, had a small craft in the Indian River, with which he intended to get the President and his family out of the country. This left Judge Reagan and General Breckinridge alone in Washington.

These two gentlemen remained a short time to settle business connected with the Treasury, Post-Office, and War Departments of the government. After this was completed, Reagan and Breckinridge shook hands and separated, Breckinridge went in one direction and Reagan followed the President, whom he soon overtook, and was captured with him five or six days later, near Irwinsville, Georgia.

Breckinridge was not altogether decided as to whether he would push forward for Texas or for Florida. Subsequent considerations determined him to reach Florida as soon as practicable. For some time he traveled in a south-westerly direction. He proceeded with much caution. The writer overtook him the next day after he left Washington. The following day we traveled over sixty miles. We were in excellent spirits, our horses in good condition, and already a long distance into the interior of the State of Georgia. The night was spent west of Saundersville, in Washington County. Up to this time, although we met many people, no questions were asked nor curiosity excited. The war was over; soldiers were returning home, and, as the country was thickly settled, it was no unusual occurrence to see mounted men moving in every direction.

The second morning, before starting, Breckinridge told me that he would, for the future, ride in a direct line for Madison, Florida. The few scouts attending him were thrown to the front. About noon it rained so incessantly that we could not proceed, and gladly sought shelter in a farm-house by the wayside. We camped for the night on the bank of Oconee River, near the small village of Dublin. About nine o'clock in the evening one of our scouts went into the village, and called at a store, which the owner was in the act of closing. Having bought some provisions for us, and a bushel of corn for the horses, he returned without exciting any suspicions. He informed the storekeeper that the war was over, and that he was returning home with a friend or so, whom he left down the road. At midnight a detachment of ten or fifteen mounted men passed us. We were camped only about a hundred yards from the road, and in the flickering light were able to distinguish their uniforms. This gave us some anxiety. We breakfasted, and fed our horses before daylight, and took an early start, determined, if possible, to reach the Ocmulgee River, some sixty miles distant, before night. But the muddy condition of the roads greatly retarded our progress. It was long after midnight when we reached a thicket, some distance from the river, and spent the night. I suffered

greatly on this day's ride with chills and fever. The morning found us all in bad condition. Our horses were broken down, and we were weary, tired and hungry. Still we congratulated ourselves that we were out of reach of the enemy, and resolved to spend a part of the day in rest at the first well-to-do farm-house where we could be accommodated. About noon we found the desired refuge. This part of the country was so thinly settled that we sometimes rode miles without seeing a single human being or habitation. Our horses were fed, and after our own dinner I retired to a bed for some hours, but was so reduced and exhausted that I could not rise and go on. Toward evening General Breckinridge decided that he with the scouts would proceed; I urged him to do so by all means, and that after a night's rest I would overtake them at the Allapohaw crossing, above Milltown. The general left me at this house. I stood on the porch as he rode off, and never met him again until his return from Europe.

One of the ladies remarked as he rode away that "he was a very pert gentleman." Next morning while at breakfast the son of a gentleman from Evergreen rode by, and said that he had been told that President Davis had crossed the Ocmulgee at Abbeville, and that there was a whole army of Yankee cavalry after him. For a moment I was speechless with surprise, for I had no idea he was in that section of the country.

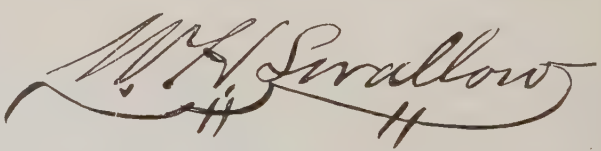
Concealing my anxiety for Breckinridge, I merely replied that "the story no doubt was all a fabrication." I remained some hours longer, and receiving no additional information, left about ten o'clock for the Allopahaw near Milltown. Later on I was surprised to see one of the scouts who had parted with me the evening before, coming toward me on a different horse. He explained his presence by saying that Breckinridge had requested him to ride back to my assistance. We went on until we reached the house where they had taken dinner, and where the scout borrowed the horse he rode. Here we spent the night, and being unable to proceed next morning, I sent the scout forward with all possible expedition with the news that I had received respecting the critical condition of the President, and urged General Breckinridge to lose no time on my account, but to hasten without delay to Florida. I remained with this hospitable family over Sunday; and the following day, Monday, the 15th, left for Milltown, but had only proceeded fifteen or twenty miles when I became unable to ride any longer, being again attacked with ague, and stopped at a farm-house, where I received the news that President Davis had indeed been captured, and that "Federal soldiers" had been seen in Berrien County some ten miles to the west from where we now were. Having spent the night in quiet and feeling refreshed, I took an early start,

but had not gone five miles when I saw a squad of mounted men coming up the road at a gallop. In a few moments their uniforms disclosed to me the fact that they were *Federal* scouts. As soon as they reached me they said, "You are just the fellow we are after. Where are those other chaps that were with you?" I told them they were mistaken.

"Get off of your horse," shouted several of them at the same time. I dismounted, and they began searching my pockets. In my vest pocket was found the copy of the dispatch sent to President Davis at Charlotte by Breckinridge from General Johnston's head-quarters at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. It was read by the party, who informed me that they would take me on to Macon, Georgia. The journey to Macon was exceedingly tiresome, for the distance was over a hundred miles. There I was informed of the capture of President Davis and his party at Irwinsville two weeks before.

The circumstances of President Davis' capture have been so well described by Colonel Harrison and others that I shall not recapitulate. But General Breckinridge made good his escape. After reaching Madison, Florida, he was joined by Captain John Taylor Wood of the Confederate Navy, who was with Mr. Davis and party but who escaped the morning the President was captured. Breckinridge and Wood, and I think one or two others, reached the sea-shore, and procuring a small craft cruised along the coast to the Keys below Cardenas, and then shot across the gulf to Havana, from which place they sailed to England. I was hopeful that I would be released at Macon, but was disappointed and sent forward to Augusta, Georgia, and thence to Washington, where after a few days at the old "Capitol Prison," was transferred by Stanton's order to Fort Lafayette.

Had President Davis gone with General Breckinridge from Washington, Georgia, he too would doubtless have escaped. Perhaps, however, it was better that he did not.



THE LAST OF THE CONFEDERATES.

It was verging on the summer of 1865. General Lee had surrendered. The Southern people had accepted the fiat of Appomatox, and the Southern armies had disbanded. Only one prominent in the military history of the late Confederate states was unparoled. This was Colonel John S. Mosby, the famous partisan leader, who was under the ban of the War Department, and whose capture, if possible, and trial by court-martial on the charge of having been guilty of acts not recognized by civilized warfare, had been ordered by Secretary Stanton. It was well that his capture had been ordered "if possible." His foot was on his native heath in the mountainous region about Lynchburg, Virginia, and he was at home amidst its most difficult recesses, being thoroughly conversant with every by-path and pass in that section of the State. Besides this, he was surrounded by friends, many of whom had been in his old command, and all of whom were on the alert in his interest, ready to warn him at the first approach of danger. He had also many relatives and several comrades in the city of Lynchburg, the military head-quarters of that district, who carefully watched the movements of the United States troops, and had any demonstration been made toward his place of refuge they would have been quick to apprise him of it. Thus it may easily be understood that his capture was a task by no means easy of accomplishment.

At length, however, Stanton reconsidered his decision, and sent orders to General Gregg, the commandant of the district, to parole Mosby if he would yield himself up. This information was imparted to one of "Mosby's men," then in Lynchburg, who, as if by magic, conveyed the news promptly to his former commander. In consequence, the very day after the order had been issued, Colonel Mosby came into the city to formally surrender, and receive his parole. He was dressed in full Confederate uniform and was armed with two army-sized Colt's revolvers, fastened in a belt around his waist—the very model of the typical scout. He appeared as cool as an iceberg as he drove up to the law office of his cousin, Mr. Charles L. Mosby, of the firm of Mosby & Speed, then among the leading members of the Virginia Bar. Here, as he alighted from his buggy, he was surrounded by a crowd of friends and acquaintances, anxious to greet and tender him congratulations, while United States soldiers crowded the street to catch sight of the famous soldier of whom they had heard so

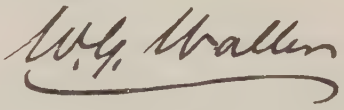
much. To the remark of a gentleman who shook hands with him, "Well, colonel, and so you are to surrender at last," he replied: "Yes, I believe I am *ultcmus Romanorum*," and with that he made his way to the office of Mosby & Speed, where, divesting himself of his pistols, he entered into conversation before going to the provost marshal's office to take the amnesty oath, and receive his parole.

While he was thus engaged, however, orders came by telegraph to General Gregg from Secretary Stanton, countermanding the former order, and instructing him to forward Mosby to Washington as a prisoner of war. The news of this change of programme on the part of the secretary was conveyed to the partisan leader just as he was preparing to leave for the office of the provost marshal. He did not seem in the least moved by it, beyond that his blue eyes dilated, and assumed an expression of fixed determination. He arose, coolly buckled on his pistols again, and started for the office. When he arrived there he inquired for the provost marshal, and being shown that official, he asked if it was true what he had been told. On receiving an affirmative reply, he charged the Secretary of War with having acted with treachery and bad faith toward him in having inveigled him into the city on the promise of a parole, and then ordering his capture. "But," he said, "I will never be taken alive. I have in these pistols twelve shots, and I warn you that twelve of you will bite the dust before I am arrested." To this the provost marshal replied that he would inform General Gregg of the case, and await further orders from him before acting. The general was a chivalrous soldier and a gentleman. He sent word to the marshal that Colonel Mosby had come into the city upon assurances from himself that a parole would be granted him. This could not be done in face of the order of the Secretary of War; but one thing he would do. He would permit Colonel Mosby to return from whence he came unmolested, and would make no effort to effect his capture until the following day. Upon being informed of this Mosby walked out of the provost marshal's office, went direct to his buggy, and speedily found himself once more safe in his friendly mountain retreats. The next day squads of cavalry scoured the country to find and arrest him, but to no avail. All pursuit was ineffectual, and after a vain search of several days, report was brought in that Mosby's whereabouts could not be discovered.

A humorous incident occurred in this connection, which is worth repeating. There was in Lynchburg at the time a gallant ex-colonel of a Louisiana regiment, formerly a resident of Lynchburg, but then and now living in New Orleans. He was fond of a joke at all times and under all circumstances, and could not resist the opportunity that now offered itself

to indulge his propensity in this respect. So the day after the occurrence above narrated this gentleman met a friend—also an ex-Confederate officer —on the street, and, seeing an United States soldier standing near by, remarked, in an apparently confidential tone, and yet loud enough to make sure he was overheard, "Major, Mosby has done a very imprudent thing. He knows how anxious the government is to catch him, and yet he has gone down here to Campbell Court-House, where he is certain to be captured." Having said this, the colonel looked at the soldier to see the effect of his words. The latter looked up quickly, and soon started for General Gregg's head-quarters with his supposed important secret, and in about half an hour thereafter, a whole squadron of cavalry started for Campbell Court-House to bring in Mosby. It is needless to say they did not find him, as he was then several miles away in an opposite direction, but the fun-loving colonel and his friend enjoyed many a hearty laugh at the success with which he had "fooled the government."

It was but a short time after this, however, before the famous partisan leader was really paroled. Again Secretary Stanton gave orders to that effect, and again, as before, the news was promptly sent to his place of refuge. Again he came into the city to swear that he would never more take arms against the United States until discharged by competent authority. How well he has kept the oath is shown by his subsequent affiliation with the Republican Party, and the honors, trusts, and emoluments with which he has been rewarded for so doing by Republican administrations.



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THE CELEBRATED LEWIS MORRIS ON CONNECTICUT

Curious Extract from the will of Lewis Morris dated November 19, 1760.

[*Contributed by Mr. Ernest H. Crosby.*]

Liber 23 Page 430 New York Surrogate's Office.

"It is my desire that my son Gouverneur may have the best education that is to be had in England or America but my express wish and directions are that he be never sent for that purpose to the Colony of Connecticut least he should imbibe in his youth that low craft and cunning so incident to the people of that country which is so interwoven in their constitutions that all their art cannot disguise it from the world tho' many of them under the sanctifyed garb of religion have endeavored to impose themselves on the world for honest men."

Original letter from Mrs. Montgomery to Lieutenant-Governor Stephen Van Rensselaer.

[*From the Collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*]

Chateau de Montgomery
January 2, 1813.

Dear Sir

Having obtained permission from Governor Sir James Westbrooke to remove the ashes of General Montgomery from Quebec, my friends supposed it would be more honorable, if the Countrey would undertake it; I do not wish to appear a petitioner to the Legislature again (as they refused the small Pittance of land which he died to preserve) but if my friends will have the goodness to propose it and redeem his ashes from a public gate-way—in a strange land, they will do great justice to my feelings and honor to themselves. I hope my Dear Sir, I may count on your kindness, and on our long friendship; I know your interest and influence—and I trust to your exertions, in a case in which the heart is concerned —and to which only the most illiberal can object.

I offer my love to Mrs Van Rensselaer, and your daughter Kitty, and remain yours with sincere friendship,

Janet Montgomery.

NOTES

BUTTER SOLD BY THE YARD—In the new book recently published by D. Lothrop & Co., entitled "Social Studies in England," the author, Mrs. Sarah K. Bolton, gives a graphic description of Trinity Hall, the college of Lord Chesterfield, Lord Lytton, and others of world-wide distinction. She says it has in its library "the desks where books were formerly chained, only the dean and master having the keys. In a most unique book, called the 'Nuremburg Chronicle of the World,' is an æsthetic picture of Eve taken from the side of Adam that one should not miss seeing. The combination-room, where the Fellows repair after dinner, has a semicircular table, with a lazy arrangement of early days for passing the wine-bottle backward and forward on rollers, that the drinkers need not rise from their seats. In the buttery one will see not only the beautiful silver-plate of the college, but rolls of butter an inch in thickness and a yard long—all butter in Cambridge being sold by the yard."

LYME'S ANCIENT RHYMER—On a tombstone in Lyme, Conn., there was, a few years since, and perhaps is at this time, the following epitaph, said to be written by the person for whom it was inserted:

"A Deacon aged 58—58,
On Earth no more is sarvin,
He for a Crown no longer wates,
Lyme's Captain, Renald Marvin."

Tradition says that the above Capt. Marvin, when young, courted one Betty Lee, a handsome, hearty lass, whose father was violently opposed to the match. Every probable measure was undertaken to mollify the old gentleman, but all in vain. The young folks were as obstinate as the old one, and determined to have their own way. As in those good old times none could be matrimonially fettered without a previous manifesto, either from the mouth of the minister or nailed on the door of the meeting-house, they made choice of the latter method, and Renald wrote the following stanza, which was nailed as aforesaid:

"Renald Marvin, Betty Lee,
Do both intend to marry,
And tho' her dad opposed be,
No longer can they tarry."

Tradition further says that the poetical abilities thus displayed had such an effect on Dad that he shortly after consented that Renald and Betty should become one flesh.—*N. Y. Commercial Advertiser, May* 29, 1817.

PETERSFIELD

DEMOCRATIC—*Editor Magazine of American History:* I find among the papers of the late E. C. Genet, known in American history as "Citizen Genet," a memorandum in his handwriting, of which I give you a copy. It has reference to the term "Democratic" as applied to a political party in this country, and now apparently being adopted by one of the political parties in England. It may be of interest in the historical researches of the future.

GEO. C. GENET

NEW YORK, *April* 24, 1886.

"Members of the First Democratic Society in Philadelphia, 1793.

N. B.—They wanted to take the name of 'Friends of Liberty and Equality.' I opposed it and suggested the name 'Democratic Society,' which they adopted.

Dr. Logan,
Dr. Hutchinson,
Dr. Lieb,
B. F. Bache,
Dallas,
P. Duponceau,
Freneau
Jefferson's printer"

SLAVERY IN CONNECTICUT—*Editor Magazine of American History:* The following was clipped from some old papers of a century ago:—

RUN away from me the subscriber about the 28th of February last, a Negro Man named LONDON, about 50 years of age, had on when he went away a strait bodied blue coat and leather breeches, as to his other cloathing I am not certain; he is a middling sized fellow, speaks faint and slow, but tolerable good English, is a crafty subtle sly fellow, and has and can pretend sickness when well. Whoever will apprehend said Negro and bring him to me in Hartford, or secure him in any gaol in this or the neighbouring States and send me word so that I may have him again, shall have 50 dollars reward and all necessary charges paid. I also forewarn all persons from either harboring, secreting or employing said Negro, as they will answer the same at the peril of the law. H. LEDLIE.
Hartford, Conn., March 13, 1780.

To be SOLD, for no FAULT,

A very likely wench, 24 years old, with a child of 14 months old. For particulars enquire of Samuel Bull, of Middletown, or Caleb Bull, jun. of Hartford.
May, 1776.

Yours truly
WM. S. RANSOM
LITCHFIELD, CONNECTICUT, *April* 26, 1886

A MINIATURE OF WASHINGTON—Lost on Saturday night last, either in King Street or Broadway, a *Miniature Picture* of the *President;* whoever will bring it to the Printers shall receive *One Guinea* reward.—*The Daily Advertiser*, NEW YORK, *Tuesday, December* 22, 1789. PETERSFIELD

THE RUTGERS FAMILY OF NEW YORK—Mr. Ernest H. Crosby, in his interesting chapter on the subject, published in the "Genealogical and Biographical Record" of April, 1886, says of Hendrick Rutgers who died in Albany, in 1779: "His eldest daughter Catharine married William Bedlow, grandson of Isaac Bedlow, of Bedlow's Island. He was a sea-captain, and afterwards a merchant; in 1784 he was postmaster of New York City. He had a son, Henry, a daughter Mary, who married John Beekman, and another daughter Catherine, wife of Dr. Ebenezer Crosby, who had come to New York from Braintree, Mass., and was at one time surgeon of General Washington's guard, and afterward Professor of Medicine at Columbia College. He was the ancestor of the Crosby family of New York. Henry Bedlow's son, Henry, was at one time Mayor of Newport, Rhode Island. Hendrick's second daughter Anna (sister of Catharine above) became Mrs. William Bancker. Her granddaughter, Elizabeth de Peyster, married Henry Remsen, who was private secretary to President Jefferson, and for many years President of the Manhattan Company."

QUERIES

OLDEST CHURCH EDIFICE — *Editor Magazine of American History:* Which is the oldest church edifice now in use in the United States? Can any of your readers inform me? H. DRAYTON

CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, *May* 9, 1886

MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY IN AMERICA—*Editor Magazine of American History:* How many members of the Royal Family of England have visited this country? CALVERT

ABOUT A SWORD—*Editor Magazine of American History:* My father has in his possession a sword, that was made, it is claimed, for General Worth of the Mexican War, but owing to a small imperfection on the edge of the blade was rejected and another made. Can any one give any information concerning its history? E. EVERETT DAVIS

NORWICH, NEW YORK

DUDE—What is the meaning of the word "Dude" and how did it originate? J. B. T.

SAN FRANCISCO, *May* 7, 1886

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI—Mr. John Fiske, in an article in the May number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, entitled "Weakness of the United States Government under the Articles of Confederation," asserts that the above society was a *secret* one. Is not this a mistake? I have never heard this charge before; and an examination of the constitution and proceedings of the society fails to discover any such feature? I. C.

ALLEGHANY, *April* 24, 1886.

NATIVE AMERICANS—In 1755 Benjamin Franklin computed that of the one million inhabitants of the colonies only 20,000 had been brought from over the seas; the others were natives. Can any one tell, at the different decades of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries how large a proportion of the population of the United States were natives? The information may be readily accessible, but in any event a tabulation in juxtaposition would be instructive to foreigners and to some natives.

HISTORICUS

REPLIES

PECKATONE — THE OLDEST HOUSES IN THE COUNTRY [xv. 511]—"Truth Seeker" tells of "Pekatone," the old house situated on the Potomac River, just above its junction with the Chesapeake, which was built in 1664, and asks if there is any dwelling-house now standing that was built before this date? Connecticut has at least two, Rhode Island three, and Massachusetts has more than a dozen; among them the "Barker House," Pembroke, 1628; "Cradock House," Medford, 1634; "Saltonstall House," Ipswich, 1635; "Fairbanks House," Dedham, 1636, etc. ELHEGOS

PECKATONE—THE OLDEST HOUSES IN THE COUNTRY [xv. 511]—The "Fairbanks House," Dedham, Massachusetts,

built in 1636, is, I believe, still standing. I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA, *April* 28, 1886

PECKATONE—THE OLDEST HOUSES IN THE COUNTRY [xv. 511]—At Dedham, Massachusetts, stands the Fairbanks House, built in 1636. In this city (Boston) we have the Curtis House, also built in 1636. The *Providence Journal*, of April 28, publishes the following account of "Ashaway," an old historic house in Rhode Island. "The oldest house in this immediate vicinity, known as the 'Egypt' house, is being torn down, having been vacant for some time, and being in a dilapidated state. It was at the corner where the road to Niantic turns from the old State road, and was sometimes called the old 'Maxson' house from former residents. It is supposed to be 200 years old, and was the only house in this vicinity which had its great stone chimney built partly outside the side of the house. It is said to have acquired its name of 'Egypt' from the fact that in the 'frosty year,' 1814–15, when nearly all the Indian corn in this section was cut off by early frosts, a good crop was ripened on this farm, and people came from all directions for seed corn, even sending from Newport for it. It was once owned by Mr. John Maxson, who, at the time the State road was laid out, is said to have induced the surveyors by the persuasive eloquence of certain black bottles to make a sharp crook in the road to clear his potato patch. It was last occupied by Mr. Silas C. Wells, whose son, Wallace, is having it torn down." A. A. FOLSOM

BOSTON, *April* 30, 1886

BROWN STUDY [xv. 511]—The English *Notes and Queries* says of this expression: "Surely a corruption of brow-study, brow being derived from the old German *braun*, in its compound form *aug-braun*, an eye-brow."

WILLIAM HARDEN

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

IN A BROWN STUDY [xv. 511]—*Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* gives the following: "BROWN STUDY. Absence of mind; apparent thought, but real vacuity. The corresponding French expression explains it—*sombre réverie*. *Sombre* and *brun* both mean sad, melancholy, gloomy, dull.

"'Invention flags, his brain grows muddy,
And black despair succeeds brown study.'"
CONGREVE, "An Impossible Thing."

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA, *April* 28, 1886.

BUNGTOWN COPPERS [xiii. 206, 304, xv. 512]—*Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms* gives: "BUNGTOWN COPPER. A spurious coin, of base metal, a very clumsy counterfeit of the English half-penny or copper. It derived its name from the place where it was first manufactured, then called *Bungtown*, now Barneyville, in the town of Rehoboth, Massachusetts. The *Bungtown copper* never was a legal coin. The British half-penny or copper was. The term is used only in New England." I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

STOCKBRIDGE [xv. 512]—John Stockbridge was a private in Captain Maxwell's Company, 2d Regiment, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, militia.

I. C.

ALLEGHANY, PENNSYLVANIA

SOCIETIES

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION held its third annual meeting in Washington during the last week in April, its sessions occupying three days—Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday—the 27th, 28th, and 29th. Its president, George Bancroft, the venerable historian, called the meeting to order and delivered the address of welcome, which will be found published in full in another part of this Magazine. It is doubtful whether the great author ever spoke with more force and eloquence, or addressed a more brilliant and distinguished audience. The hall was crowded to overflowing. General James Grant Wilson followed with an address on "Columbus," in which he called the attention of the association to the proposed celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, and the erection of a suitable statue. The third paper was by Professor E. N. Horsford, of Cambridge, on "The Landfall of John Cabot in 1497;" and Dr. A. B. Hart presented some "Graphic Methods of Illustrating History" with maps and charts. The morning session was closed with an admirable paper by Professor Moses Coit Tyler on "The Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials." He said:

"By historical materials I mean written or even printed documents of every sort, which are of value as bearing testimony concerning our past,—letters, diaries, personal memoranda, speeches, pamphlets, newspapers, and all other verbal records, particularly such as are unique or nearly so, the extinction of which would be the extinction of so much evidence as to men and things in our history. Is it not true that with us there is rather more danger than is the case, for example, in Central and Western Europe, that the private papers left by men in public life, which would in after-times become of confidential, delicate, and priceless value in the study of the events touched by these men's careers, should be negligently kept by their descendants or heirs, or as negligently dispersed, or left to destruction through the assaults of accident? American society is composed of more movable elements than was the case even in the colonial time. We have few examples of families maintained through several generations in the same homes; our homes are of combustible material; and our habits are those of recklessness as to fires. The result of our present social conditions is that the kinds of historical documents now referred to, if retained in private custody, are peculiarly liable to neglect, and even to destruction."

The assemblage in the evening was equally large and appreciative. The most notable paper, "The Part taken by Virginia, under the leadership of Patrick Henry, in Establishing Religious Liberty," was read by Hon. William Wirt Henry of Richmond, Virginia. Edward Channing, Ph.D., of Harvard, delivered an interesting essay on "A New England Aristocracy in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century;" T. Jefferson Coolidge, Jr., spoke on "The Development of Municipal Government in Massachusetts;" and "New Views of Early Virginia History" were presented by Alexander Browne, of Virginia—the paper

being read by Charles Dean, LL.D., of Boston. Judge Chamberlain and Rev. Dr. Ellis spoke briefly on the subject of Mr. Coolidge's paper.

The first paper of the second morning session was read by Edward G. Mason, of Chicago, on "The March of the Spaniards Across Illinois," who was warmly congratulated on his masterly treatment of an uncommonly interesting subject; this paper appeared in the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY for May. Professor Andrews, of Marietta College, followed with a scholarly study of great value on the "Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the Northwestern Territory." Professor Knight, of the Ohio State University, read a paper, "The Constitutional History of Ohio;" William A. Mowry, of Boston, discussed the question, "Did the Louisiana Purchase Include Oregon?" And Eben Greenough Scott read a valuable paper on the "Settlement of the Lower St. Lawrence." In the evening Professor Austin Scott, of Rutgers College, read a paper on "The Origin of the Highest Function of the American Judiciary;" J. M. Merriam, of Harvard, on "Jefferson's Use of the Executive Patronage;" A. B. Houghton (his paper was read by Dr. Channing), on the topic, "Can the United States Guarantee the Neutrality of a Canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific?" and Dr. F. W. Taussig, of Harvard, on "The Early Protection Movement and the Tariff of 1828."

The third day's exercises attracted universal interest. General George W. Cullum, of New York, read an able paper, entitled "The Attack on Washington City in 1814." He was followed by Colonel William Allan, formerly Chief of Ordnance in Jackson's corps, who illustrated with excellent maps the Pope campaign of 1862, the subject of his article in the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, August, 1884. Major Hotchkiss, formerly topographical engineer in the Confederate army, gave some blackboard illustrations of the movements of Jackson prior to and after the Battle of Cross Keys. President Welling, of Columbian University, Washington, then read an instructive paper on the "Origin of State Rights." In the evening Dr. George E. Ellis, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, addressed the association on "The Reconstruction of History," which will be found printed in full in another part of this Magazine. Dr. Jameson, associate in history of Johns Hopkins University, read a paper on "William Usselinx;" Rev. Dr. Edward Hale on "Franklin in France;" and George Stewart, Jr., F.R.S.C., of Quebec, reported on "Historical Studies in Canada." The committee of five—Hon. George Bancroft, Hon. Justin Winsor, Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, Hon. George F. Hoar, and Hon. George B. Loring—appointed to wait on President Cleveland and request his co-operation in securing a proper commemoration in 1892 of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, reported that the President felt a deep interest in the matter and had intimated that he would take pleasure in bringing it to the attention of Congress in his next annual message. He did not think it likely that Congress, at its present

session, would be able to give the subject the consideration it deserved. An interesting feature of the meeting of the association was the following letter from Leopold von Ranke, the German historian :

To the President of the American Historical Association, Mr. George Bancroft, in Washington :

In reply to your kind communication, I gratefully accept the position of an honorary member in the association to which I have been elected. It gives me great satisfaction to belong to a society pursuing the same aims beyond the ocean that we on this side are striving to achieve. Such unity of studies binds together people widely separated, yet allied by ancient kinship. It fills me with especial joy to see Mr. George Bancroft, one of the masters in our science, extending his hand to me from afar—a man who, during his residence in Berlin, bound me to himself by ties of reverential friendship. Accept my hearty sentiments of respect and honor.

LEOPOLD VON RANKE.

BERLIN, *February* 14, 1886.

Ranke is five years older than Mr. Bancroft, but still works five hours a day at his Universal History. Resolutions were passed with much enthusiasm, thanking the retiring President, Mr. Bancroft, for the services rendered the association by his presence and sympathetic interest. Mr. Bancroft, in reply, honored the essayists by the remark "that he never had listened to a series of papers so interesting, so thorough, so accurate, and so instructive."

The officers elected for the coming year are : President, Justin Winsor, librarian Harvard University. Vice-Presidents, Charles Kendall Adams, president Cornell University ; Wm. F. Poole, of Chicago Public Library. Secretary, Herbert B. Adams, Johns Hopkins University. Treasurer, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, New York. Executive Council, in addition to the above-named officers : Prof. M. F. Allen, University of Wisconsin ; Charles Dean, LL.D., vice-president Massachusetts Historical Society ; Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, Yale College, and Hon. William Wirt Henry, Richmond, Virginia. The life membership fee was raised from $25 to $50.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A regular meeting was held April 26, Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, Vice-President, in the chair. General C. W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary, read a list of the donations during the month. Dr. M. M. Bagg, Recording Secretary, reported an addition of thirty-one to the resident membership. The Committee on Addresses and Publications, Prof. G. C. Sawyer, chairman, was requested to prepare the material on hand for an 1886 publication. A paper was then read by Major Egbert Bagg on the "Birds of Oneida County," and pictures were used to illustrate the various kinds enumerated.

BOOK NOTICES

THE STORRS FAMILY—Genealogical and other Memoranda, collected and compiled by CHARLES STORRS. Royal 8vo, pp. 552. New York, 1886. Privately printed.

This valuable genealogical work owes its existence to the late Charles Storrs of Brooklyn, an eminent and public-spirited gentleman who died in 1884, in the sixty-third year of his age. For twenty years he had been gathering materials for it, and the volume was nearly ready for publication at the time of his death. He possessed one of the finest and best-regulated libraries in Brooklyn, and was continually adding to its treasures. With unrivaled opportunities for selection, and an intelligent and artistic sense of what information would be most acceptable in a work of this character, he carefully prepared a model volume of family records, which will be his monument in all the future. The arrangement of material seems to be nearly perfect; elaborate indexes render it easy to refer to any member of the family, or to their marriage connections; and interesting historical and personal sketches are interwoven all through with the genealogical tables and other data. The condensation of such a vast amount of material has been achieved with skill, superfluous words or sentences rarely appearing upon any page. It is a clear-cut, straightforward flowing memorial of an old and prominent New England family, with its English ancestry traced backward as far as the thirteenth century. Samuel Storrs was the first of the name in America; he reached Massachusetts in 1668, and was in 1698 one of the original proprietors of Mansfield, Connecticut. From him have descended nearly all who bear the name of Storrs now scattered over this vast country. In every generation have been men of genius and distinction. Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D., LL.D, the great Brooklyn divine and the erudite and accomplished orator, was the son, grandson, and great grandson of three eminent ministers. It is said of him, "No man illustrates in his own culture and accomplishments the finest traditions of the earlier New England ministry with greater fidelity and completeness. He is seen at his best in the lecture-room when some commanding theme crystallizes his various extensive learning, and thoroughly arouses the latent energies of his genius. His thought is always well abreast of the deepest, busiest thinker. Nothing is commonplace with him, for his very commonplaces of utterance are perpetual vistas into a starry background of exalted experience. He fascinates the best minds irresistibly." Emery A. Storrs, of Chicago, the late distinguished lawyer and orator, was another well-known member of this remarkable family. He entertained Lord Chief-Justice Coleridge, of England, while in this country, in 1883, and an extract from his felicitous speech on that occasion has a place in the book. Henry Randolph Storrs, first judge of Oneida County, New York, and for some years member of Congress from Oneida, was said to have been able to "speak in the open air in a whisper so as to be heard by an audience of ten thousand men." He was a brilliant advocate, and "during several sessions while in Congress was conceded to be the most accomplished and effective debater in the House of Representatives."

The general reader will find much that is interesting in the volume, irrespective of any connection with the family. The history of the town of Mansfield, where the manufacture of silk was undertaken by hand considerably more than a century ago, occupies some twenty of the closing pages. The author says: "I remember that there were scores if not hundreds of mulberry trees on my father's farm, many of the trunks measuring from one to two feet in diameter; and they were everywhere through the town. It was the children's work to pick the leaves with which the silk-worms were fed." A fine steel portrait of Charles Storrs serves as a frontispiece. The book is elegantly printed, on choice paper, with broad margins, and substantially and appropriately bound."

SOCIAL STUDIES IN ENGLAND. By SARAH K. BOLTON. 12mo, pp. 183. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

Mrs. Bolton has produced a most interesting and informing volume, the result of intelligent observation and investigation during her two years' residence abroad. The work embraces some twenty chapters touching upon the education and the various industries and charities of women in England, of which the "Higher education of women at Cambridge," the "Higher education of women at Oxford," and "Women in the Art Schools," are among the most important and instructive. "In England, fifteen years ago," writes Mrs. Bolton, "the reports of a royal commission, appointed to inquire into general education, showed the condition of girls' schools to be lamentable. A large number of the teachers were unfitted for their work through ignorance." Since that time a great change has taken place. England has provided many seats of learning where young women receive exactly the same education and are subjected to the same examinations as young men at the university. Both the colleges of Girton and Newnham are connected with Cambridge University. At Girton the charge for board, lodg-

ing and instruction is about five hundred dollars yearly; and this college has the same entrance-examination as Cambridge men, and an identical course of study with them, so that there can be no doubt as to the educational standard of her graduates. The first English college to grant degrees to women was London University. "Queen Victoria set another jewel in her crown, when, on March 4, 1878, she proclaimed, 'that we do by virtue of our prerogative royal and of our special grace . . . will, grant and ordain that all the powers and provisions relating to the granting of degrees and certificates of proficiency . . . shall henceforward be read and construed as applying to women as well as to men.'"

Mrs. Bolton draws some very critical and just comparisons between the American and English schools and colleges. She found several young women from America at Cambridge and Oxford. She says: "The question is not whether it is wise for women to seek this higher education. The fact is that they are seeking it. The question is rather, 'shall America give its best opportunities for education to women, or compel them to go abroad for study?' How gradually we are learning that the best education possible of attainment for any human being makes the best home, the best citizenship, and the grandest civilization."

The book is admirably well written, and should be carefully read by all Americans who are interested in the proper education of the youth of our great and growing country.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOEL BARLOW. By CHARLES BURR TODD. 8vo, pp. 304. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The revolutionary worthy, after whose name is properly written on the title page of this handsome volume, "poet, statesman, philosopher," must certainly be gratified if he can look down from another and a better sphere and behold the elegant dress in which his life and letters are placed before a nineteenth century public. Whether he will be quite as much pleased with the manner in which the work is done may perhaps be open to question, for in some respects we could wish that a more judicious plan of arrangement and a livelier appreciation of the manners and customs of the time could have been brought to bear upon the subject.

The author of "The Columbiad" was one of the most picturesque figures of his day. The contemporary at Yale of Noah Webster the lexicographer, and of Oliver Wolcott the statesman, he was even during his college days a man of mark, and his post-graduate career as army chaplain brought him into intimate relations with many of the active spirits of the time. That he composed a deal of verse that has not a particle of value nowadays does not detract from the fact that he was the author, under curiously entertaining conditions, of a very clever eulogium upon his native "Hasty Pudding," nor from the fact that he was one of the very first of his countrymen to produce literary material that caught the attention of both hemispheres.

At present we do not read Barlow, and probably no edition of his writings could be put forth in a shape that would command a considerable market, but we are very ready to hear the story of a man who in that early day was sent upon so important a mission as to negotiate a treaty with the First Napoleon. His books found English publishers—a sure guarantee of modern success—and he was the talk of aristocratic circles all over the continent in his day.

The author has wisely left the letters to tell their own story—love-letters always do this to a certain extent satisfactorily—and we can only find fault with the way in which the end is attained, or in which it is sought to be attained. In mechanical execution the publishers have left nothing to be desired, and the Putnams' volume of Joel Barlow will probably remain, as it deserves to be, the favorite edition of Barlow's life. The fine engraved portrait that serves as a frontispiece lends an additional value to the work, and conveys an impressive idea of the worth and dignity of character that must have marked this "first American cosmopolite."

TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY, or Fifty Years' March of the Republic. By ANDREW CARNEGIE. 8vo, pp. 519. New York, 1886: Charles Scribner's Sons.

No writer on American affairs ever before marshaled such an array of facts and figures in artistic procession, and printed them in living colors upon the pages of history. Mr. Carnegie is evidently in full sympathy with a government of the people, by the people, for the people. He has brought the subject of self-government into prominence from a new point of observation, and in doing this has rendered the world a service which in due course of time will be properly estimated. He writes for the foreign eye, to show the masses on the other side of the Atlantic what a republican government is and can achieve; but his informing pages if well considered will benefit Americans more than all Christendom outside of the Republic. Nothing is of greater importance than self-knowledge. We find in the book many things that are supposed to be generally known. But are they? Do we as a people appreciate our blessings? The author of "Triumphant Democracy" does not aim to glorify the country of his adoption so much as to recite the simple unadorned truth in a graphic, forcible, and straight-forward manner

—"pure missionary work" on his part—for the illustration of the superiority of republican over monarchial institutions. The European governments long since took note of the rapid advance of the American nation, and we have only to read the instructive passages in the essay of George Bancroft in another part of this Magazine, to understand how they have been thereby influenced; yet the people at large remain lamentably ignorant concerning the real condition of the United States. Mr. Carnegie could hardly tell the story with less enthusiasm. And he has handled statistics, which usually are "dry as dust," in such a breezy, dashing style, that his book is readable throughout. He tells us that "in population, in wealth, in annual savings, and in public credit, in freedom from debt, in agriculture, and in manufactures, America already leads the civilized world." He says, "one is startled to find that more yards of carpet are manufactured in Philadelphia alone than in the whole of Great Britain!" In speaking of the American railway system he remarks, "that starting fifty-five years ago at nothing, it has reached in 1885, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand miles of line;" more than the whole of Europe, which "in 1883 had only one hundred and fourteen thousand three hundred miles." The growth of art, music, and literature, in America, is presented in masterly pen pictures. Mr. Carnegie says, "the number of newspapers in 1850 was about eight hundred and thirty; ten years later it had increased to two thousand five hundred and twenty-six; in 1880 it had reached the number of eleven thousand three hundred and fourteen, or more than four times as many as in 1850." Furthermore, that "it is estimated there are twenty-three thousand school libraries in America, containing forty-five million books —twelve millions more than in all the public libraries of Europe combined." This of course does not include the State libraries, the Congressional, the Astor, and other public libraries, which would "raise the grand total in America to much more than fifty million volumes." There is nothing, however, in the book of greater substantial interest than the author's comments upon the "Supreme Court of the Nation." "Beyond and before, and higher than house, or Senate, or President, stands this final arbiter, sole umpire, judge of itself. More than once Lord Salisbury has said that he envied his transatlantic brethren of the Supreme Court." We should like to quote further, but our limited space forbids. The book is worth the widest and most careful study. It is something more than a panegyric; it is replete with new ideas concerning the greatness and the progress of our country—a chapter of lessons from cover to cover which every man, woman, and child in America will be the better and happier for learning. Mr. Carnegie's prophecies may not all be fulfilled, but he gives us fresh subjects for thought, and students in politics and the sciences will do well to make themselves familiar with his statements and deductions. On one of the opening pages is a map, showing the comparative areas of the States and Territories of the United States and the countries of Europe. Texas is considerably larger than the Austrian Empire, Montana larger than Turkey, or Norway, and New Mexico exceeds in area the whole of Great Britain and Ireland.

"The American States," says Mr. Carnegie, "revolve each upon its own axis, within its own orbit, each according to its own laws, some faster, some slower, one at one angle, one at another, but around the central sun at Washington they tread the great national orbit under equal conditions, and constitute parts of one great whole. Here, then, we have the perfection of federal or home rule in its fullest and greatest development. The success of the American Union proves that the freest self-government of the parts produces the strongest government of the whole."

MEMOIR OF MRS. EDWARD LIVINGSTON, with letters hitherto unpublished. By LOUISE LIVINGSTON HUNT. 12mo, pp. 182. New York, 1886: Harper & Brothers.

Mrs. Edward Livingston was a beautiful Frenchwoman of many gifts and accomplishments, who married the younger brother of Chancellor Livingston of New York, and subsequently filled an important niche in American society. Her ten years life in Washington, from 1823 to 1833, while her husband was successively Congressman, Senator, and Secretary of State, is replete with historic interest. She was an intimate friend of Mrs. John Quincy Adams, and her drawing-room was the favorite resort of the most distinguished statesmen and diplomatists of the decade. "Even political animosity," says Miss Hunt, "was subdued by her conciliating and fascinating manners." She accompanied her husband on his mission to France, and took a high place in social and intellectual circles of Paris. We are told that "Queen Marie Amélie and Madame Adélaide, the King's sister, became very fond of Mrs. Livingston, and received her frequently without ceremony at their informal evenings." It is to be regretted that a portrait of Mrs. Livingston does not appear in the volume, as there is a fine painting of her, executed at the age of seventeen, still hanging in the drawing-room at Montgomery Place, on the Hudson, where she spent the declining years of her life. Miss Hunt, the author, has introduced some letters never before given to the public, and has presented the entire sketch of her interesting subject in a clear and engaging style.

THE BOY TRAVELERS IN SOUTH AMERICA. Adventures of two youths in a Journey through Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Argentine Republic, and Chili, with descriptions of Patagonia and Tierra Del Fuego, and voyages upon the Amazon and La Plata Rivers. By THOMAS W. KNOX. 8vo, pp. 510. New York, 1886: Harper & Brothers.

This is a copiously illustrated book of travel, written by an author who has been through the countries he describes, and who has the tact and the talent to tell what is to be seen in those countries in a manner that is captivating to the youthful reader. The characters of the story are fictitious, but the geographical information, and the scenes and incidents coming under the observation of the boy travelers is as nearly exact as possible. Colonel Knox, however, has not relied altogether upon his own personal knowledge of South America in the production of this work, but has studied the subject with industrious care, and drawn from the narratives of others who preceded or followed him. His purpose has been to present a realistic picture of South America for the benefit of boys, and he has succeeded admirably. We have the lofty mountains, the magnificent rivers, the forests and the pampas, and the South American people in all their varieties. We also have the present governments, with an epitome of their history from ancient times. There is no part of the work that is uninteresting, lacking in vivacity, or uninstructive. The crossing of the Andes, with the description of its pathways and perils, and its volcanoes, will interest any reader of ordinary intelligence if he has made the acquaintance in ever so slight a degree of his school geography. The sights at the Peruvian capital will absorb his attention; the tropical forests, and the rubber trees along the Amazon valley, will excite his curiosity; and he will peruse with wonder the accounts of the magnitude of the Amazon. "South America contains seven millions of square miles The Amazon River drains over one third of this vast area. Its basin is more than twice the size of the valley of the Mississippi. It would hold forty-nine countries the size of England." Nearly every page is furnished with an illustration. Thus the eye is continually taking in the views and the peculiar features of the journey which the text elucidates. Although designed for the young, and a book that should find its way into every household that is enlivened with the music of children's voices, it is agreeable and informing reading for persons of any age and maturity.

HISTORY OF FRANCE IN RHYME. By MRS. CHARLES H. GARDNER, Principal of School for young ladies. 16mo, pp. 90. Published by the author, 603 Fifth Avenue, New York city.

This clever little hand-book, designed as an aid to memory in the class-room, is a twin companion to Mrs. Gardner's *English History in Rhyme*, which has won such high praise throughout the country during the past year, and been adopted as a text-book in many of the leading schools and colleges. The history of France is even more ingeniously constructed than that of England; and the continuous outline of leading events is wrought concisely into smoothly-flowing and easily memorized verse.

The genealogy, which embraces considerably more than half the volume, is of special consequence. This is carefully arranged in tables by the accomplished author. The families of the French sovereigns are given in full, with the important marriages of their children, the alliances of the Bonapartes, etc. In this connection may be found much related information not chronicled in other text-books, but which throws a strong, clear light upon historical events, and awakens fresh interest in the larger and more general historical works. The full genealogy of English and Scottish sovereigns, giving the claims of Lady Macbeth, of Bruce and Baliol, the rise of the Stuarts, etc., which is contained in the little hand-book of English history has been universally commended for its accuracy and value. Even travelers abroad have carried it in their sachels, esteeming it a treasure. No other book of its size has ever been found so replete with desired information of this genealogical character. And now the French history contains elaborate genealogical tables of the Merovingians; the Carlovingians; the Capetians; the Houses of Valois and Valois-Orléans; the Houses of Bourbon and Bourbon-Orléans; the Bonapartes; the Saxe-Coburgs, giving the relationship of Victoria to the kings of Portugal and of the Belgians; the Houses of Anjou and Bourbon, in the Two Sicilies; the Dukes of Burgundy; the House of Navarre; the claims of the Spanish Succession, with the reigning family of Austria; the Bourbon Family of Spain, with reigning sovereign; the reigning families of Portugal, Brazil and Sweden; the Houses of Lorraine and Guize; the House of Savoy, with reigning sovereign of Italy. Thus it is not only pupils and teachers who will discover sooner or later the worth of this tiny pair of volumes, but any and every one who wishes to make quick reference to important facts relative to the European rulers, past or present. The price is so low that the work is brought within the reach of all.

CALIFORNIA. From the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco. A STUDY OF AMERICAN CHARACTER. By JOSIAH ROYCE. [American Commonwealths. Edited by Horace E. Scudder.] 16mo, pp. 513. Boston, 1886: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A national love for history, such as we have long predicted for America, seems to have been fully aroused—if we may judge by the multiplicity of the issues of historical works from our large publishing houses. Light reading does not sell, we are told; the public demand the solid and substantial. History has not only become the fashion, but it is enthusiastically appreciated. The strongest and soundest minds are engaged in its preparation and presentation, and the public have found it out.

California has had a beginning, a singular and romantic beginning, and the several works that have appeared on the subject prove that it is worthy of the closest study. Professor Royce has written in the work before us of American California during the ten years from 1846 to 1856, his plan being to illustrate American life and character as displayed in that period and in that land. His work differs materially from the larger and more exhaustive histories of Hubert Howe Bancroft and Theodore H. Hittell, in that he does not go into the history of Spanish and Mexican California prior to 1846. He assumes that the importance attached to the founding of an American Commonwealth is sufficient to justify the devotion of the whole of this volume to its discussion. No other portion of America was ever so rapidly peopled as was California in the first golden days. "Nowhere else were we driven so hastily to improvise a government for a large body of strangers." The story of the conquest of California belongs more to national than to local annals. It is a study rather than a story, and as a study it is treated by Professor Royce. He is a graphic writer, and whether in narrative, the solution of mysteries, or in general criticism of affairs, his pages are of fascinating interest. The chapter on "The Struggle for Order" is one of the most painfully readable in the book. Professor Royce calls 1849 "the boyish year of California;" and 1851 "the manly year, the year of clearer self-consciousness, of lost illusions, of bitter struggles, of tried heroism, of great crimes and blunders indeed, and of great calamities, but also of the salvation of the new State." Speaking of the outbursts of popular fury, the author shows that they were indirectly good through "the horror begotten by the popular demoralization that all this violence tended to produce. Men saw the fearful effects of their own irresponsible freedom. They began to form town governments of a more stable sort, and to condemn rather than excuse mob violence." This mining community lived to purify itself, "not by a revolution, but by a simple progress from social foolishness to social steadfastness."

SONGS AND BALLADS of the Southern People, 1861–1865. Collected and edited by FRANK MOORE. 16mo, pp. 324. New York, 1886: D. Appleton & Co.

To preserve in permanent form the opinions and sentiments of the Southern people during the late civil war, as embodied in their songs and ballads, Mr. Frank Moore has collected, and the Appletons have published this unique little volume. Among the authors are General M. B. Lamar, Rev. A. M. Box, Reuben Nason, Charles Wildwood, Paul H. Hayne, Annie Chambers Ketchum, Father Ryan, James Pierrepont, Mrs. M. J. Young, and George H. Miles. In many instances the authors' names are not given, presumably withheld by request. The productions are of historical value, since the temper of the times is indelibly pictured among their lines. "The essence of history exists in its songs."

DOWN THE WEST BRANCH, or Camps and Tramps around Katahdin. Being an account of a trip through one of the wildest regions of Maine, by several members of the "Lake and Forest Club," in search of sport and recreation. By CAPT. CHARLES A. J. FARRAR. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 311. 1886. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

The familiarity of the author of this volume with the forests of Maine is well known. He has always something new to tell, and at this season of the year the young adventurer's mind turns toward the cool regions of shade so naturally that his latest production will be sought with eagerness. The scenes of the volume before us are laid in a new section of the New England Wilderness, the author aiming to give the reader an adequate idea of the vast territorial extent of these forests—which is scarcely conceived by a large portion of the public. The story deals with both the romance and the reality of forest life. The travelers, during the latter part of their trip, meet with an unusual adventure and some unpleasant experiences. Later on this develops into an exciting drama, in which every one of the party takes part. We have no hesitation in commending the book to the boys and young men, for whom it has been written, who will find it extremely useful and entertaining.

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$35,431,002.

STATEMENT
OF
The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York,
RICHARD A. McCURDY, President.

For the year ending December 31st, 1884.

ASSETS $103,876,178.51

Annuity Account.

	No.	Ann. Payments.		No.	Ann. Payments.
Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1884	61	$23,134 31	Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1885	61	$23,661 63
Premium Annuities		3,674 96	Premium Annuities		2 994 44
Annuities Issued	5	1,756 70	Annuities Terminated	5	1,909 90
	66	$28,565 97		66	$28 565 97

Insurance Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies in force, Jan. 1st, 1884	110,990	$342,946,032	Policies in force, Jan. 1st, 1885	114 804	$351.789.285
Risks Assumed	11,194	34,675,989	Risks Terminated	7,380	25,832 736
	122,184	$377,622,021		122,184	$377,622,021

Revenue Account.

Dr. *Cr.*

To Balance from last account	$94,972,108 86	By paid Death Claims	$5,226,820 83
" Premiums received	13,850,258 43	" " Matured Endowments	2,490,454 99
" Interest and Rents	5,245,059 98	" " Total claims—$7.717,215 82	
		" " Annuities	26,926 08
		" " Dividends	3,141,164 12
		" " Surrendered Policies and Additions	3,037,696 17
		" " Total paid Policy-holders—$13,923,062 19	
		" " Commissions, (payment of current and extinguishment of future)	907,846 19
		" " Premium charged off on Securities Purchased	1,131.172 33
		" " Taxes and Assessments	223,169 61
		" " Expenses	872,263 87
		" " Balance to New Account	97,009,913 08
	$114,067 427 27		$114,067,427 27

Balance Sheet.

Dr. *Cr.*

To Reserve at four per cent	$98,242,543 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	$46.978,527 96
" Claims by death not yet due	862,387 00	" United States and other Bonds	34,522.822 00
" Premiums paid in advance	27,477 36	" Loans on Collaterals	6,898,387 50
" Surplus and Contingent Guarantee Fund	4,743,771 15	" Real Estate	10,282,693 04
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest	2,644,988 54
		" Interest accrued	1,262,418 54
		" Premiums deferred, quarterly and semi-annual	1,103,115 38
		" Premiums in transit, principally for December	138,714 51
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		" Agents' Balances	7,196 90
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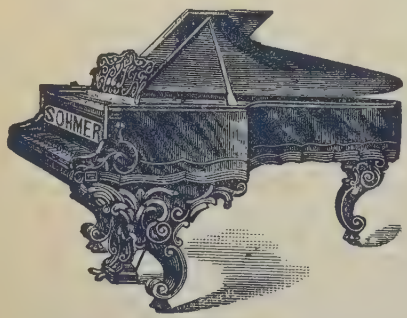

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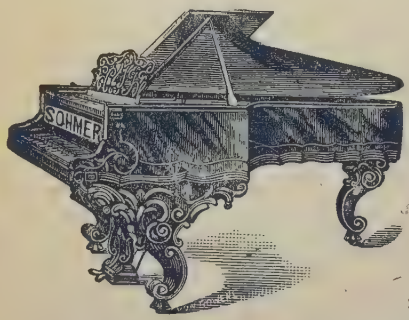

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		{ Total paid Policy-holders—$13,923,062 19 }	
		" " Commissions, (payment of current and extinguishment of future)	907,846 19
		" " Premium charged off on Securities Purchased	1,131.172 33
		" " Taxes and Assessments	223,169 61
		" " Expenses	872,263 87
		" " Balance to New Account	97,009,913 08
	$114,067 427 27		$114,067,427 27

Dr. Balance Sheet. *Cr.*

To Reserve at four per cent	$98,242,543 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	$46.978,527 96
" Claims by death not yet due	862,387 00	" United States and other Bonds	34,522.822 00
" Premiums paid in advance	27,477 36	" Loans on Collaterals	6,898,387 50
" Surplus and Contingent Guarantee Fund	4,743,771 15	" Real Estate	10,282,693 04
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest	2.644,988 54
		" Interest accrued	1,262,418 54
		" Premiums deferred, quarterly and semi-annual	1,103,115 38
		" Premiums in transit, principally for December	138,714 51
		" Suspense Account	37,314 14
		" Agents' Balances	7,196 90
	$103,876,178 51		$103,876,178 51

NOTE —If the New York Standard of four and a half per cent. Interest be used, the Surplus is over $12.000 000.

From the Surplus, as appears in the Balance Sheet a dividend will be apportioned to each participating Policy which shall be in force at its anniversary in 1885.

ASSETS.....$103,876,178.51

NEW YORK, January 21, 1885.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

SAMUEL E. SPROULLS,
LUCIUS ROBINSON,
SAMUEL D. BABCOCK,
GEORGE S. COE,
JOHN E. DEVELIN,
SEYMOUR L. HUSTED,
RICHARD A. McCURDY,
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ROBERT SEWELL,
S. VAN RENSSELAER CRUGER
CHARLES R. HENDERSON,
GEORGE BLISS,
RUFUS W. PECKHAM,
J. HOBART HERRICK,
WM. P DIXON

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Office: 346 and 348 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

JANUARY 1, 1886.

Amount of Net Cash Assets, January 1, 1885 ..... **$57,835,998.45**

REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Premiums	$13,517,426.03	
Less deferred Premiums, January 1, 1885	795,323.00—	$12,722,103.03
Interest and rents (including realized gains on Securities and Real Estate sold)	3,859,577.47	
Less Interest accrued January 1, 1885	460,507,76—	3,399,069.71—$16,121,172.74
		$73,957,171.19

DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT.

Losses by death, including reversionary additions to same		$2,999,109.64
Endowments, matured and discounted, including reversionary additions to same		741,764.47
Annuities, dividends, and purchased policies		3,940,999.64
Total Paid Policy-holders	$7,681,873.75	
Taxes and re-insurances		250,142.32
Commissions, Brokerages, agency expenses and physicians' fees		2,024,090.50
Office and law expenses, salaries, advertising, printing, etc.		488,446.62—$10,444,553.19
		$63,512,618.00

ASSETS.

Cash in bank, on hand, and in transit (since received)		$2,042,542.60
United States Bonds and other bonds and stocks (market value, $36,991,923.88)		33,640,220.56
Real Estate		6,855,532.63
Bonds and Mortgages, first lien on real estate (buildings thereon insured for $16,500,000 and the policies assigned to the Company as additional collateral security)		18,159,500.00
Temporary Loans (market value of securities held as collateral, $594,480.00)		451,500.00
*Loans on existing policies (the reserve held by the Company on these policies amounts to over $2,000,000.00)		416,034.15
*Quarterly and semi-annual premiums on existing policies, due subsequent to January 1, 1886		878,161.65
*Premiums on existing policies in course of transmission and collection. (The Reserve on these policies, included in Liabilities, is estimated at $955,000)		575,699.50
Agents' Balances		58,142.73
Accrued Interest on investments, January 1, 1886		435,284.18—$63,512,618.00
Market value of securities over cost on Company's books		3,351,703.32

* A detailed schedule of these items will accompany the usual annual report filed with the Insurance Department of the State of New York.

CASH ASSETS, January 1, 1886, - - - - - - - - - $66,864,321.32

Appropriated as follows:

Adjusted losses, due subsequent to January 1, 1886		$144,424.00
Reported losses, awaiting proof, etc.		248,423.12
Matured endowments, due and unpaid (claims not presented)		41,854.06
Annuities due and unpaid (uncalled for)		10,595.21
Reserved for re-insurance on existing policies; participating insurance at 4 per cent. Carlisle net premium; non-participating at 5 per cent. Carlisle net premium		56,200,875.00
Reserved for contingent liabilities to Tontine Dividend Fund, January 1, 1885, over and above a 4 per cent. reserve on existing policies of that class	$2,633,796.70	
Addition to the Fund during 1885	952,683.31	
DEDUCT—	$3,586,480.01	
Returned to Tontine policy-holders during the year on matured Tontines	462,737.24	
Balance of Tontine Fund January 1, 1886		3,123,742.77
Reserved for premiums paid in advance		29,934.03
		$59,799,848.19
Divisible Surplus (Company's Standard)		**$7,064,473.13**
Surplus by the New York State Standard, at 4½ per cent.		**$13,225,053.94**

From the undivided surplus of $7,064,473.13 the Board of Trustees has declared a Reversionary dividend to participating policies in proportion to their contribution to surplus, available on settlement of next annual premium.

Surplus:

JANUARY 1, 1885:—Company's Standard, $4,871,014; State Standard, $9,896,778

JANUARY 1, 1886:—Company's Standard, 7,064,473; State Standard, 13,225,053

INCREASE:—Company's Standard, $2,693,459; State Standard, $3,328,280

Death-claims paid.	Income from Interest.	Insurance in force.	Cash Assets.
1881, $2,013,203.	1881, $2,432,654.	Jan. 1, 1882, $151,760,824.	Jan. 1, 1882, $47,228,781.
1882, 1,955,292.	1882, 2,798,018.	" 1883, 171,415,097.	" 1883, 50,800,396.
1883, 2,263,092.	1883, 2,712,863.	" 1884, 198,746,043.	" 1884. 55,542,902.
1884, 2,257,175.	1884, 2,971,624.	" 1885, 229,382,586.	" 1885. 59,283,753.
1885, 2,999,109.	1885, 3,399,069.	" 1886, 259,674,500.	" 1886. 66,864,321.

During the year 18,566 policies have been issued, insuring $68,521,452.

TRUSTEES:

WM. H. APPLETON, WILLIAM A. BOOTH, ELIAS S. HIGGINS, ARCHIBALD H. WELCH, HENRY BOWERS, LOOMIS L. WHITE, ROBERT B. COLLINS, RICHARD MUSER, EDWARD MARTIN, HENRY TUCK, ALEX. STUDWELL, C. C. BALDWIN, R. SUYDAM GRANT, GEORGE H. POTTS, WILLIAM L. STRONG, WILLIAM H. BEERS.

WILLIAM H. BEERS, President.
HENRY TUCK, Vice-President.
ARCHIBALD H. WELCH, 2d Vice-President.
RUFUS W. WEEKS, Actuary.

THEODORE M. BANTA, Cashier.
D. O'DELL, Superintendent of Agencies.
A. HUNTINGTON, M.D., Medical Director.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

ILLUSTRATED.

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB.

APRIL, 1886.

30 LAFAYETTE PLACE, NEW YORK.

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THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

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$35,431,002.

STATEMENT
OF
The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York,
RICHARD A. McCURDY, President.

For the year ending December 31st, 1884.

ASSETS.....$103,876,178.51

Annuity Account.

	No.	Ann. Payments.		No.	Ann. Payments.
Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1884	61	$23,134 31	Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1885	61	$23,661 63
Premium Annuities	5	3,674 96	Premium Annuities	5	2,994 44
Annuities Issued		1,756 70	Annuities Terminated		1,909 90
	66	$28,565 97		66	$28 565 97

Insurance Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies in force, Jan. 1st, 1884	110,990	$342,946.032	Policies in force, Jan. 1st, 1885	114 804	$351.789.285
Risks Assumed	11,194	34,675,989	Risks Terminated	7,380	25,832 736
	122,184	$377,622,021		122,184	$377,622,021

Dr. Revenue Account. *Cr.*

To Balance from last account	$94,972,108 86	By paid Death Claims	$5,226,820 83
" Premiums received	13,850.258 43	" " Matured Endowments	2,490,454 99
" Interest and Rents	5,245,059 98	{ Total claims— $7,717,275 82 }	
		" " Annuities	26,926 08
		" " Dividends	3,141,164 12
		" " Surrendered Policies and Additions	3,037,696 17
		{ Total paid Policy-holders—$13,923,062 19 }	
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